

**Dr. Martin Luther's**  
**Complete Writings,**

published by

**Dr. Joh. Georg Walch.**

**Twenty-second volume.**

**Colloquia or Table Talk.**

**New revised stereotype edition.**

**St. Louis, Mo.**

Concordia Lutheran Publishing House (M. C. Barthel, Agent).

1887.

**Dr. Martin Luther's**

# **Colloquia or Table Talk.**

**For the first time**

corrected and renewed

by translating the two main sources of the Table Talks from the Latin originals, namely the diary of Dr. Conrad Cordatus about Dr. M. Luther in 1537 and the diary of M. Anton Lauterbach from the year 1538.

Published anew on behalf of the Ministry of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other states.

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## Foreword.

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The present 22nd volume of our revised edition of Luther's works according to J. G. Walch has been edited by Professor Hoppe, who has been appointed since last fall to edit this edition of our Luther edition. He has made special studies on Luther's table talks for a number of years and has published the results in this volume. What distinguishes this latest edition of Luther's Table Talks from all the earlier ones, he himself has stated in the introduction. We have no doubt that with this thorough and careful work he will earn the gratitude not only of all Luther readers, but also of Luther scholars.

Luther's Table Talks have never had the same prestige in the Lutheran Church as

Luther's other writings, precisely because they were not written by him, but by his table companions. However, the fact that it cannot be determined exactly how Luther spoke in detail does not negate the value of these records. After all, Luther's Hauspostille is the most widespread of his books, although even there Luther's words are conveyed to us through the pen of his household friends. Thus, Luther's Table Talks, as they are presented here, well examined and reviewed, are warmly recommended to the Lutheran Christian people! Whoever reads and contemplates them carefully will find in them a short, pithy summary of Luther's teachings and will be encouraged in the recognition of the salutary truth.

St. Louis, John 1887.

**G. St.**





## Introduction.

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Luther once expresses the wish,\*) that he could have been present only one time at the most lovely company of the Lord JEsu with his disciples, in order to enjoy it. A similar wish is close to every Evangelical-Lutheran Christian: If only I could have spent one evening with our dear father D. Martin Luther, the greatest man and hero of faith after the time of the apostles! This wish, my dear reader, can and will be abundantly fulfilled, yes, for days and weeks, by what is offered in this volume. It brings you for the first time Luther's Table Talks translated from the originals. Our edition is the best and most complete of all editions published so far. The most complete, because we have recently brought to light the main sources of the Table Talks, the diaries of Lauterbach about the year 1538 and of Cordatus from the year 1537, trusted friends and table companions of Luther, in a completely unabridged German translation; the best, because we have eliminated from the Table Talks much that does not belong to them, partly duplicates, partly borrowed from other writings of Luther, partly not originating from Luther, but have renewed a large part of the Table Talks from these two main sources. Both men have copied what Luther said from his own mouth, at his table and elsewhere.

The importance and value of the discovery of these two diaries cannot be overestimated. For in the case of the table talks he

The result is not merely a correction of individual readings or improvement of details, but really a complete transformation and renewal of the previous table talks. The editions of the Table Talks are, without exception, corrupted to a degree never imagined, so that it was almost impossible for us to retain and improve the old translation, even for the least corrupted pieces, but it had to be thrown aside and replaced by a new one. In the case of a few pieces, we tried to limit ourselves to an improvement at the beginning of our work, but what was improved in this way provided an almost inextricable print template. It will be easy to believe that it was not without significant reason that we decided to retranslate 1411 numbers of the Tischreden, namely 1031 from Cordatus and 356 even more extensive ones from Lauterbach, and 24 from Kummer.

This new translation has been done not only because of the unbelievable prolixity, bad condition and inaccuracy of Aurifaber's translation, but mainly because many pieces have not been understood by him at all; in a whole number of them the exact opposite of what is written in the sources is given, many things are translated quite wrongly, many wrong readings, many things are inserted, many things are omitted, sections are torn apart and mixed up, introductions and conclusions are formed and the like, yes, sometimes complete nonsense.

Not one of all the editors of the German Tischreden had a clue

1) Lauterbach's diary, pag. 180, Tischreden Cap. 7, § 44, in our edition Cap. 24, 8 75, at the end.

of the horribly corrupted state of the same; therefore, all have confined themselves to reproducing Aurifaber's text, and have been the more highly praised the more accurately they have done so. 1)

Our edition is the first in which the text of the Table Talks is truly **renewed** by a faithful translation **from the Latin originals**, and it **supplements the Table Talks** by including in the Appendices what could not be accommodated in the Table Talks.

There has been only **one** German translation of the Tischreden, originally written in Latin, namely that of Aurifaber, which has been reprinted from **all** previous editions. Stangwald has only changed the order of the pieces and some of the text. The Selnecker edition is identical to the Stangwald edition. Walch brings a reprint of Aurifaber's edition of 1568, which is almost the same as the first. The Stuttgart-Lipzig edition is an imprint of Walch, somewhat modernized in language. The Förstemann-Bindseil edition contains a reprint of the first Aurifaber edition of 1566. The Erlangen edition is a reprint of the Förstemann-Bindseil edition. Therefore, it is only necessary to provide proof for our assertions with regard to Aurifaber. This covers all other editions.

Before we describe the nature of the Table Talks in more detail, however, it is necessary that we first report on the various editions of the Table Talks that have appeared up to now, but above all on the sources from which those editions have flowed.

## Sources of the table talks.

### 1. the diary of cordatus.

One of the main sources for the table talks known until now is the "Tagebuch über D. Martin Luther geführt von D. Conrad Cordatus. 1537. For the first time

1) Cf. Guericke's Kirchengeschichte, 7th edition, vol. 3, 29 in the fourth paragraph of the first note.

The first part of the book was published by D. H. Wrampelmeyer, senior teacher at the Royal Grammar School in Clausthal. Halle. Max Niemeyer. 1885." 521 pages plus 48 pages of preface. Large octavo.

The manuscript from which this is printed is in the Calvör church library in Zellerfeld, where it came through Caspar Calvör, born Nov. 6, 1650 in Hildesheim, 1672 Diaconus in Zellerfeld, 1708 appointed by Duke Ulrich as Consistorial- and Kirchenrath. In 1720 he went to Clausthal as General Superintendent of the Principality of Grubenhagen, where he died in 1725 and was buried in the Zellerfeld church. The manuscript probably came into his important and valuable library from Helmstädt through Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, with whom Calvör was very friendly. The manuscript, in a handsome quarto volume, has an inscription pressed into the parchment cover, of which the following is still legible: "C-D-US" (probably Cordatus) and "1537." It comprises 730 pages, of which 653 form this diary or Apophthegmata Lutheri, which alone concerns us here. The text is Latin, but with much interspersed German, 2) with very numerous typographical errors due to the carelessness of the scribe and not infrequent omissions of individual words, but only a few serious corruptions of the text.

The collector and recorder of these Apophthegmata is D. Conrad Cordatus, as can be seen from No. 56 and 133 3) of the diary, because from these numbers we see that he made his notes in Luther's house and at Luther's table. He began with it first and about Veit Dietrich and Joh. Schlaginhausen he reports: that they imitated him in it, and that he hoped to unite their records with his.

The individual passages are not accompanied by a date, so we have to rely on the content of the conversations to draw a conclusion about the time in which they took place. From No. 56 we see with certainty that Luther's words were already addressed to Cordatus in 1524 to 1525. This is the earliest

2) Perhaps the sixth part may be German.

3) Cf. Appendix No. II.

Time, which confronts us in the diary. From the signature under the last number of the manuscript we see that the diary was completed in 1537, so no piece is to be placed after this year. The great mass of the speeches distinguished in it is to be placed in the years 1531-1533. On the whole, Luther's conversations are written down in the order in which they took place.

The Zellerfeld manuscript is, as the comparison with his letters has shown, not written by Cordatus himself, but he probably compiled and arranged the notes in his notebooks 1) and copied them in all haste, 2) and then had them magnificently bound in the same year 1537. 3)

It is very conspicuous that neither in the German nor in the Latin Table Talks Cordatus, as a recorder and collector of Luther's speeches, is remembered even with a single word, although not much less has passed from his records into the Table Talks than from those of Lauterbach, who is expressly mentioned. As far as we can make an estimate, 428 columns of Walch's edition from Lauterbach are included in the Tischreden, but about 360 columns from Cordatus: Only once do we encounter a trace of Cordatus being a collector of Luther's speeches, in the Nuremberg manuscript of the Collectaneen of Veit Dietrich, who made the marginal note on p. 69 with respect to No. 22 of the diary: "Cordatus exscripsit/."

Cordatus is also rarely mentioned as a conversational companion in the Table Talks, namely Cap. 7, § 171: "Conrad Cordatus, who is angry by nature." Cap. 12, § 60:

"Grace belongs for the wretched 2c., as Hausmann, Cordatus, Philip and I are. 4) Cap. 22, § 15: "My forester says he is moved by only three, by me, by Cordatus, and by M. Rörer." 5) Cap. 26, § 30: "Therefore it is nothing that we go either to Philip or to Cordatus, .... Christ ... Is a thousand times better than I, or Philip, or Cordatus." 6) Cap. 37, § 16: "Which parish (at Niemeck) now has Conrad Cordatus." Cap. 55, § 6: "D. M. L. said in his garden in presence U. Hausmann, Cordati and Schlaginhauften" 2c. These six passages are all that the German Tischreden offer about Cordatus. In the Hall manuscript (Bindseil) II, 210 Cordatus is also still mentioned, but in the corresponding place Rebenstock II, 197 a has "Cruciger" and Aurifaber Cap. I, § 74 "of one." Furthermore, Cordatus is mentioned as present only once more in the Latin table speeches Bindseil I, 50; Rebenstock I, 286. 7)

The Collectanea M. Hieronymi Besolds are mentioned in the Tischreden Cap. 5, § 5; 24, § 131; 27, § 154; those of the 14th Veit Dietrich Cap. 24, § 132; the record of M. Joh. Spangenberg is commemorated Cap. 12, § 86 to the end; Förster and Schlaginhauften are named Cap. 37, § 76; Mathesius is repeatedly mentioned Cap. 22, § 34; 27, § 114; 37, § 83; 44, § 24; 49, § 4. Rebenstock II, 9 states that one piece is taken from the handwritten collections of M. Georg Rörer. Mathesius in his twelfth sermon also names Doctor Weller, M. Caspar Heydereich, M. Plato and Ferdinand a Mangis as recorders, Aurifaber in his preface also names M. Johann Stolsius and M. Jakob Weber, priest at Ordorf, and himself. However, the fact that of all the summarizers and editors of the Tischreden, Cordatus was not credited for even one piece of his more than a thousand numbers that were included in the Tischreden, is a mystery that we are not able to solve satisfactorily.

1) Tabulae, see No. 133.

2) Cf. no. 1843.

3) From a note by Wrampelmeyer, no. 706, note 3, we see that there is still a collection of table speeches by Cordatus in the royal library in Berlin, written by Sebastian Redlich in 1566 and 1567. This manuscript offers excerpts from the Zellerfeld manuscript. The sample given there already shows several changes and deviations from the text used by us.

4) From Cordatus No. 1406.

5) From Cordatus No. 1710.

6) From Cordatus No. 378.

7) Cordatus No. 8.

may be. The assumption raised by D. Wrampelmeyer probably gives information about why Cordatus himself did not come to the public with his diary, but also does not give a solution to this question. Wrampelmeyer says: 1) Neither Cordatus nor his heirs have given the Zellerfeld manuscript to others for use out of reverence for Luther 2) and as a result of Luther's Latin preface to the *con- eiunculae amico cuidam praescriptae* published in 1537, which is found in Luther's original before Cordatus' diary in the Zellerfeld manuscript. In this preface, which Stangwald and "Förstemann und Bindseil" also had preprinted in their edition of Luther's table speeches, Luther complains bitterly that his Wittenberg friends, during his illness in Schmalkalden, had published those sermons that he had not intended to print, but had only poured out during the midday and evening meals. Unwillingly, he protested against this procedure and exclaimed: 3) "I ask my pious thieves for the sake of Christ that they not be quick to publish anything, neither during my lifetime nor after my death: I beg my thieves, for the sake of Christ, not to be quick to publish anything, either during my lifetime or after my death, which they may have stolen from my thoughts while I was alive, or which they may have after my death from what they have already received before," and concludes: "Again, I beg that no friend publish anything that is mine without me-this requires both love and justice." Cordatus himself will have been that certain friend to whom the little sermons were communicated for instruction under the noon and evening meal. By this serious admonition of Luther he will also have been prevented from publishing the collected speeches of Luther himself, and from giving them to others for their use. But from the records of other table companions of Luther, namely Veit Dietrich and Schlaginhausen, who heard and distinguished many things from Luther's mouth at the same time as Cordatus, then a

The majority of them have been incorporated into the Latin and German table speeches with considerable alterations. Among them there must have been someone who also made notes at the same time as Cordatus, although probably less frequently, which Kummer later included in his collection without changing much. Thus, Cordatus in his original version can very well be regarded as the indirect main source for the older parts of the later Latin and German table speeches.

The most important of Cordatus' life fates, according to D. Wrampelmeyer the following: I). Conrad Cordatus was born in 1476 in Weißenkirchen in Austria of peasant parents who did not belong to the Hussite sect. He studied theology in Vienna between 1501 and 1508, where Conrad Celtis was his teacher. Soon after, he went to Ferrara, where he studied Thomas Aquinas and Gerson diligently and also received his doctorate. Then we find him in Rome, perhaps 1508-1509, to which No. 250 and No. 1536 of his diary refer. In 1510, he received a lucrative office in Ofen, the income from which he himself states to be 200 gulden. However, when he joined the Reformation movement after 1517, he was deposed, drafted and imprisoned for a long time, but finally released.

Fugitive and penniless, he came to Wittenberg in 1524 to study Protestant theology, and became particularly attached to Luther, whose energetic nature appealed to him. In 1525 he dared to return to his homeland. No sooner had he begun to preach the gospel than he was again thrown into prison and his property confiscated. In a dark tower, darkness and snakes tormented and frightened him, but before his trial was over, a compassionate guard helped him to freedom after a confinement of 38 weeks.

On July 1, 1526, he was back in Wittenberg. Very soon he received a call from Duke Frederick II of Liegnitz and Brieg to teach at his newly founded academy. However, this did not last and Cordatus left Silesia in April 1527. For the second time, Cordatus dared to

1) The following is only an excerpt.

2) Cf. no. 133 of the Cordatus.

3) Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XII, 1859, β 2.

In 1528, Cordatus returned to Wittenberg, where he had the prospect of being employed by Queen Mary of Hungary, the sister of Carl V. However, this 'chance' came to nothing and we find Cordatus in Wittenberg again in 1528. Here he stayed, especially invited by Luther, for a longer time. In 1529, through Luther's mediation, he received the position of a second preacher at St. Mary's Church in Zwickau, which he held under difficult circumstances until 1531. The mayor Hermann Mühlport and the city syndic Stephan Roth together with the city council allowed themselves repeated encroachments on the rights of the clergy, and Cordatus therefore left the city of Zwickau with the first pastor Nicolaus Hausmann at Luther's urging.

Now he returned to Wittenberg between July 10 and August 18, 1531, and this time seems to have spent 10-12 months as a guest in Luther's house. In 1532, Luther provided him with a pastorate in Niemeck near Wittenberg, where Georg Witzel had been forced to resign because of apostasy. Here he worked until 1537, but here too, as in all his positions, he had to struggle with hardship and all kinds of difficulties. Thus he complains in No. 1462 of his diary and is comforted by Luther. From there, he often visited Wittenberg and attended the lectures, and often stayed as a guest in Luther's house. In 1536 he began the violent theological dispute with Melancthon over the doctrine of divine grace, to which No. 174 and No. 221 of his diary refer. 1) In May 1537 Cordatus received a call to Eisleben. Even before his resettlement there, he seems to have hastily compiled his notes on Luther. On July 9, 1537, he took up his new post to replace Johannes Agricola and to preach against Witzel, who had found a position in Eisleben (next to the preacher Caspar Güttel) through the line of the\* Counts of Mansfeld, who had remained Catholic. Here, too, conditions were difficult and laborious. A ray of hope falls in this time

1) On the cause and termination of this dispute, see the remarks in Appendix No. II. to the numbers cited.

of his stay in Eisleben by the reconciliation with the badly offended Melancthon. His doctorate in Protestant theology must also have taken place at this time. In 1540 he was appointed as Superintendent over all clergy and as Vicedechant of the Domstist at Stendal by the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg, with the assurance of a salary of 200 gulden along with free housing and some other emoluments. This was his last position and at the same time the most difficult of all. Here he took strict action against the immoral life of the still papist clergy, but experienced such hostility for it that he almost despaired after his letters to Luther and other friends in Wittenberg. Luther tried to comfort him with the words of the 110th Psalm: "Rule in the midst of your enemies", but his complaints always resounded again. Until February 1546 Cordatus administered his office in Stendal under heavy worries and troubles. Then an honorable call went out to him from his sovereign, that he should complete a doctorate in Frankfurt on the Oder. But on the journey, as Melancthon says in the preface to the Cordatus Postille, he "fell ill, as an old man of great kelt and afterwards in Christian consolation departed from this mortal world to the eternal churches in heaven" in the spring of 1546, soon after Luther's death. He is said to be buried in the cathedral at Stendal.

That Cordatus stood in a close personal relationship to Luther, yes, that he was one of Luther's most trusted and loyal friends, is indicated to us by various circumstances. He made his notes in Luther's house and at Luther's table, as we can see from No. 133 and 133 a of his diary, and 21 letters, which Luther addressed to Cordatus from the year 1526 to 1545, are still preserved. 2) Many of the communicated conversations are especially with Cordatus, e.g. No. 33. 56. 57. 111. Iila. 111b. 74. 75/115. 116. 1)61. 162. 253. 259. 637. 843. 1240. 1462, 3) and

2) Cf. De Wette, Luthers Briefe, vol. VI, p. 486 f.  
3) See AppendixNo.II.

Melanchthon also says in the aforementioned preface to the postilion of Cordatus that the latter "often and Diel talked with him (Luther himself) about all articles of Christian doctrine. Therefore, his extensive and valuable notes are of particular importance.

In his notes, Cordatus introduces Luther speaking in the first person, while he speaks of himself in the third person.

Each new number of the cordatus is designated by us by a new paragraph.

The edition of the diary of Cordatus by D. Wrampelmeyer is extremely proficient and careful, but one notices more often that he is not a theologian. Therefore, he has also missed the point at times.

Wrampelmeyer did not quite understand the following numbers<sup>1)</sup>: Cordatus No. 1071. 1088. 1116. 1273. 1293. 1349. 1358. 1405. 1426. 1431. 1461. 1474. 1515. 1528. 1589. 1658. 1714. 1830. 1834. 1836 u<sup>a</sup>. M.

Several times, where Wrampelmeyer wanted to help the right understanding by translating particulars, wrong translations are found, e.g. Cap. 5, tz 13, Cord. No. 1431: justiciarius judge, instead of: who deals with his own justice.

Cap. 12, § 84, Cord. 1328: *statum* according to the meaning in the usage, instead of: "according to the circumstances". For according to the usage, not only the rhetor, but everyone must speak.

1) The numbers of the Cordatus can be easily found in our edition by Appendix No. II.

Cap. 13, tz 55, Cord. No. 1369: cum papa cepit jurista the pope and the jurists have taken away our spirit, instead of: together with the pope the jurists have deceived us.

Cap. 19, tz 4, Cord. No. 1350: se negaturos which they will not admit, instead of: that they want to deny.

Cap. 24, tz 12, Cord. No. 1377: msvit provoked to anger, instead of: "moved. That translation is too narrow, as can be seen from the following number 1378.

Cap. 28, tz 5, Cord. No. 898: filius seculi a son of his time, instead of: a world child.

Cap. 30, § 32, Cord. No. 1567: suspensi the dying facing an uncertain fate, instead of: those who were hanged.

Cap. 37, § 117, Cord. No., 1635: nisi ut statuit decretum if they are not within the scope of the decree, instead of: even if the decree had not already made this provision.

Cap. 59, § 6, Cord. No. 1342: ut pur 6886t an image that is like us, instead of: as befits us.

Appendix No. II, Cord. No. 1604 favorem negabam ad balneas, that it is not allowed to go to the bath, instead of: I would have no desire (Sundays) to bathe.

Several times, D. Wrampelmeyer has made emendations where none were necessary, e.g., Cap. 43, § 75, Cord. No. 38; Cap. 27, § 2, Cord. No. 40; Cap. 12, § 23, Cord. No. 75; Cap. 26, § 12, Cord. No. 283; Appendix II, Cord. No. 1358, line 2.

We have considered the following emendations to the diary of Cordatus necessary:

Table speeches Cordatus

Cap. 1, 8 48No	.	17	line 8	read: kerri 6t voeuri	instead of: lerre et voeurs.
AppendixNo.il. "		26	" 2 "	ssArotum	takes place: Coeratsw.
Cap. 7, 8 98	"	48	" 2 "	et before quoã	is to be deleted.
Appendch No.il.	"	55	" 7 "	uã	instead of , ut.
""""57"	3	"	U88iã6ntidu8	instead of: sssistsntivus.	
""""60"	1	"	portaturi	instead of: portum exituri.	
""""61"	5	"	reuscliLeari	instead of: reaecllüeure.	
Cap. 32, 811	"	69	" 2 "	ne^usni	instead of: ne^ue.
" 1, 89	"	111	" 7 "		uluntur instead of: sbnuntur.
" 2, 8149	"	145	" 5 "	Ludere	instead of: üngere.
" 27, 868	"	146	" 7 "		that instead of: the.
Appendix No. II. "	175	"	2	"reetores	instead of: rit6tor68.
"" ""	175"	3	"	one	instead of: mer.
Cap. 2, 8150	"	258	" 2 "	ureu	instead of: ureu.
" 2, 829	"	293	" 2 "	unAelum	instead: ^eliana.
Appendix No. II.	"	334	" 3 "	iiomini	instead of: neiuiini.
""", "				363"5	., vi instead of: v.

**Table speeches Cordatus**

Appendix No. II. No. 371 line 5 read: Iratsr ssu8 dux srit instead of: Iratsr sst äux sst.

""380"16 "your instead of: den.

""392"2 "Elb instead: World.

" " " 392 " 3 "vh instead of: ob.

""428"1 "our instead of: our. ,

Cap. 24, 844 " 521 " 1 " Satan iaeillus non ^nain eontslnnsntto vineitur, quoã etc..  
instead: Satan laeilius non eontsnnsnão vincitur, quam quoã sts.

Cap. 6 § 8" 598 " | " Zloriations instead of: xloriüeations.

Appendix No. II. " 679 " 4 missing8ati8 . K

Cap. 44, §§3 " 734 " 2 read: Stork instead: Stork.

" 27, 8115 " 768 " 6 M liadeditis instead of: ttadsdits.

" 2, 88 " 820 " 27,eonnvuni instead: sonnnunia.

Appendix No. II. " 856 " 3 "udi stalt: vsl.

""888" 4 " illi instead of: ils.

Cap. 5, § 19, " 947 " 3 " two instead of: three.

ApPendix No.II. " 950 " | " nniveasalia instead of: verdalia.

""979" 3 " words instead of: true.

""1071"2.Place a dot after nnpia.

Cap. 43, § 2 "1162 " 2 read:qna instead of: qns".

" 25, § 2 " 1276 " 3.The comma before Satanas is to be deleted.

" 59, § 6 " 1281 " 4shall be followed by a comma after ISMM, andhshall be omitted .

" 6, § 2 ""1289 " 6lies : tolsrans instead of: tolerainus.

" 6, § 2 " 1289 " 7 " üuxu^> instead of: of the second svlsnãor.

" 59, § 6 " 1293 " 2.The words: "kriini autern Lsaras are beautiful "are to be placedin brackets.

" 20, § 2 "1415 " | read : prucletis instead of: prcnlsns.

Appendix No. II. " 1435 " | I is contra to be inserted after äicit.

Cap. 2-, § 9 " 1475 " 3^uis to be deleted, a comma is to be inserted after inortno, and the  
comma after

ejus to be erased.

Appendix No. II. " 1515 " llies : lalsuin instead of: üäelsrn.

""1558" 2 " veri instead of: viri.

""1566" 2 " Zrana instead of: srs.

Cap. 13, § 24 " 1589 " 5. The comma is to be deleted after atriuin and placed after extsrnsr.

" 5, 17 " 1590 " 6lies , had instead of: had.

" 5, § 17 " 1590 " 7 " voinini instead of: patris. '

Appendix No. II. " 1592 " | " oreatura instead of: creator.

Cap. 22, § 6 " 1663 " 2 "äesi., b. o." is to be resolved:ässäierat , donurn opns.

" 13, § 84 " 1694 "3 read: iniruin instead of: insurn.

ApPendix No.II., 1760 " 3 " sapientia instead: Sara.

Cap. 1, § 59 " 1788 " 1 ingnsr: niut" is to be resolved: ingnsntes inutationsss. Cf. no. 4.

Appendix No. II. " 1830 " 3lies : nurn instead of: nt.

Appendix No. II. No. 1830 " 7 ,, Rsnt ,, : 8i.

Appendix No. II. No. 1830 " 7 ? is to be resolved by cauiuin .

Appendix No. II. No. 1834 " 2was incorrectly changed by Wrampelmeyer.

There must be only a comma after insrs-

rentnr be set. In "ineritaanto vita" are mrsrita vita as

/lativi adsoluti and ante as an adverb.

Appendix No.il. "1835 " 2 and 3 is wrongly changed and resolved. Sodoma--Sodom stands for Sodomiterei, and intoxieca" is to be dropped by interdictio: b. o. p. 168 to 174.

The emendations, which Wrampelmeyer has already made correctly, have not been included by us here.

## 2. the Lauterbach diary.

The second main source of Luther's Tischreden is M. Anton Lauterbach, Diaconi zu Wittenberg, Tagebuch auf das Jahr 1538. Ans der Handschrift herausgegeben von Ine. tkeol. Johann Carl Seidemann, Pfarrer zu Eschdorf. Dresden. 187S. Published by Justus Naumann's bookstore." 221 pages and XIV pages of preface.' Gr. Octav.

This manuscript was newly found by the library secretary D. Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld in the year 1870 in the Royal Public Library in Dresden, its value was recognized and it was displayed and bibliographically discussed in the "Serapeum" 1870, p. 168 to 174. In 1727, the Rector of the Annenschule in Dresden, M. Christian August Freiberg, published a school program of 2 quarto sheets, in which he described the external and internal education of the students.



The manuscript's title is discussed by the author, but the importance of the manuscript has not become clear to him. The manuscript itself, written on individual paper layers of 8 octavo leaves each, then first bound and on the spine of the pigskin binding above as <sup>^</sup>popb ..... , - thus in later time, because not Apoteg- mata (they!), what Kmmmer has- in writing designates, is made by foreign hand, in the time of 1546 to 1548 and compiled from individual notes of Lauterbach, perhaps by his Famulus Balthasar Tham. 1)

L a u t e r b a c h, born in Stolpen Thursday, January 13, 1502, was the elder son of not impecunious parents,' probably of Matthäus Lauterbach, mayor of Stolpen and the wife of the same, Katharina. The family had its name from the Amtsdoxfe Lauterbach near Stolpen. About his father the event is told, which is reported to us in the table speeches in the last paragraph of Cap. 27, § 72. In the summer of 1517, Anton Lauterbach was immatriculated in Leipzig. Only in 1529, Wednesday, April 21, he is inscribed in Wittenberg under the rectorate of U. Johann Stoeb Ginkkelyn as "Anthonius Lauterbach de Stolpen". 2) He also received his master's degree in Wittenberg, was Luther's housemate and table companion as early as 1531, and served at the baptismal banquet for Luther's son Paul on January 28, 1533. He was a man of long stature. As successor of the wasteful Valentin Pacäus Härtung he came to Leisnig as Diaconus in 1533. Here he soon got into disagreements with his pastor M. Wolfgang Fuß, which is why Luther arrested him for the second Diaconate in Wittenberg in 1537. He probably married the nun Agnes in Wittenberg as early as 1533, because the Bishop of Meissen, Johann VII von Schleinitz, took offense at his marriage when he was to become deacon in Leisnig. 3) His grief-stricken father-in-law is remembered Tischr. Cap. 3,

§He had several children in his marriage, namely a daughter Elisabeth, to whom Luther and his niece Lene Kaufmann seem to have been godparents, and a son.

Wednesday, July 23, 1539, Lauterbach moved to Pirna as superintendent. During his stay in Wittenberg, Lauterbach copied Luther's sermons as early as 1531. From Pirna he seems to have traveled to Wittenberg once every year; /we know this from the years 1542-1545 inol. Lauterbach preached his inaugural sermon in Pirna on the 8th Sunday after Trinity, July 27, 1539, and died there on Monday, July 18, 1569. His bust can be found above the door to the sacristy of the town church twice. He founded the church library in Pirna. One of his favorite sayings seems to have been: Qui cupit esse beatus, discat contemnere et contemni (If you want to be happy, learn to despise and endure contempt).

The Royal Public Library in Dresden possesses the same diary in a second, somewhat later copy in a quarto volume, which is immediately followed by a second part of Luther's table speeches 1), which only rarely provide an indication of day and year, but deviate in the most varied way from that given in Bindseil's Latin imprint, entirely with regard to the position of the individual pieces. The first half, the diary, was copied in 1554 by the pastor Caspar Kummer of Ortrand on the first pages by another, perhaps his son Caspar or Abraham, but then also wrote much himself, while the second half is entirely by his hand. The copy of the first part was completed on the Sunday after the Exaltation of the Cross (Sept. 14), which was the 17th Sunday after Trinity, in 1554, that of the second part on Nov. 22, 1554. Kummer was registered on Tuesday, May 11, 1529, under the rectorate of Caspar von Teutleben in the Wittenberg university register as "Caspar khumer ex langfeldt patavien. dioc.

4) With respect to these, Seidemann states that they also originate from Lauterbach's dep notes. From the selection given by Seidemann, we see that a large number of deftelben are also found in Cordatus.

1) Cf. Tischreden Cap. 67, § 7.

L) The information, which was found in the German Tischreden Cap. 55, § 2, that he came to Wittenberg on Sept. 27, 1521, is missing in Bindseil Vol. I, 438 and also in Cordatus No. 1721, and will be wrong.

3) Cf. Tischreden Cap. 43, § 22, Cordatus No. 127V.

41 Because he was persecuted in his fatherland because of "the" religion, he had to flee in female clothing, whereupon he turned to Wittenberg, where Luther is said to have appointed him to the pastorate in Ortrand. The time in which he took up his office as pastor there falls in the years between 1541 and 1545. He is also otherwise referred to as Lengenfeldianus Austriacus, from Lanfeld (also Lengefeld) from Eastern Austria. At the second church visitation held on May 30, Thursday 1555, he is given the censure: "Is found correct and good life." How long Kummer was in office in Ortrand cannot be determined. His successor Johannes Rühl is only mentioned in 1575 as pastor in Ortrand on the occasion of a church visitation. Kummer and Lauterbach were fellow students in Wittenberg.

Of all the table-top speech collectors, Wrampelmeyer notes, Cordatus and

Grief closest. Not infrequently, Kummer comes very close in version and form. However, there are also many deviations, some of which Kummer does not offer completely, and the interspersed German already shows far more recent forms, since Kummer's table speeches were compiled much later.

These main sources of the Table Talks, the diary of D. Conrad Cordatus from 1537 and the diary of M. Anton Lauterbach about the year 1538, bear the stamp of authenticity and immediacy. We have endeavored to reproduce the meaning exactly everywhere, and have retained as faithfully as possible the passages given in German in the originals, which offer Luther's short, concise, sometimes proverbial speech.

The emendations we found necessary in Lauterbach's diary are as follows:

#### Lauterbach. Table speeches.

- pass. 4 Cap. 62, 81 read: reißern instead of: eißern.  
 " 12" 27, 8'101" 10 held: ^poe.9.,  
 " 13 " 76, 86 " Nutinas held: Mitonas.  
 " 15 Appendix I., No. 30 reads osulati instead of: osulatus. -  
 " 23 Cap. 74, § 5 after Mo'isi insert: IsZsni.  
 " 38 " 74, 86lies : illam instead of: iUurn.  
 " 40 " 27, 8103 " tuZiunt takes place: LnZunt.  
 ,, 44 Appendix I., No. 98 read: "s eonüärs instead of: si eonüdsns.  
 " 53 Cap. 33, § 3 read: posteris instead of: pastors".  
 " 58 Appendix I., No. 131 read: alsntsm instead of: oisntsin.  
 " 81 Cap. 27, 8138 read: quasreront instead of: quasrsrst.  
 86 " 74, § 7 after kakuit insert: in tewxio.  
 " 105 " 45, 8 4 to delete the word "old" rst.  
 " 121 " 45, § 34missinaiias .  
 " 123 " 57, 87lies : lived instead of: taught.  
 " 138 " 30, 816 " Hervord held: Erfurt.  
 " 140 " 4, § 96 after psounias put a punctum.  
 " 147 " 28, 816lies: ounrm start: Huarn.  
 " 150 " 27, 826 " 666 instead of: 660.  
 " 162 " 43, 834 " ksxturm instead of: sssurn.  
 " 174 " 40, 81 " ampkiKolli" instead of: anipkiboloAii".  
 "175 Appendix I., No. 420 reads: Princip "  
 " 190 Cap. 37, 87 read: impuAuanäss instead of: IlpuZnanda.

### 3. A. Johann Mathesius.

Although it is not known that, directly from Mathesius, records have passed into the collections of table speeches, we cannot ignore him as a recorder and collector of Luther's speeches. A whole number of table speeches can be found in his sermons 1).

1) D. Martin Luther's life, described by M. Johann Mathesius, former Lutheran pastor at Joachimsthal in Bohemia. St. Louis, Mo. Printing House of the Lutheran Concordia - NerlnaS 1

and often in them reference is made to incidents which are also mentioned in the table speeches. Everywhere, however, there is only sameness and similarity of thought, never of form, except for a similar version of some cited verses, e.g. Mathesius p. 224 and Tischr. Cap. 78, § 3. The manuscript „Apophthegmatai Lutheri", which Christian August Freyberg in the school programs mentioned earlier, is assigned to the Mathesius, is not a copy.

The book of table speeches by Mathesius, which has just been discussed, is the book by M. A. Lauterbach from the year 1538.

handed down by Mathesius and also found in the table speeches, usually have a much more extensive version in these. Such pieces are, for example, the following:

Mathesius, St. L. Ansg.	Table speeches	Binding rope
Page 194 f.	s Cap. 47, 815. l " 47, 828.	III, 169.
196	" 19, 842.	
201	" 37, 835.	II, 63. Lauterbach pas. 114.
202	" 37, 852.	II, 69. ""143.
203	" 22, 8183.	"" 13.
212	" 7, 812, para. 6.	
212 f.	" 49, 89, paras. 1-4.	I, 112.
215	cf. cap. 22, § 25.	Cordatus No. 1504.
216	Cap. 22, 896.	
216	" 1, 8 45, para. 2.	
216	" 22, 884.	
218	" 45, 888.	I, 305 f. Cordatus No. 763.
219	" 43, 867.	
221	I " 1, 81.	I, 49.
	t " 1, 843.	
222	" 24, § 101, cl. 5.	
224	" 78, 83.	Written out from Luther's Psätterlem.
224	" 18, 84.	I, 70.
226	" 19, 86.	Cf. III, 25. Cf. Cordatus No. 1351.
	I " 13, 862.	
227	Cf. cap. 12, § 38.	

and many others.

Important and interesting are some sayings of Mathesius about the table speeches of Luther.

At the beginning of the 12th sermon, Mathesius tells us that he came to Luther's table in 1540 through the promotion of D. Justus Jonas and M. Georg Rörer. Justus Jonas' and M. Georg Rörer's promotion. He says: "What I heard and saw there, I noted with diligence; so God gave me, through the help of industrious people, many good colloquia and conversations, which before N. Veit Dietrich of Nuremberg, Doctor Well er of Freyburg, Mr. Antonius Lauterbach of Pirna and afterwards M. Caspar Heyderich, Superintendent at Torgau, N. Hieronymus Besold of Nuremberg and others of the doctor's boarders had advertised. Ferdinand ä Mangis from Eastern Austria also recorded many interpretations of some sayings in his Bible, as M. Georg Rörer Diel very diligently brought together delicious things of writings and advice and especially what was spoken in the interpretation of the Bible."

In t'r same sermon (p. 212) Ma- talks.

1) Cattle rope. Vol. IV. P. XVI.

Mathesius about how the conversations at the table came about: "Although our doctor often took heavy and deep thoughts with him to the table, and sometimes kept his old monastic silence during the whole meal, so that not a word was spoken at the table, he let himself be heard very amusingly at the appropriate time; as we used to call his speeches condimenta mensae, which were dearer to us than all spices and delicious food.

When he wanted to extract speech from us, he used to make an accusation: "What's new? The first admonition we let pass; when he stopped again: When he stopped again, "You prelates, what's new in the country?" the old people at the table began to talk. Doctor Wolf Severus, who had been the preceptor of the Roman Royal Majesty, sat at the top, he brought something on the track, if no stranger was present, as a wandering courtier."

"When the discussion started, 2) but with due discipline and reverence, others sometimes added their part to it, too, until maw

Often good questions were put in from the Scriptures, which he solved finely, roundly and briefly; and if one once held a part, he could also suffer it and refute it with a skillful answer. Often, honest people from the university, even from foreign places, came to the table, where very beautiful speeches and histories fell. I want to remember some of them here recently, maybe they would like to get together once, as it would be a very nice and useful work to write 1) *Noctes et dies Albiacae ober Miscellanea D. Lutheri*".

Once again in the same sermon (p. 225) Mathesius expresses the wish that Luther's speeches be collected: "God will one day raise up one who will read together this great man's sayings, similes, proverbs, rhymes, histories, and other coincidences and good reports, as it would be a very beautiful book for the Germans if wise and sensible sayings were added, especially of our emperors, kings, princes, and lords.

#### 4. m. Johann Aurifaber.

For a small part of the German table speeches, M. Johann Aurifaber, or Goldschmidt, who was around Luther in the years 1545 and 1546, and also accompanied him on his last journey to Eisleben, is to be listed as the first recorder. All pieces originating from him are contained only in the German editions, which also confirms that the Latin table speeches do not go back to the German ones as their original.

The table speeches, written down by Aurifaber as an eye and ear witness, are as follows: Cap. 1, § 10, para. 1 and § 22. the addition to § 22; § 26; § 45, para. 2; 2) § 56, paras. 1 and 2; § 95, paras. 2 and 3; § 96. - Cap. 3, § 6; § 48; - Cap. 4, § 40; 3) § 82, para.) 2. 3. -Cap.9,tz54,para. 2. -Cap. 22, § 49; - Cap. 24, § 22, para. 1; § 43. 4) -.

1) An extremely justified judgment, which certainly every friend and lover of Luther will agree with, and which would never have been contradicted if Aurifaber had proceeded with insightful judgment in the selection of the speeches.

2) Cf. cap. 4, § 55.

3) Quite similar in content to the preceding § 39.

4) Cf. Cordatus No. 1125.

Cap. 27, §93, para.1.-Cap. 43, §165; §166; §167. - Cap. 44, §20, para. 1); §21. - Cap. 46, §1; §3. -Cap. 48, §29. -Cap. 66, §60. -Cap. 78, §7.

The content of the pieces listed above is mostly quite insignificant. Apart from these, there are a small number of pieces by Aurifaber, introduced: "D. M. Luther sagete zu Eisleben über Tisch", which are partly demonstrably spurious, partly very suspicious. These are the following:

Cap. 1, § 95, para. 1, taken from Luther's writing against the assassin at Dresden. 5) This narrative is in another relation Cap. 27, § 54 in the last paragraph. Cf. Bindseil I, 142.

Cap. 3, § 49 is contained in the report of D. Justus Jonas and Ll. Mich. Cölius about Luther's death. 6)

Cap. 7, § 149, the last paragraph is contained in Cap. 43, § 33, para. 2. Cf. Bindseil II, 356 and I, 218.

Cap. 24, § 21, the last paragraph is not Luther's speech, but narration by another person.

Cap. 66, § 61 is only another relation of Cordatus No. 602. Cf. Bindseil III, 1. Rebenstock II, 179 k.

## B. The Latin editions.

### 1. Heinrich Peter Rebenstock.

In 1571, Heinrich Peter Rebenstock, pastor in Eschersheim near Frankfurt am Main, published a Latin edition in which all passages left in German in the originals were translated into Latin, except for a few words, such as "Ah" or "Oh", and only very rarely is there a German fragment interspersed. The title of this edition is: "Colloquia, Meditationes, Consolationes, Consilia, Judicia, Sententiae, Narrationes, Responsa, Facetiae, D. Mart. Luth. pie et sanctae inemoriae, in mensa prandii et coenae, et in peregrinationibus, observata et fideliter transscripta. - Tomus Pri-

5) Walch, old edition, vol. XVI, 2069, § 16.

6) Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 283\*, § 10. By the way, Aurifaber wrote this report as a witness. However, it does not belong in the table speeches.

mus. - Ne erres Lector, scias haec, non ex D. Aurifabri, sed ex alterius collectione, ante annos 10. ad aeditionem parata, sed hactenus propter certas causas suppressa, ad nos pervenisse. - Francofurti ad Moenum." - Without year. Above the place of printing is a vignette with the bust of Luther, which contains the year 1558. From this year, one has wrongly wanted to draw the conclusion that this first part was already published in 1558. However, an old vignette was used for this title without any thought of removing the year. The preface of Rebenstock to the first part shows at the end the time: in die Laurentii, 1) ^nno 1571. The first part belongs to this year as well as the second. 2) The second part has the same title as the first, only with a small change of the words: Consolationes, Responsa, Judicia, Sententiae, Narrationes, Facetiae etc.. But the remark added to the first title: „Ne erres " etc. is not repeated on the title of the second volume, and under the place of printing is written "N. D. M<sup>o</sup>XXI." On the last leaf of the first part and on the last page of the second part, the printer is named: Francofurti ad Moenum per Nicolaum Bassum et Hieronymum Feyer- abent."

The format of the book is small octavo. The leaves are paginated only on one side. The first volume has 238 paginated leaves, the second 253. In addition, there is a preface of 9 leaves at the beginning of the first volume, and 2 leaves containing a poem by a Frankfurt patrician, Conrad Weis, and distichs by Johann Stolsius on Luther's life. At the end of the first volume is an alphabetical index of 12A leaves and at the end of the second a similar Index of 14 leaves. The printing is very tight, so that one page of the small booklet contains as much as in one column of the old Walchian edition, Rebenstock thus comprises about 1000 columns of Walch. The most diverse things are without a paragraph, without a period, without a large initial letter,

1) August 10.

2) This has already been correctly noted by Seidemann in his preface to Lauterback's *Taaebucke* vss. I V.

are attached to each other. The section: "De tationibus", Rebenstock Vol. II, 2206-233 a, which we will examine in more detail below for the sake of comparison, has only 20 paragraphs in Rebenstock, while the same speeches in the German Tischreden comprise 55 paragraphs with over 80 paragraphs.

The Rebenstock edition is teeming with errors. However, Rebenstock does not seem to be responsible for many of them, since he, living in a village, probably could not have done the proofreading himself, but had to leave it entirely to the printer. Only since we have become acquainted with Rebenstock's edition has it become clear to us how great, important and well-founded a complaint it is that we so often find in Luther's work, that the printers, through their carelessness (especially in the reprints), completely spoil his copies. To excuse the printers, it can only be said that Rebenstock used many compendia 3) in his writing. Quite a number of them are still in print.

There is only a short passage in Rebenstock's preface that is of interest to the readers of our Table Talks; we will therefore put it here in German translation: "Luthers Tischreden und Rathschläge sind deutsch durch den Druck veröffentlicht. However, in order that Martin Luther's godly and salutary Table Talks might be known to all, not only to Germans, but also to Italians, French, other nations and foreigners who do not understand the German language, a certain pious man, a lover of evangelical truth, has written Martin Luther's Table Talks in Latin for the praise of God and the benefit of the Church, but has interspersed them with many German sayings. But because the printers, on the advice of learned, pious men, have undertaken to publish Martin Luther's Table Talks in Latin, pious, even faithful men have asked me to translate those German sayings and words into Latin. And although I considered myself unworthy of this task, I have nevertheless become the

3) d. i. Abbreviations.

For the benefit of the Church, and so that God's Word would be known to all, and God would be praised in all languages, I took upon myself this very heavy burden and, according to my few gifts, alone with God's assistance, I translated the German sayings into Latin with great care, for the sake of those who do not understand the German language. However, I have by no means wanted to take on this work for the sake of tainting the godly sayings of Martin Luther with other ungodly and useless sayings, and to interfere with new things or to seek my own honor and benefit (as the sacramentarians and enthusiasts presume to do today), but so that I might give our Lord his due praise, and for this reason, supported by the counsel of learned men, I have undertaken this work. Therefore, I urge all lovers of the gospel, that if they find errors in my work, they may attribute them to my inability, not to my courage or audacity."

According to the above, it seems to be Rebenstock's opinion that the Table Talks were originally written in German and only translated into Latin for the sake of making them known to other nations. This work, however, was not completely executed by the "pious man", but left much German, which Rebenstock now had to translate into Latin. Thus, he probably considered Aurifaber's edition to be the original, but - as one can conclude from his note on the title, taken together with the preface - contaminated with other additions. It has been unknown to him, however, that the table speeches were written down by the first recorders immediately in this mengsp räche of Latin and German. 1)

Some of the translations of the German passages in Rebenstock's edition are, however, out of ignorance, downright senseless.

1) Seidemann in the preface p. XIII says about it: "As far as the confusion of Latin and German is concerned, it is known that Melanchthon used such a mixture in his lectures.

Z. E. g. Vol. II, 230b, where Lauterbach pag. 50 offers: Desertus Joannis baptistae erat habitabilis. Like thieves sDüben], Jessen", Rebenftock has: "Desertum Joannis baptistae erat habitabile, nos fures, hospites". He has thus taken the proper names for nowius appellatives,. - Bindseil I, 256: "This will also happen to the boys" in Rebenftock I, 136b: "continget et hoc meo filio immori- gero", 2) thus makes a "boy" into a "son of Luther". - Bindseil I, 426: sDie Sau fragt's "Waren auch Kleien da?" in Rebenftock I, 228 b: "Ä.äersnt, esset kur kures?" The same translation is found twice more on the same page. The compendium for "etiam" was read by the typesetter in esset, and he did not know "furfures".

In other places fit the Mitgetheilte ganz' widersinnig by inverted punctuation, e.g. Rebenftock II, 96b; „Ach punction, a- \$3- 9tebenftoc II, 96bj "21φ quam odit Satan conjunctionem masculi et foeminae quae non licet. Ingrati nitimur in vetitum" etc. instead: (Lauterbach psZ. 150): Ach quantum Satan odit illam conjunctionem masculi et foeminae. Quod licet, ingratum. Nitimur.in vetitum. - Slebenftod I, 226b „Simpliciter dicat. Non noli jurare, et dicere, *Vevum est, ver Vere*^, flati: Simpliciter dicat: Non, Noli jurare et dicere: *Verum est, vel Vere*.

In order to give the reader an idea of the "immense" corruption of the text, we want to share only a few of the thousands of false readings that can be found in Rebenftock, which have just come to our attention.

#### Rebenftock

1, 112 uiutus instead of: runtatus.

1, 114 eolumeüsus instead of: "orriimsQdaus.

1, 227 d nassitur instead of: nsseitur.

1, 2286 elsto instead of: elata.

"prseäiears instead of: xrasäieators. 1, 228 exspruit instead of: sxxuit.

" uua ill vass eerevislae vilis8iraas äurablli instead of: uluvva  
vas eerevisiae vilissruae Gurabillius.

" ex pu6N8 instead of: sxxuit.

1, 229 sullis instead of: suraus.

" psrlloiosissilllUlll instead of: scheblich.b)

II, 91b Zlääiuill instead of: gauälurri.

II, 224 b xlaälo " xauäio.

2) Rebenstock seems to read, as Aurifaber, Cap. 3, § 71 to have read "the jack".

S) Harmful for shebbish d. i. displaceable.

## Vine

- 1, 20 b äsäuoenis instead of: äueens.  
 1, 148 V oonnvinl" instead of: eronvivism.  
 " ^20068 instead: KalM0N68.  
 1, 148a st 0.6arlo^itEin held: Lt 0. Oruci^erum IVlorlodtrium.  
 II, 64 b menaeium liberis instead: InunääationerL 11deris.  
 I, 201a terris instead of: stuääük.  
 I, 224 b auriZatur instead of: auriZarura.  
 " ratis pouas held: Ratisbonas.  
 I, 223 b lumiorsrn " Lr-miorsM.  
 I, 225 b redäos instead of: reääenäos.  
 1, 226 0a68ari8 instead of: 6a68ari.  
 " Lpi8ooL>ati8 held: Lpisoopis.  
 1, 132 ainasiis instead of: amatis.  
 " imiuituntur instead of: innituntur.  
 " inorerneüttni instead: exoreinenturn.  
 1, 132 b 1530 instead of: 1538.  
 1, 133 b äoetores 6886t instead of: äoatiortzq 6886Qt.  
 1, 135 exoeUentia instead of: exoellentior.  
 1, 135 b baereaïtarim instead of: basreaïtarli.  
 "<^ua6r6 instead of: yuaerere.  
 1, 136 Aratisgimurn held: Kravisgi room.  
 1, 136 b mutavit instead of: mutnavit.  
 1, 137 in sperato instead of: insperato.  
 1, 139 b we find 'the form: subtollrs.  
 II, 160 b äatain instead of: äotatarn.  
 II, 5 a calamitatm instead of: trigititias.  
 II, 17 b viat is lavia: instead: Vratislavia.  
 II, 28 b inoão instead of: noão.  
 II, 18bc1no8 " 6nro8.  
 II, 224 a virtns " vietus.  
 11, 227 ?li26uin held: Lvangelistarn.

Furthermore, the pagination is often wrong. In the second volume from fol. 200 to the end by 100 too small. Furthermore

- I, 63 instead of: 73.1, 205 instead of: 196. II, 167 instead of: 166.  
 I, 99 " 96. 1, 291 " 191. 11, 171 " 161.  
 1, 132 " 182. II, 49 " 94. 11, 179 " 159.  
 1, 179 " 180. II, 66 " 86. II, 7 " 5.  
 1, 203 " 193.

There are also a large number of incorrect headings, e.g. I, 149-172 De principe ftatt: De principibus. II, 96 De universitatibus ftatt: de adulteriis. II, 196 de bellis ftatt: de bibliis. II, 221 de bellis ftatt: de tentationibus. II, 104 de universitatibus ftatt: äs spo8tolis and various others.

As a reason why Rebenstock's collection, which was ready for printing in 1561, was held back for another ten years, Seidemann assumes (preface p. IV) that Lauterbach and Agricola were still alive. The former died in 1569, the latter on September 22, 1566.

From a note in Seidemann's preface, p. IV, we see that a manuscript very similar to the Hallische is in the Dresden Bibliothek.

Of the latter, Seidemann p. V says: "Rebenstock and the Dresden manuscript are closest to each other. ... - Yes, the Dresden manuscript is perhaps taken from the one that Rebenstock used for his editing, according to Fr. Jacobs and F. A. Ukert, Beiträge zur älteren Litteratur oder Merkwürdigkeiten der herzoglichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha Bd.II! Heft 2. Leipzig 1843. p. 309: „ „Colloquia serotina D.M.L. 1536 et sqq. 22. Octobr. descripta ex αὐτόγράφῳ Antonii Lauterbachii primi Superint. Pirn. in Misn. anno 1553 manu Pauli Judicis al. Richteris prim. Pastoris Neap. s. Neustad. prope Pirnam. Ch. B. no. 169. 144 581." " to which there is noted that this collection is contained in the vine, cf. p. 306."

Walch's judgment on the Rebenstock edition, preface p. 20, is completely correct. He says: "In this Latin edition, one and the other occurs, which is not in the Aurifaber work, but it also appears, if one holds both books against each other, such a similarity that one can see that, if not everything, nevertheless most 1) and at least very much is to be found in the Aurifaber collection, which the Rebenstock edition contains.

Elias Frick in his German translation of V. L. von Seckendorf's "Ausführlicher Historie des Lutherthums" p. 2734 makes a similar judgment and also correctly gives the year 1571 for both volumes of Rebenstock. The judgment of Joh. Ernst Eberhard in his Schediasma § 8 is wrong: "a Germanica plane diversa", unless one interprets these words only to the order of the pieces, but not also to the content.

In order that the reader may judge for himself, we include a comparison of a passage from Rebenstock with the Höllische Handschrift, the German Tischreden and the sources. We choose the section "De tentationibus, Rebenstock Vol. II, 220 b to 233". The same is complete in the Latin and the German Tischreden. The superscription is erroneously retained by Rebenstock for several more pages.

1) We would say "almost everything".

Vine.	Binding rope.	German Table Speech".	Source".
Vol. II, 220 b.	11. 287. i	sCap . 1, 85, last par.) Dupl. " 7, § 113, last Ab.   ^Dupl. " 7, § 173, sub. 6.)	Cordatus No. 577.
	II, 288. 11, 288.	" 26, 8 25. " 24, § 117.1	"" 1525. "" 654.
	II, 288.	Dupl. " 26, 8 27./ . " 26, ? 26.	" 545.
221a.	11, 289. s	" 26, 8 28.1	"" 716.
221b.	11, 289. 1 II, 290.	Dupl. " 13, 8 61./ " 26, 8 29.	" 717. "" 16r>9.
222a.	11, 290.	" 26, 8 30.) Dupl. " 61, 8 7./	"" 378. "" 379.
	11, 292. II, 291.	" 26, 8 32. " 26, 8 31.	"" 414.
222 d.	11, 292.	s " 13, 815a.) Dupl. " 7, 8159./	"" 415.
	11, 292.	" 26, 8 33. ) Dupl. " 26, 819a, lastpara./.	"" 475.
223a.	II, 293. 11, 293.	" 24, § 121, Ms. 2, middle. 26, 8 34. )	"" 494.
	11, 294. i	Dupl. " 24, 8 121, para. 3 E.u. para. 4./ " 26, 8 34.)	"" 495. 496.
223 b.	11, 294. < 11, 295. )	"" 26, 85.) Dupl. " 26, 8 85. Dupl. " 26, 8 35.)	"" 563. 564.565. 566.
224a.	//II, 2W. I	" 26, 8 35.) .dupl. " 26, 8 5./	"" 567. 467.
224b.	Cf.III, 305. 1 11, 297. I	" 58, 8 9.) Dupl. " 13, 8 70./	"" 571. 572. 573.
225a.	11, 298. /	" 7, 8113.) Dupl. " 7, 8160./	,,, 574.
225 b.	II, 298. II, 299.	Cf. " 26, 8 73. " 26, 8 37.	"" 1651. 1)652.
226 a.	II, 300. II, 300.	" 26, 837 . " 26, 816 .	"" 1653. "" 813. 814. 815.
226b.	II, 301. II, 301. 11, 301.	Cf. " 12, 862 . " 7, 8111. " 7, § 100. " 26, § 20.) Dupl. " 26, 8 33./ " 26, 8 12.	Cf. Lauterbach, c 141. Cordatus No. 816. " " 817. "" 475.
227a.	II, 302. II, 302. II, 303.	" 26, 8 36. Missing.	,, " 283. "" 284. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1315. De Wette, V, 440.
228a.	II, 306.	" 47, 8 18.	Cordatus No. 271 and 1814. 272.
228 b.. sll (Dupl. 1, 218.	, 307.	" 24, 8 12.	"" 1377. 1378.
229 a.	11, 308.	" 26, 8 39.) Dupl. " 2, 8 66./	
	II, 309.	" 26, 8 23. " 24, 8 44. " 24, 8 14.	Lauterbach, pag. 4. i
		Dupl. " 26, 8 41. Dupl. " 24, 8 28.	
229 b.	II, 310.	" 24, § M.	Lauterbach, pag. 26.
230a.	II, 311.	" 26, 8 42.	"" 34.
230b.	II, 311. II, 312.	" 26, 8 43. " 46, 8 43.	"" 49. " " 50.
231a.	II, 313.	" 26, 8 45.	"" 56.
231b.	II, 316. II, 317.	" 26, 8 47. " 26, 8 48.	,, " IOo,
232 a.	II, 314.	" 26, 8 46.	
232 b.	II, 315.	,, 26, 8 46.	
233a.	II, 318. II, 317.	" 26, 8 50. " 26, § 49.	" 125.



In Bindseil, this section includes De Tentationibus p: 287 to 320 of the second volume. The following pieces of this section, which are in the Hall manuscript, but are found in

Rebenstock are missing, all, with the exception of the last one, which is not by Luther, but a view of Melanchthon, are found in the German Tischreden. -

Binding rope.	Table Talks.	Sources.
II, 305.	Cap. 7, §62.	Cordatus No. 413.
II, 307.1	" 26, §68.	" 1705.
Dupl. III, 217. /		
11, 308.1	" 26, §66.	" 1706.
Dupl. III, 218. /		
II, 308.1	" 26, §68.	" 1707.
Dupl. III, 218. /		
II, 313.	" 26, §44.	Lauterbach xaz. 73.
II, 314.	" 26, §45.	" 90.
II, 318-320.	Missing.	Meeuken Phil. Melanchthon of tribulation.

In the preceding sections, the Latin and German editions coincide completely, and most of it is also proven in the sources and brought into our edition from them. This also applies to the pieces of this section, which are found only in the Hall manuscript, but not in Rebenstock. The same is true for most of the sections; however, the situation is quite different for a few. From these, we see that almost everything found in

of the Rebenstockfchen edition is also found in the Hall manuscript, but also quite a number of pieces are missing in the German Tischreden. In order to prove this, we place a comparative table here over the section that bears the superscription 1): De D. M. Luth. ejus doctrina, vita, morbis et periculis. Rebenstock, Lom. II, 12a-24a.

1) Again, wrong heading on the first six leaves of this section, namely vs oonsolutions.

Vine.	"indseil.	German Table Talks.	Sources.
Vol. II, 12s.	111, 154. There are 5 lines missing.	Cap. 22, § 9.	cordatus no. 344.
12 b.	111, 154. III, 174. III, 187.	Cap. 7, § 72. Missing.	" 478. " 892.
13 a.	III, 182. III, 183.		
13b.	111, 169. III, 182.		
14a.	111, 175. sCap.	58, § 3. Lauterbach xaz. 18. I Dupl. " 22, §115.	
14b.	111, 185. 111, 169.	" 77, §1. " 77, § 2.	
15 a.	111, 172. III, 170.	" 27, §121. Missing.	
15b.	III, 173.	"	
16 a.	111, 178. IHM	"	Lauterbach 108.
16b.	10 lines are missing. III, 157.	" Cap. 27, § 93.	Cordatus No. 441.
17 a.	III, 171. 111, 155.	Missing.	Kurümer bei Lauterbach xag. 203. cordatus no. 631,632. .
17 b.	III, 155.	"	" 629.
18 a.'	III, 157. III, 177. III, 186. III, 199.	"	" 1602. Lauterbach paA. 63.
18b.	III, 200. III, IM. III, 158. III, 166.	/	Cordatus No. 633. " 1057.1203. " 1128. " 720.

Revenstock.	Bindsett.	German Table Talks.	Sources.
Vol. II, 186.	111, 156.	Cap. 43, § 137.	Cordatus No. 1079.
19 a.	III, 156.	" 43,? 127.	" 1080.
	III, 177.	" 1,? 17.	Lauterbach xaK. 62.
	III, 159.	" 22,? 113.	Cordatus No. 904.
196.	111, 176.	Missing.	Lauterbach xa§. 54.
	III, 174.		
	III, 163.		Cordatus No. 1235.
	III, 163.		" 1236.
20 a.	III, 167.		
	III, 181.		
206.	III, 188.		
21 a.	III, 167.		" 249.
	III, 158.	Cap. 14,? 27. missing.	" 444.
216.	There are 11 lines missing.		" 1248.
22 a.	III, 165.		" 1262.
	III, 165.		" 1263.
	III, 165.	Cap. 48,? 38. missing.	" 1282.
226.	III, 166.		" 1301. 1)302.
	III, 168.		
23 a.	III, 181.	Cap. 47, § 9.	t
	III, 185.	Cap. 48,? 27.	
236.	III, 189 f.	Missing.	
	III, 179.		Lauterbach xa§. 165.

From this table, one can see that in this section of Rebenstock, which comprises 24 pages, only 3 pieces are missing in Bindseil, but that of the 40 pieces that were missing from this section in the German Tischreden, 19 could be inserted into our edition according to the originals. Given the poor textual quality of both Rebenstock and the Hall manuscript, nothing from these could be included in our edition.

## 2. H. E. Bindseil's edition of Haltt's manuscript.

There is in the public library of the orphanage in Halle a Latin manuscript of Luther's table speeches, consisting of 654 folio leaves, with the date: "transcripta anno 1560", which has been edited by Bindseil under the following title: D. Martini Lutheri colloquia, meditationes, consolationes, judicia, sententiae, narrationes, responsa, facetiae e codice MS. bibliothecae orphanotrophei Halensis cum perpetua collatione editionis Rebenstockianae edita et pro- legomenis indicibusque instructa ab Henrico Ernesto Bindseil, Philos. Doctore, Professore etc. - Lemgoviae et Detmoldiae typis sumtibusque Meyeriani bibliopolei aulici" Large Octav, Ikom. I. 1863. 465 pages and 6XXIII pages of preface. II?ow. II. 1864. 388 pages and

X pages of preface. Tom. III. 1866. 331 pages. From pp. 332-516 various indexes. XII ropes preface.

Bindseil considers the Hall manuscript published by him to be a Latin translation of the German table speeches 1) as does Rebenstock his collection. He was therefore also unaware that the original records were mainly made in Latin with individual words and phrases left in German. He disregarded, or perhaps did not believe, what Aurifaber says in his second preface of July 1, 1568: "that the Tischreden were brought by him from Latin into German sayings," which, as we now know, is true.

Wrampelmeyer remarks in his preface p. 29: "Rebenstock offers almost nothing that could not be found in Bindseil, while the Hall manuscript - and this seems to us to be far from appreciated enough - has handed down a large amount of conversations, of which no trace is to be found in Rebenstock. This remark has prompted us to make at least a partial comparison. With respect to the first volume

1) Cf. Förstemann-Bindseil's edition of the German Tischreden, vol. IV, preface Ä. XbIX.

Bindseil, we have come to the following conclusion: In the first volume of Bindseil's edition there are 120 pieces which we have not been able to find either in the German Tischreden or in the sources. Of these, 41 are introductions to the larger sections, e.g. Deus, Trinitas 2c., most of which are also found in Rebenstock, obviously not written by Luther, but by the collector on whom both the Rebenstock and Bindseil editions are based.

These introductions are found in Bindseil Vol. I. S. 1. 7. 10. 13. 22. 25. 34. 54. 68. 74. 82. 84. 95. 98. 110. 118. 185. 191. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 210. 211. 235. 242. 260. 296. 317. 351. 358. 379. 382. 409. 413. 419. 421. 423. 434. 435.

Six pieces do not belong in the Collection of Table Talks. Vol. I, p. 280 is an excerpt from a book; p. 303 a letter to Joh. Scultetus; p. 349 a prognosticon of Martin Luther; p. 367 a concern of Melancthon; p. 443 a concern of Luther to Hess; p. 445 a concern of Luther to A. Lauterbach.

The other pieces missing in the German Tischreden are in Bindseil Vol. I. at the following places: P. 9 f. 21. 94. 96. 97. 100, 152, 175, 192, 200, 201, 205, 208. 214. 217. 238. 249. 257. 267. 296. 299. 300. 305. 307. 310. 313. 314. 315. 319. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 344. 347. 348. 353. 354. 360. 369. 378. 380. 382. 393. 394. 410.

413. 416. 417: 423. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 442. 456. 463. - From the section De principibus alone are 28 of these pieces. Incidentally, several more of these pieces may be found in the sources.

Bindseil's comparative register between the Hall manuscript and the German Tischreden is very incomplete. We can prove many pieces in the German Tischreden which Bindseil described as being only in the Latin ones.

The fact that it was possible for Bindseil to indicate the deviations of Rebenstock's edition in notes from beginning to end proves that the similarity of both editions must be very great. Since Bindseil lists all of Rebenstock's translations, this already results in a very large number of notes. Another reason for comments are the numerous printing errors in Rebenstock.

In order to enable the reader to compare the Hall manuscript and the German Tischreden with his own eyes, we have included a table on a section from the third volume, which comprises 24 pages. From this section, "Concionatores". Concionatores", Bindseil III, 108-131, which is completely missing in Rebenstock, only one paragraph and four lines are missing in our St. Louis edition of the Tischreden. The section marked as missing on p. 123 is found in Lauterbach and is included by us in Appendix No. I.

Binding rope.	Table Talks.	Sources.
Vol. III,	Cap. 22,	Cordatus No. 1245.
	11, 8	" 484.
	--22, §	" 534.
109	1, 8	cf. cap. 22, 811 the last para.
11 Dupl.	11, 8	
	22?8	Cordatus No. 1462. 1463. 1464.
110	22, 8	" 1479.
	22, 8	" 750.751.752.
111	22, 8	" 798.
Dupl. III, Dupl.	" 22, 8	
	22, 8	" 1108.
112	22, 8	" 500.
	22, 8	" 1710. 1711.
	22, 8	" 1572.
113	22, §	1170.
	22, 8	" 583.
	22, 8	" 546.
	22, 8	,, 518.
114	22, 8	,, " 722.

Bind rope.	Table Talk".	Source".
Vol. III, 114.	Cap. 22, 8 20.	Cordatus No. 721.
	" 22, 8 23.	" X 723.
	" 22, 8 24.	"><479.
115.	" 22, 8 25.	-, 1^04^~765.
. Dupl. III, 130.	,, 22, 8 27.	"" 766.
116.	" 22, 8 28.	,, " 966. 967.
	" 22, 8 29.	" " 1646.
	" 22, 8 30.	""286. 287.
	" 22, 8 31.	"" 1331.
117.	" 22, 8 32.	" " ,, 596.
	" 22, 8 33.	
	" 22, 8 36.	
118.	" 22, 8 37.	
	" 22, 8 38.	
119.	" 22, 8 39.	
	" 22, 8 40.	Cordatus No. 1656.
	" 22, 8 41.	
	" 15, 8 19.	Lauterbach xaA 21.
120.	" 22, 8 42.	"" -33.
	" 22, 8 44.	"" 58.
	" 22, 8 45.	"" 68.
	" 22, 8 47.	"" M.
121.	" 22, 8 48.	"" 97.
	" 22, 8 50.	"" 115.
	" 22, 8 51.	"" 127. (The last sentence .)
	,, 22, 8 52.	"" 127.
122.	" 22, 8 53.	"" 128.
	" 22, 8 54.	,,,, 135.
	" 22, § 56.	
s123 .	" 22, 8 55.	
I Cf. III. 109.	Missing a paragraph,	"" 2.
	sCap . 37, 8141 .	"" 14.
	iDupl. " 22, 857.	"" 141.
	" 22, 858.	"" 147. Cf. cap. 22, 8135
	" 7, 845 .	""
124.	" 22, 8-59.	"" 163,
	" 22, 8 60.	"" 169.
	" 22, 8 62.	"" 179.
	" 22, 8 63.	"" 183.
	" 22, 8 12.	Cordatus No., 798.
125.) .dupl. "	22, 8 64.	
Dupl. III, 111. 1	" 22, 8 65. ' "	
	22, 8 66.	Kummer bei Lauterbach, xaZ. 203.
126.^ . Dupl. "	22, 8 143.	
	" 22, 8 67.	
	" 22, 8 68.	
	" 22, 8 69.	
	" 22, 8 70.	
	" 22, 8 71.	
	" 22, 8 72.	
127.	It is missing em paragraph about the departure of Lauterbach to Pirna.	
	Cap. 22, § 73.	
	" 22, 8 74.	
128.	" 22, 8 75.	
	" 22, 8 76.	
	" 22, 8 77.	Lauterbach pax. 160.
129.	" 22, 8 78.	
	" 22, 8 79.	
	" 22, 8 80.	
	" 22, 8 81.	
130.	There are 4 lines missing.	
	Cap. 22, § 82.	
Dupl. III, 115.	" 22, 8 25.	Cordatus No. 1504.
131.	" 22, 8 83.	

Bindseil's assumption, 1) that Lauterbach was the collector of the Hall manuscript, has been completely destroyed by the discovery of Lauterbach's diary. One only needs to compare one or several pieces with each other to convince oneself of this. In the table just presented, we see that both in the Hall manuscript and in the German Tischreden, the number of pages according to Lauterbach is almost regularly greater than the number of pages in the German manuscript.

is. From this it is clear that both Aurifaber and the collector of the Hall manuscript had Lauterbach's diary in front of him in the same order as we do. Not so with the records of Cordatus.

The Hall manuscript contains a significant number of incorrect readings, some of which have been increased by Bindseil's unfortunate improvements.

#### Binding rope

- II, 137 Huistsm instead of: souitsm. Cf. Cordatus No. 1247.
- I, 289 verdis instead of: juridus. Likewise Rebenstock 1, 140. ) Cf. Cordatus No. 929.
- I, 289 äate nodis impsria instead of: äats impsria. Likewise Rebenstock I, IM. s
- I, 383 "Where there is evil food, there they fatten themselves like pigs," instead of: "Where there is evil food, there are witty people, because they have to search. (Cordatus No. 1111.) From "must seek" seems to have arisen "fatten pigs."
- II, 43 Philippus Melanchthon is transformed into the apostle Philip. Likewise with Rebenstock II, 40 d. Cf. Cordatus No. 366.
- I, 289 uxorsm rnsam instead: a wife. Likewise Rebenstock I, IM. Cf. Cordatus No. 929.
- II, 107 sausiala instead of: sauet". Cf. Cordatus No. 1194.
- I, 220 shooting strokes held: Umbrella strokes. Cf. Cordatus No. 1642.
- III, 106 leariuiiu instead of: datuiiu. Cf. Cordatus 1473.
- I, 115 fails instead of: despairs. Cf. Cordatus No. 811.
- I, 186 schemender Werkheikger instead of: scheinender Weltheiliger. Cf. Cordatus No. 1590.
- I, 261 eouäeinuatur instead of: eouteruuitur. Cf. Cord. No. 1615.
- I, 36 äeäueus instead of: äueus. Likewise Rebenstock I, 20d. Cf. Cordatus No. 1032.
- I, 126 ^tiautes instead: XtNlStas. Cf. Lauterbach pag. 9.
- II, 295 know instead of: tear. Cf. Cordatus No. 564.
- II, 295 ersaluraru instead of: uaturam. Cf. Cordatus No. 565.
- III, 100 Magister Rode held: M. Roth. Cf. Cordatus No. 736.
- II, 302 MiLaeuiiu instead: LvanKslistam. Rebenstock II, 227 klissum. Cf. Cordatus No. 283.
- III, 100 what I will do to it instead of: what God will do to it. Cf. Cordatus No. 736.
- III, 139 8p68 vitas instead of: spssiss vitas.
- III, 200 fools instead: Poor. Likewise Rebenstock II, 18d stultorum. Cf. Cordatus No. 1203.
- I, 52 thuen instead: Thurm. Cf. Cordatus No. 1571.
- III, 125 Munster instead of: fatten.
- II, 108 worsf statt: Morff sSchweini. Lauterbach pas. 58.
- III, 202 my instead of: means.
- III, 66 the manuscript had correctly: abxy, i.e. Aphki ^-Aphkijah, pronounced according to Jtacism. This: has Bindseil erroneously changed to d. i. pride. Wrampelmehrer brings several examples of similar unjustified corrections.

Among the casibus politicis, vol. m, 8, several events are recounted that occurred after Luther's death, in 1550 and 1551. Likewise, I, 214 from Christmas 1546 and III, 310, a statement by a bishop after Luther's death.

## 6. the german translation of the table speeches

in its various editions.

### a. The Aurifaber edition.

The first German and at the same time the oldest edition of the Table Talks is organized by

Johannes Aurifaber or Goldschmidt. He was Luther's table companion in 1545 and 1546 and around him, also at the end of his life in Eisleben. As court preacher in Weimar, 1551-1562, he was removed from office for attempting to insert into the Jena edition of Luther's works other than Luther's own authentic writings. 2) He then went to Eisleben in Mansfeld, where he received maintenance and salary from Vollrath, Count of Mansfeld, and his brother, in order to publish the writings of Luther.

2) Cf. Walch, old edition, Banb XXIV, Cap. 4, s 22 f., § 29 ff.

1) Preface, p. XI.VII.

In 1564 and 1565, he also published the second volume of his letters to Luther, the first of which had already gone out of print in 1556. They appeared in 1564 and 1565. The second volume of his letters of Luther also came out in 1565; the first had already gone out in print in 1556. Then in 1566 he became pastor at the Preacher's Church and senior minister at Erfurt, where he died in 1576, aged 56. The title of the first edition of the Tischreden is: "Tischreden Oder Colloquia Doct. Mart. Luthers, So er in vielen Jaren, gegen gelarten Leute, auch frembden Gesten, vnd seinen Tischgesellen gefüret. According to the main pieces of our Christian lore, compiled. John 6, Cap. Samlet die vbrigen Brocken, Auff dass nichts vmbkome. Printed at Eisleben, by Vrban Gaubisch. 1566." Folio. The preface comprises 9 leaves and  $\frac{3}{4}$  ropes. Then follow two pages of indexes of the main sections with incorrect numbering, 82 instead of 80. The table speeches take 625A leaves, including the addendum: "Andere Tischreden D. M. Luthers" 2c. Finally, an index of 16-1/2 leaves, arranged alphabetically.

The preface of Aurifaber is a letter: "To the noble, honorable, honorable and wise Ammeistern, Stadtpflegern, Aelteren, Geheimbden, Bürgermeister und Rath der Kayserlichen Reichsstädte Straßburg, Augspurg, Ulm, Nürnberg, Lübeck, Hamburg, Lüneburg, Braunschweig, Frankfurth am Mayn und Regenspurg 2c. My Grand Favorable Lords." With regard to this dedication, Seidemann makes a very significant remark in his preface to Lauterbach pag. V: "A letter from the Nuremberg City Council to Aurifaber of September 12, 1566, in which he thanks him for sending a copy of the Tischreden and its dedication to the city of Nuremberg, sending 20 gold gülden as a tribute to it, provides an attractive insight into Aurifaber's activity. Cf. Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit. Vol. XVI. 1869. p. 336.

Most of Aurifaber's preface is of no particular interest for the history of the editions of the Table Talks, so we only reprint the end of it here: "And after I have so far read several tomos from behind the table".

I have had this Tomum Colloquiorum, or Table Talks, produced and printed here, which was initially compiled from the Collectaneis Colloquiorum written by the Venerable M. Antonii Lauterbach, and subsequently distributed by me in certain loci communes. Antonii Lauterbach's written Collectaneis Colloquiorum, which he himself excelled from the holy mouth of Luther, and subsequently distributed and written by me in certain locos communes, also from other godly and learned people's written books Colloquiorum, which Doctor Martin Luther's table companions were many years ago, as the M. Veit Dietrichs, M. Hieronymi Besoldi, also the priest at Cöthen, Magister Johann Schlaginhauffens and Magister Johannis Mathesii; item, from other more books, so with D. M. Luther always gone around, and daily around him been, as, Magister Georg Rörers, blessed, to more part increased and improved. After that I have also taken many good things from the Collectaneis Colloquiorum written by Magister Johann Stolsii, blessed, and Magister Jacobi Weber, pastor of Ordorf, and put them into this Tomum. And because I, Johannes Aurifaber, before the death of D. Martin Luther in 1545 and 1546, was also much around D. M. Luther, as I have much wonderful histories and history, also other necessary and useful things, so he talked about tables, diligently distinguished, which I have then also arranged and brought here"

-- ---- Because I have had a large pile of written books Colloquiorum Lutheri with me for many years, I have with a good conscience this treasure of the table speeches of Lutheri can not be hidden longer, and such pounds remain buried and scorched, or let it perish and perish after my death, but now, through open printing, I want to share it with the Christian church, which can improve on such teachings and use them blessedly as small pieces of bread that have fallen from Luther's table, and satisfy and quench the spiritual hunger and thirst of souls with them. For one should not let such table speeches of Luther from high spiritual things perish, but hold them high and valuable.

than from this one may have all kinds of teaching and comfort."

"Given at Eisleben on the 7th day of July, .... Anno 1566."

"Your honor and wisdom willing servant  
Johannes Aurifaber."

As early as 1567, two editions appeared in Frankfurt am Main, one in folio, the other in two octavo volumes. The title of the folio edition is: Colloquia, Oder Tischreden Doctor Martini Lutheri, so er in vielen jaren die Zeyt seiner Lebens, gegen Gelehrten Leuthen, Auch hin vnd wider bei frembden' Gesten, vnd seinen Tischgeesehret geführth, darinn von allen Articklen vnser Religion, Auch von hohen Fragen vnnnd Richtigen Antworten, vnd sonst von allerley Lehr, Rath, Trost, Weissagung, Gründlichen vnderricht zu finden. By Johann Aurifaber. John 6. cap. Samlet die vbrigen Brocken, Auff dass nichts vmbkomme. (Below a woodcut, Luther with 6 others sitting at the table and 4 children standing in front of it, who perform their table prayers with folded hands). Printed at Frankfur am Mayn, 2c. 1567." Also in this edition, as in the first edition, the section "Von etlicher Papisten schnellen und erschrecklichem Tode" is omitted in the register of the main sections, and therefore only 79 main pieces are counted, instead of 80. In the work, this section is not missing.

The octavo edition of 1567 is entitled: "Erster Theil (und: Ander Theil), der Tischreden D. Mart. Luthers, so er in vilen jaren gegen Gelehrten Leuthen, auch frömbden Gesten vnnnd seinen Tischgesellen gefüret. Therefore, of all the articles of our religion, also of high pieces, questions and answers, item many remarkable historics, and otherwise of all kinds of emptiness, comfort, advice, prophecy, warning and rebuke. Report and instruction to be found. It has been compiled by M. Anthonio Lauterbach, published in certain local communes, and collected from many other scholars. By Mr. Johan Aurifaber. (Including Luther's picture.) Published at Frankfur am Mayn, Anno M.D.LXVII." In this edition, by skipping numbers, the number of the main

The number of pieces has been brought to 83. The 26th main piece "Von Zauberey" is missing in the index, but not in the text.

Perhaps these two editions from 1567 are reprints, because no printer is named in them, and both have "By Johann Aurifaber" on the title, which Aurifaber himself would hardly have set that way. On the other hand, Aurifaber says in his preface to the edition of 1568: "As the same last German Tomus of Luther's Tischreden has been well out of print and very much available for sale, so that it has often had to be published and reprinted," by which these Frankfurt prints can well be meant. Several misprints from the folio edition of 1567 have been transferred to the edition of 1568, which Aurifaber acknowledges as his own by a new preface, from which it seems to follow that he also regarded the edition of 1567 as his own.

1) With respect to this, Walch says in his preface p. 8, note x: "Of these editions of Luther's Tischreden that have now been cited, I still note that they have not all been printed accurately and correctly, and sometimes important printing errors that were in one have been retained in the other. One will notice this clearly if one holds the two editions of 1567 and 1568 against each other. Among other things, in both p. 89 under the title: Nobody goes to heaven', these words: Christ has let his glory be seen through blasphemy and miracles', instead of 'through doctrine', as it has been improved in this present edition p. 485. So, too, in just these two editions p. III, under the inscription: the man

1) We do not consider it acceptable that printing errors should have been transferred from a reprint to the authentic edition. By comparing the folio edition of 1567 with the authentic one of 1568, a printing expert would like to determine from the type of printing the office in which the edition of 1567 was printed. We assume that it would turn out that the edition of 1567 was already printed by Simon Hüter, since Aurifaber says in the preface of 1568: "because my particularly dear gentleman and good friend Simon Hüter, bookseller at Frankfurt, wanted to publish and print this 'Iomuna of the table speeches' again. If he wanted to print it again, he must have already printed it once.

before himself', thus: "the man who otherwise drowned in the divine being", instead of "in the ungodly being": 'in the ungodly being\*', so one will find in this edition x. 603 will likewise be found changed."

In 1568, also at Frankfurt am Main, a new edition appeared in folio with a new preface by Aurifaber in which he complains about changes that had been made to his table speeches. Walch has taken his text from this edition. This preface is particularly interesting and important. We therefore place it here in its entirety from Walch's old edition. It is already written from Erfurt.

"Preface to the 1568 Edition."

"To the Christian Reader."

"After I, by God's help, had undertaken this Christian, useful and necessary work some years ago, what of the venerable and noble man of God, D. M. Luther's, holy memory, books, sermons and writings, which he read, preached and wrote in Wittenberg, and which have not come to light and day until now, to prepare them and to communicate them to the Christian Church for teaching and consolation through printing. As I have compiled and written the twelve tomos of the German and Latin books of Doctor Maxtini Luther, printed at Jena, when I was then Princely Saxon Court Preacher, in a proper order, and have included many good writings, advice and trades that had not been seen before. The godly man, M. Georg Rörer, was appointed corrector and supervisor by the noble princes and lords, the dukes of Saxony, brothers, my gracious princes and lords. And after that I surrendered to the county of Mansfeld, and had two German Tomos, also a Latin one of Epistles, and a German Tomum of the Table Talks printed at Eisleben. When the last German Tomus of Luther's Table Speeches had gone out of print and was very much for sale, so that it had to be reprinted many times, I now find that Master Klüßling has come upon such my work and labor, and changed the title.

I have also moved a lot in the book, and at various times I have increased and improved my work with new table speeches, which have all been done without my knowledge and will, to whom I should otherwise give an answer and account for this work of the table speeches. This hurts me, and is not good, that one wants to sully, rummage through and destroy it according to everyone's liking, that which I have compiled with unspeakable effort, hard work and many great tastes, from books and collections written by many learned people who have gone around with Doctor Martin Luther, into an order and into certain locos communes. Such a thing is not to be suffered by me in any way. For this reason, I would like to ask and warn everyone who will reprint such a book of the Table Talks, because if there is someone who would know how to improve and increase these Table Talks, I could do it (without glory), since I still have several written books of Luther's Table Talks with me, from which one could almost read a new volume together, or improve the now much reported first printed part wonderfully and enormously. And because I have received such a tome from the next Frankfurt fair, with other table speeches and epistles renewed and improved, which appendix and addition I have read through and find that much of it was previously printed in the table speeches, and was brought from the Latin by me into the German language, so the letters are also found in part in the German Jenische: so I do not like to see that one should buy old for new, and the people are swept off their feet by the new titles and improvements. And remember well that Doctor Martin Luther, of blessed memory, complained many times that his books, which he had published in Wittenberg, were being reprinted elsewhere in Germany, and that words were often changed in them, and that the books were badly smeared, so that for this reason he issued a public admonition to the book printers in the 28th year. And because my special dear gentleman and good friend Simon Hüter, bookseller at Frankfurt, wanted to publish and print this Tomum of the Table Talks again, after the copy at Eisleben.



I have sent him my well-meaning warning against printing this book. Done on the first day of July, Anno 1568, Johannes Aurifaber, pastor of Predigern in Erfurt.

With regard to Aurifaber's above-mentioned complaint about changes to the Tischreden, Walch, Preface p. 8, remarks: "What Aurifaber actually meant by this for editions: if, where and under what title they were printed, I cannot say. Among those editions that I have at hand and that were printed before Aurifaber made the noted complaint, I find none that would have been changed to the extent he reported. It would have been good if he had given special notice of such altered editions." Bindseil remarks on this in the preface to the German edition Vol. IV, p. XXVII: "I also have the same opinion, after I compared both Frankfurt editions of 1567 with the one of 1566 in general; for with the exception of the slight alteration of the title and a part of the spelling, I have not perceived any significant deviation,"

In 1569, a new edition was published in folio in Frankfurt am Main, with the same preface that preceded the first edition of 1566. This year, however, is changed in this edition to the year 1569, as such a change in the year was also made in other later editions, according to the years in which they appeared. In this edition there is a special appendix with the inscription: "*Colloguia* or Table Talks of D. M. L., so the dear man of God has led against learned theologians and pastors shortly before his end and blessed departure from this world, satmt many comfort writings, missives, and histories, answers to manifold questions" 2c. It is accompanied by a letter to the council of the city of Rauschenburg, dated March 24, 1568, from Johann Finck, who reports in it that he has drawn these speeches of Luther from several written books and from the writings of the same. This appendix is followed by: "Prophecies of D. M. Luther, for the Remembrance and Incentive to Christian Penance, Neatly and Diligently Compiled".

carried by M. Georg Walther, preacher at Halle in Saxony". Walch notes in his preface p. 9, note g.: "Such an appendix of table speeches, which the aforementioned Johann Finck added, has been omitted from both other and subsequent editions, and rather that which is found at the end of the 1566 and 1567 editions has been retained; in the 1568 edition, however, it has been inserted, except for a few pieces, into the work itself at the appropriate place. The Propheceyungen Lutheri are found in the newest editions of the Tischreden Lutheri of 1700 and 1723, of which I will speak hereafter, but they are not found in the older editions.

In addition to these, two other editions of Luther's Tischreden are listed, which were published in Eisleben by Urban Gaubisch in 1569 and 1577 in folio, shown in des Fabricii centifolio Lutheran. p. 801. The first edition of 1569 mentioned above, published in Frankfurt, is probably a reprint, because in the same year the publisher of the first edition, Urban Gaubisch in Eisleben, also published the edition just mentioned, and no printer is named in the Frankfurt edition.

All these editions are only different imprints of Aurifaber's first edition of 1566.

#### **d. Stangwald's edition.**

According to the time, the closest to these Aurifaber editions is the one by Andreas Stangwald, Candidate of Theology from Prussia. Until now, the difference between this edition and Aurifaber's has been presented as greater than it really is. We have compared Stangwald's edition of 1700, in which, according to Walch's testimony<sup>1)</sup> "nothing has been left out, nothing has been added to it", with the first Aurifaber edition of 1566. The result of this comparison is the following: In Stangwald's edition, everything is found that is in Aurifaber's edition, with the exception of ea. 146 pieces, which

- 1) **Preface vol. XXII, p. 12d. -**

Stangwald has rightly omitted as duplicates, and the following 17 pieces, which are either completely or partially missing from Stangwald. Only the following 7 pieces are missing in their entirety: Cap. 7, §§ 36, 165, 182; Cap. 11, § 13; Cap. 14, § 4; Cap. 37, § 84 and Cap. 43, § 136. Of these, Cap. 11, § 13 does not belong in the Table Talks because it is a collection of Luther's sayings, probably drawn from his writings. Of the piece Cap. 14, § 4, we think that it must still be found somewhere in Luther's writings, perhaps also Cap. 7, § 36. 10 pieces are partially missing: Cap. 4, §46, Cord. No. 1274; the conclusion of Cap. 4, §65, Cord. No. 434; the first paragraph of Cap. 7, §47; the second half of Cap. 9, § 53; Cap. 13, § 12, paras. 1, 2, 6, 7; Cap. 13, § 66, para. 2; Cap. 14, § 14, the last paragraph; Cap. 22, § 132, the last paragraph; Cap. 74, § 23, para. 1; Cap. 75- the fifth paragraph from the end. 1)

Other pieces than these mentioned by name are not missing in Stangwald's edition. In the Förstemann-Bindseil and Erlangen editions, for many other pieces only the proof is not provided where they can be found in Stangwald.

The first edition of Stängwald's Redaction appeared in folio in Frankfurt in 1571 under the title: "Colloquia, Oder Tischreden Doctor Mart. Luthers, So er in vielen Jaren gegen Gelärten Leute, auch frembden Gesten, vnd seinen Tischgesellen geführtet, Nach den Hauptstücken unserer Christlichen Lehre zusammengetragen. And now, in a new way, brought into a correct order, and according to the written table speeches of Doct. Mari. Luch. Corrected. Johan. on the 6th Samlei the remaining chunks so that nothing is lost. (Below is a woodcut depicting Luther sitting with 6 table companions, and 4 boys standing in front of the table, saying grace). Printed at Frankfurt am Mayn, by Thomas Rebart's Blessed Heirs, Anno M. D. LXXI." Fol. 2-9" is Aurifaber's preface from 1566 with the signature: "Anno 1569." Fol. 10 is the register of the same 43

1) Stangwald probably omitted this last small piece of 2j lines because of the year 1553, for which reason he considered it not to be by Luther. We consider this to be a printing error instead of 1530.

The first chapter is in the same order as in the later edition of 1591 and in the Selnecker editions. Fol. 11 is a "Kurzes Register der fuernembsten Materien, nach Ordnung deß Alphabets" 2c. The same is also in the Selnecker editions. Fol. 12 is an "Index biblicus". The latter, as well as the preceding index, also correspond exactly with Selnecker's. The work itself comprises 44 folios. The work itself comprises 442 folio leaves. The appendix of 27 unfoliated leaves has the following title: "Appendix. Or appendix of the free matters, which were occasionally included among the table speeches, and yet do not really belong to the table speeches. In part also Doct. Mari. Luther's are not at all. According to the order of the chapters of the Table Talks. Printed at Frankfurt am Mayn, by Thomas Rebart's blessed heirs, Anno M. D. 1571." In this edition, the name of the publisher is not mentioned anywhere. 2) Only in the preface of the 1591 edition, twenty years after the first edition, does Stangwald sign himself at the end: "Andreas Stangwaldus, Borussus, S. Theologiae Candidatus."

This preface from 1591 is a letter: "to the mayors and councilmen of the Imperial Imperial City of Mulhouse in Thuringia. The part of the preface which, in our opinion, is of historical interest only, we share here:

"Because the first printing of Luther's Table Talks, which was published in Eisleben in 66, was not only deficient in its order in many ways, but also contained much extraneous material, which either did not correspond to Luther at all, or did not correspond to the title of this work, and was in part also incorrect and unfounded, the entire work was also falsified and distorted in many places due to the carelessness of the printers and others in the reprinting: Therefore, out of love for the precious treasure of Luther's writings, and at the well-meant request and desire of kind-hearted people, for the general benefit of all, I have even put the entire work into a new, correct order in the year 71.

L) This first edition does not have its own, but only Aurifaber's first preface.

The same copy was printed in Frankfurt am Main by Thomas Rebärt's blessed heirs, and was subsequently printed several times in Leipzig.

"But because the copies had all been distributed, so that none could be obtained, I have, at the suggestion of good friends and with the foreknowledge and permission of the venerable Consistorii at Weimar, taken the copy again under hand, with the written table speeches, which I had together in good number, diligently and faithfully conferret, and after the same corrigiret and in such Correctur diligently before eyes had the Notationes of the venerable, hochgelahrten Herr Doctoris Joachimi Moerlini blessed, which he in his copy of the 1st print of the TischReden with his own. (as he belonged to Luther for several years, and as he was then deacon of the churches at Wittenberg, had been much around Luther), and of other Christian theologians, have also added to the work other such memorable speeches and colloquies of Luther, which Mathesius and other faithful disciples of Luther mentioned in their writings, and have also occasionally, for further instruction and explanation, taken from other proven writings of Luther. Luther's writings,' something little added, finally also prepared with industrious registers in such a way that my hope is that it can now be used by men only for benefit and fruit. In its time (God willing), in the other part, the Colloquia Lutheri, and other gentlemen who lived with and beside Luther, which are still in the background, are also to be given to the Christian reader in proper order, along with all kinds of Apophthegmata and memorable speeches of the Christian emperors, kings, princes and chieftains who lived in these last times, and finally also Apophthegmata Sanctorum Dei in veteri Ecclesia. 2) Since then also in a

special *appendices* all sorts of Microtapha Lutheri, that is, short memorial writings, which D. Luther, either to himself or to others, as a memory in the books, on notes, on the walls 2c. listed. Item, his Latin poemata. Item, his proverbs, his Onomastioon or Namen-Büchlein, his Fabulae Aesopi, and other joke writings, and what such, so actually does not belong in the Tomos of Luther's witty writings, should be communicated to the Christian reader, so that with knowledge also not the slightest of D. Luther's work, so as to serve edification, is left behind."

"Concerning the Historia of the Life and the Blessed Departure of Doctor Martin Luther, as a short excerpt of which was included in the Leipzig printing of the Tisch-Reden before this time, I have omitted it from this printing for considerable reasons; since in the Narrationibus de Vita Lutheri that have been published up to this time, I have found various inaccuracies and displeasures. But (God willing) a detailed Historia, not only of the life and departure, but also of the books and writings of D. Luther, and especially of the German Biblia, and the Church Postillen, so also Tomorum Lutheri, printed at Wittenberg, Jena, and Eisleben, shall be given to the Christian reader.

In the 1700 edition, Stangwald's appendix comprises pages 821-868, i.e. 48 folio pages. Everything in this appendix is also found in all of Aurifaber's editions, but scattered throughout the work, except for a small section on p. 822, which is another version of Appendix § 4, and a small section on p. 844, which offers in Latin what Cap. 37, § 127 in German translation. This appendix is also found in Selnecker's editions.

The whole difference between Stangwald's and Aurifaber's editions comes down to the following: 1. the order of Stangwald's edition is completely different from that of Aurifaber's edition. In order to make this clear to the reader, we will show, with reference to a part of a chapter, how far the order given in that chapter is different from that of the Aurifaber edition.

II This is what our 1700 edition says, while the 1591 edition is supposed to have: "reprinted". Cf. Förstemann-Binds. Ausg. Vorr. P. XXIX.

2) Such a second part of the Tischreden has never appeared.

The sections contained therein are scattered in Aurisaber's edition. 1) We choose Cap. 19: Of the Cross, Challenge, Persecution 2c. and compare Stangwald's

Edition of 1700 with the Erlangen edition, which, like Förstemann-Bindseil, brings a reprint of Aurifaber's first edition of 1566:

**Stangwald**

Page 327\*. Duplicate p. 99.

" 328.

329.

" 330. duplicate p. 201 \*, end of para.

" 330\*. Duplicate p. 81.

"331. Other redaction m of the same column. " 60, 95 ; 62, 37.

" 331\*. Duplicate p. 137\*.

" 331\*. Dupl. in the same column.

"332. duplicate p. 100.

"333. duplicate p. 59\*.

" 334.

"335. duplicate p. 152\*.

" 336.

"337. in other redaction p. 138\*.

**Erlangen edition**

Vol. 61. p. 129. Duplicate Vol. 58. p. 81.

" 58, S. 411; 60, 99 ; 60, 109 ; 60, 111; 59, 139; 57, 211.

" 61, 130 f. 145.

" 58, 146. 148.71.

"59, 143. Dupl. 58, 113; 59, 139 ; 61, 139.

" 60, 95 ; 62, 37.

"60, 112. duplicate 57, 153.

" 60, 112. duplicate 57, 154 ; 60, 102 ; 60, 114.

" 57, 166 , 59, 145.

" 57, p. 167. duplicate 57, 131.

" 60, 122. 86. 96 ; 60, 106. Dupl. S. 99; 60, 174.

"60, 107. Dupl. S. 61; 60, 123 ; 57, 328.

" 61, 119 ; 60, 98. 118. 102, 164 ; 59, 124.

" 60, 121. 104; 59, 143; 60, 113.

As a proof for the complete change of the arrangement in Stangwald's edition, this will probably be sufficient. On these 10 pages of Stangwald, we encounter 8 duplicates, of which he has 6 in common with Aurifaber. The content of these 10 pages is widely scattered through 5 volumes in the Erlangen edition, and it is quite the same with any other section, from beginning to end.

2. stangwald has about 146 duplicates less than the aurifaber edition. He has the great mass of duplicates in common with Aurifaber. The following 6 duplicates are peculiar to him: p. 225\* and 768; p. 228. 249 and 838\*; p. 405 \* and second appendix p. 6 in another translation; p. 100 and 332; p. 201\* and 330; p. 388 and 826.

Stangwald first attempted to separate the extraneous items that do not actually belong to the Tischreden, and relegated them to an appendix of 48 pages. These include pieces borrowed or translated from other writings of Luther, sermons, prefaces, letters, concerns, inscriptions in books, verses, disputations, and other things that are not by Luther, and he has always provided proof of their origin, where he himself was aware of it.

1) It is therefore very difficult to find the pieces of Stangwald's edition in Aurisaber's, and vies vsrka.

In Stangwald's work, however, about 100 passages taken from elsewhere are interspersed here and there in the text, and for 81 of them the source from which they flowed is given. Most of them are from Luther's own writings, from the sermons of Joh. Mathesius, Justus Jonas, Georg Buchholzer 2c. We leave here the complete list of the pieces that are found in Stangwald's edition, but not in Aurisaber's edition:

From Mathesius' Sermons on Luther's Life 37 sections, in Stangwald: p. 62\*. 114\*. 144. 316\*. 332. 2) 349. 383\*. 411. 413. 413\*. 418\*. 430\*. 436\*. 469. 523. 591\*. 600\*. 608. 648. 663. 693. 693\*. 712\*. 729\*. 766. 797\*. 798. 813. 818\*. 798\* is excerpted in Aurifaber's edition Cap. 48, § 28 and Cap. 47, § 15. from the latter's sermon in Lurepta 7 sections, pp. 110\*. 225. 371\*. 528\*. 534\*. 545\*. 602\*. From the sermon de profundis A section p. 318\*.

From the sermons of Justus Jonas, 5 sections, namely from the sermon at Luther's funeral: p 96\*. 370. 372\*. 605\*. From his sermon on Act. 1. S. 812.

From the Schmalkaldic Articles 2 sections: pp. 540. 608.

From other writings of Luther 19 sections: p. 2\* (From the Preface to the Aus-.

Exposition on the Psalms. Walch, old edition, vol. IV, 267 d; p. 71 (From the church postillon. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 280 ff, §§ 118-121); p. 87 (From the exhortation to prayer against the Turk. Walch, old edition, vol. XX, 2770, §49); p. 102 (The three Symbola. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1004 f., §§ 11. 12); p. 110 (Preface to Ambros. Moibani interpretation on Ps. 29. Walch, old edition, vol. XIV, 180 ^false pag. 176], §2); p. 154 (Church postillon. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 1207 ff, §§ 31 to 34); p. 164 (Interpretation of the 14th chapter of Johannis. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 112, §§ 185-187); p. 190\* (Interpretation of 1 Cap. Isaiah); p. 293 (Brief Confession of Luther of the Holy Sacrament. Walch, old edition, vol. XX, 2214 f., §§ 47. 48); p. 322\*. (Wider den Meuchler zu Dresden. Walch, old edition, vol. XVI, 2085, § 51); p. 382\* (Interpretation of the 101st Ps. Walch, old edition, vol. V, 1244, §§ 124. 125); p. 555 (Responsibility of the imposed sedition of Hz. Georg. Jen. Ausg. VI, 6d., 2. Ausg. VI, 9d. Walch, old ed. vol. XIX, 2290, § 21); p. 574 (The small answer to Herz. Georgs nächstes Buch. Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 2305, §§ 22. 23. 24); p. 578 (Preface to the writing: Der Barfüßer Mönche Eulenspiege) and Alcoran. Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 2443, § 3); p. 582 (Die kleine Antwort auf Herz. Georgs nächstes Buch. Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 2333, § 67); p. 622\* (Wider den Meuchler zu Dresden. Walch, old edition, vol. XVI, 2068, §§ 14-25.); p. 678\* (Interpretation on the 15th Cap. St. Johannis. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 392, § 133); p. 716 (Preface to the Confession of D. Rob. Barns. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 189\*, § 6); p. 816 (Ueber das 15. Cap. des 1. Corintherbriefs. Walch, old edition, vol. VHI, 1287, § 203).

From the *Hortulo animae* printed at Wittenberg 1546 by Georg Rhaw, 2 sections p. 62. 110.

From Dom. IV *declamationum Wittebergensium* p. 224.

From another manuscript printed at Wittenberg. S. 696.

From a letter from Dietrich to Melanchthon. S. 315\*.

From Melanchthon's funeral oration at Luther's funeral. S. 316.

From Winsheim's funeral oration at Melanchthon's funeral. S. 319.

From the preface of Erasmus Alber to the Franciscan Eulenspiegel. S. 578.

From St. Sveu's Book of Spiritual Pilgrimage. S. 263\*.

From Antonius Otto's preface to Luther's Prayer Book 65. p. 415.

Frogs! äs Osiauäro. S. 428\*.

C. *Cruciger*, Enarrat. Ps. Anno 46. S. 617.

in a preface. S. 632.

G. Buchholzer, Predigt über das Ey. von der Himmelfahrt Mariä. p. 668; on the Ev. of Martha and Mary Luc. 10. p. 748\*.

G. Sabinus in lid. 13. metamorph. Ovidii. S. 693\*.

From "a writing of the^ . . . nno 47. S. 788-

A note by D. Joachim Mörlin's comment on Cap. 7, § 139. p. 30.

No indication of where the sections are taken from: S. 23. 38. 47. 52. 66. 132. 137\*. 152. 221. 239\*. 256\*. 327. 332. 349. 377. 410. 425. 623\*. 743\*. 759. 807. These unaccounted pieces are mostly small ünd insignificant.

4 Instead of Aurifaber's 80 chapters, Stangwald, and also Selnecker, have 43 chapters and in these exactly the same material, only the just listed 100 new sections from other writings are missing in Aurifaber.

On the whole, Stangwald and also Selnecker have adopted Aurifaber's translation. He has almost everywhere the same wrong readings as Aurifaber. Therefore, not much can be drawn from his edition with respect to essential textual correction. However, it must be acknowledged with gratitude that Stangwald has made many real improvements to the text, but they seem to us to have been introduced more by good sound judgment than from manuscript sources. We have also made use of some of them.

Stangwald has often softened the coarseness of Aurifaber's edition.

The manuscript sources that Stangwald had at his disposal do not seem to us to have been of particular concern, although he mentions them already on the title of the first edition in 1571 and refers to them again in his preface of 1591. His "written table speeches" must, as we have to conclude from the text, which differs little from Aurifaber's, have been just as corrupt as those that Aurifaber, Rebenstock and the collector of the Hall manuscript had at their disposal. The many good improvements in detail may well come mainly from the "Notationes des Ehrwürdigen, Hochgelahrten Herrn Doctoris Joachim Morlini, seligen, welche er in seinem Exemplar des ersten Drucks der Tischreden mit eigener Hand verzeichnet". Apart from Mörlin's one note on page 30 of our Stangwald edition, we find nothing else indicated as originating from him.

All in all, we consider the Stangwald edition or, what is the same, the Selnecker edition, to be the best of all editions published so far. That we have nevertheless not based our treatment on this, but on the Aurifaber edition, is due to the fact that Walch, and after him the Stuttgart-Leipzig edition, also Förstemann-Bindseil and the Erlangen edition, which have the widest distribution, and after which the most citations are made, have followed the Aurifaber arrangement. 1)

In 1591 a new edition appeared. As we can see from the preface, Stangwald was responsible for this edition, which was published under the title: "Colloquia, Oder, Christliche, nützliche Tischreden Doctoris Martini Lutheri, von den Heuptartickeln Christlicher Lehre, vnd andere Christlichen vnd nützlichen Sachen, welche er in Collationen, am Tisch vnd sonst gegen Gelegen Leute, gegen seine getrewen Mitgehülffen, auch gegen seine Tischgenossen, frembden Gesten, vnd andere bekümmerten vnd angefochtenen Personen geführtet. First, by M. Joannem Aurifabrum, Vinariensem, Anno

1) Since only the Aurifaber edition by Walch is provided with paragraph numbers, it alone can be cited exactly.

1566. put into print 2c. Now (as can be seen from the following preface) brought into proper order, according to the written table speeches, and according to the notationibus of several godly theologians, faithfully corrected, with

The following is a summary of the many memorable table speeches and sayings of Luther, so that all Christians can use them usefully and blessedly, and find in them all kinds of teaching, instruction, comfort, prophecy, revelation, and warning. Joan 6: Samlet the remaining fragments, so that nothing gets lost. Printed at Jhena, by Tobiam Steinmann, in the year M. D. Xcj." Folio. This is followed by Aurifaber's preface to the first edition of 1566, which we have partially translated into German in our discussion of Cordatus' diary, 2) and which here bears the title: "Protestatio R. Patris D. Martini Lutheri etc.". Martini Lutheri etc." Below this is a passage from a Latin letter of Luther, entitled: "Lutherus in Epistola quadam", in which he complains bitterly about the printing of two private letters. Then follow 2 pages in German: "Judicia und Testimonia etlicher Gottseliger Theologen von den Colloquiis und Tischreden D. Lutheri. 3) D. Vrbanus Rhegius, in a missive to a good friend, Anno 1530." After that, a 2 page long Latin poem: De viro Sancto Martino Luthero, etc.. Joannis Stigelii. On the following 4 pages the German translation of this poem by M. Johannem Stigelium. The following page is taken up by another Latin poem: "Cantio vera et pia, de Martino Luthero\*\* etc.". „Urbano Rhegio autore" etc. On the two following pages is the "Synopsis et methodus totius operis colloquiorum Lutheri. Order of the Chapters of the Table Talks." 4) Then follow the Tischreden on 556-1/2 leaves. From 556 d on the already be-

2) It is complete in Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, p. 1859.

3) These judgments are about Luther's speeches, not about the "work of the table speeches". \*

4) Everything mentioned so far is also found before the edition of 1700, except for the poem by Urbanus Rbssius and the register, which we mention here in order not to have to count it again in that edition.

The appendix. At the end the words: "Printed at Jehna, by Tobiam Steinmann. In the year. M. D. X. C j." The improvement of this edition will probably consist mainly in the use of the already mentioned annotations of D. Joachim Mörlin; the increase will have been made by the pieces of Mathesius, from Luther's writings 2c.

This edition of 1591 was printed several times later. Once at Jena in 1603 in folio, printed by Tobias Steinmann; another time at Leipzig in 1621, quite similar to the earlier edition, in the publishing house of Bartholomäus Voigt. In the latter edition, however, it says on the last leaf: "printed in Jena by Tobias Steinmann in 1603". Either a new title was printed for the old copies that were still available or, which seems more plausible, as Walch also assumes, this was inserted again by mistake by the printers when printing the earlier edition. 1)

All of Stangwald's editions mentioned so far, like Selnecker's editions, have the 43 chapters of the work under 9 main headings: Scriptura, Verbum Dei. Deus. Creatura. Homo et Hominis cum Deo κοινωνία. Ecclesia. Oeconomia. Schola. Politia. Consummatio seu novissima mundi dies. In the following editions, however, these main headings are omitted and the 43 title headings are no longer listed in a special index, but are only distributed throughout the sections of the work.

Another edition is the one from 1700 in folio, published by Andreas Zeidler in Leipzig, which we have used in our work. In front is an engraving by Daucher, on which Luther is depicted with Melancthon, Cruciger, Jonas, Paul Eber, Veit Dietrich, Joh. Bugenhagen and Joh. Förster sitting at the table. On the next sheet, the main title is: "Colloquia or Table Talks and Other Christian Very Edifying Talks by the Highly Enlightened Man of God D. Martin Luther, Which He Gave at Collations, and Else

He has led his faithful companions, table companions, and other afflicted and challenged people. Previously, from godly and learned men, notes and collectaneis, in order of the most noble articles of faith faithfully compiled, before now, however, after diligent translation and counterpart of some of the best editions in this previously required and convenient form, which at the same time attached strange and remarkable prophecies Mr. D. M. Lutheri! from his other writings now and then previously extracted. With the Royal Majesty in Poland and the Electorate of Saxony. Durchl. zu Sachsen allergnädigsten Special Privilegio. Leipzig, Printed and published by Andreas Zeidlern, Anno MDCC."

The prefaces of this edition have already been reported in the edition of 1591. Then follow the table speeches together with an appendix of 868 two-column pages. This is followed by the prophecies of Mag. Georg Walther, preacher at Halle in Saxony, taken from the Frankfurt edition of 1569, which fill 23 pages. Finally, an alphabetical index of 11 leaves follows. With the exception of Stangwald's preface, the entire edition is printed in split columns. The page number is often wrong, namely from the 795th page by 100 too large! which Förstemann-Bindseil and the Erlangen edition have overlooked. Otherwise, the printing is very correct.

This edition is followed by the folio edition, which was published and edited in 1723 in Dresden and Leipzig by Johann Christoph Zimmermann and Johann Nicolaus Gerlach. Walch remarks in his preface about it: "the reason why I bring these two newest editions here is this, because in the reprinting of the same, one followed Stangwald's edition in everything: no change was made, nothing was omitted, nothing was added, except, as intended, the prophecies.

#### **o. The Selnecker edition.**

Three editions of the Table Talks bear the name of Nicolaus Selnecker, born Dec. 6, 1530, at Hersbruck in Franconia. He studied in Wittenberg. In 1557

1) The Erlangen edition has vol. 87, p. XV, the news: ^Another edition of 1669, frkf. in fol. shows.

He was court preacher in Dresden, professor of theology in Jena in 1565, professor of theology in Leipzig in 1568, court preacher and general superintendent in Wolfenbüttel in 1570. In 1574 he went back to Leipzig and again took over the theological professorship he had held before; in 1576 he also assumed the office of superintendent there. When in 1589, at the instigation of those secretly associated with Calvin, he was deprived of these offices, he initially went to Halle and later to Magdeburg, but the following year, in 1590, he came to Hildesheim as superintendent, and from there again to Leipzig in 1592, where he died soon after his arrival. 1)

This famous theologian published soon after Aurifaber's death (1576), in 1577 at Leipzig an edition of the Table Talks, in folio, which is only a reprint of the so-called first Stangwald's 2) edition published in 1571 at Frankfurt. Selnecker notes in his preface, Leipzig in February 1577, only this, that "now des Tewren Mans, Doctoris Mart. Lutheri Gottseligen, our German prophet's Tischreden, allhie zu Leipzig, nicht auf grosse vrsachen, fleißiger und förmlicher, denn anderswo zuvor geschehen, gedruckt worden, wie dieselbigen Er Johannes Aurifaber seliger, trewlich colligirt, vnd vns mitgetheilte hat". This preface is signed Nicolaus Selneckerus D., pastor of Leipzig. It is dedicated "to the Most Illustrious, Highborn Prince and Lord, Mr. Ludwigen Pfaltzgraffen bey Reyn, of the H. Roman Empire Ertz Truchses vnd Churfürsten, Hertzogen in Bayern 2c." Then follows Aurifaber's first preface of 1566, but in this edition, as in the Frankfurt edition of 1571, erroneously dated 1569. This is followed by: "Historica oratio Nicolai Sel-

neckeri vom Leben und Wandel des ehrwürdigen Herrn und theuren Mannes Gottes v. M. Luthers", which Stangwald mentions in his preface in 1591 in a disapproving manner. Selnecker had already had this description of his life specially printed in octavo in Leipzig in 1576. In his first edition of the Tischreden, it fills 26½ unfoliated leaves. Then follows a "register of the chapters as they follow one another". These are the same 43 chapters as in the Frankfurt edition of 1571, with the same 9 main Latin headings. This is followed by 3 pages of "Kurzes Register der fuernembsten Materien nach Ordnung des Alphabets", which is followed on 2 pages by a "Judex biblicus". Then follows the work itself on 505 foliated leaves. On sheet 505 b begins the "Appendix. Or Appendix of several matters, so D. M. Luther erkleret" 2c., which occupies 23½ not numbered leaves. This is followed by 5 leaves "Register der deutschen auslegung D. Lutheri, vber die Bücher der Bibel, Gerichtet auff die Wittenbergischen, Jenischen und Eißlebischen Tomos" with a prefatory note "Dem Christlichen Leser Nicolaus Selneckeruss". "Datum Leipzig 1577." On the last leaf, "Gedruckt zu Leipzig, durch Jacob Berwalds Erben, Anno M.D.LXXVII." The title of this edition is as follows: "*Colloquia*. Or Christliche Nützliche Tischreden Doctoris Martini Lutheri, so er in vielen Jaren, gegen Gelehrten Leute, und frembden Gesten und seinen Tischgenossen, nach den Hauptstücken unserer Christlichen Lehre, gehalten,: First by Mr. M. Johannem Aurisabrum blessed, diligently compiled, and put into print. Now they have been brought into a new order, and prepared in such a way that they are very necessary, useful, and comforting for all Christians to read, especially in these miserable last times. Together with a new preface, and a short description of the life and life of Doctor Luther, and a very useful register at the end of this book, all the books and chapters of the Divine, Holy Scripture, where, and when the same Doctor Lutherus has interpreted, and explained, and in which Tomis such interpretation can be found.

1) About Selnecker's life and writings cf. Georg Heinrich Götz: *Oissrtutiones äs Moolno 8s1n6666ro; Joh. Andr. Gleich unnnÄ168 666168ia8t. I, p. 89; Zedlers Universal-Lexicon vol. 36, p. 1715 ff.* The latter deviates from Walch, Vorrede, p. 12, Note in that he places his birth in the year 1532, the professorship in Jena in the year 1561, the first return to Leipzig in the year 1577.

2) One remembers that this edition of 1571 does not mention the name of the editor, and that it is attached to Stangwald solely on what the latter says in his preface of 1591.

3) The title of the 1581 edition is quite similar to this one.



Quae semel edocuit divina mente Lutherus, Hacc retinet verae grex pietatis amans. Nicolaus Selneccerus. D.

John 6: "Samlet the necessary fragments, so that nothing perishes. Leipzig M. D. LXXVII. 1. 2. 3. 6." 1)

New editions appeared in 1580 and 1581. The edition of 1577 was in the hands of the editor of the Erlangen edition, the one of 1580 was used by Walch, the one of 1581 by Förstemann and Bindseil. This last edition was unknown to Walch. According to the description of the 1581 edition by FörstemannBindseil, it is quite similar to the first one of 1577.

About the Selnecker edition Walch says, Preface p. 13: "In this edition itself, the same order has been retained that Stangwald used in his edition, and the latter has been reprinted almost in its entirety, except that here and there one or the other difference is apparent; However, since Stangwald's edition came to light before Selnecker's, and since in the latter a different arrangement was first made than one finds in Aurifaber's, then, if one wants to show the difference between such editions, If one wants to show the difference between such editions, one should not contrast both Selnecker's, as is generally done, and Stangwald's with Aurifaber's, whether the latter, or Selnecker's, can to a certain extent also be considered a special one, and where one does this, three different editions can be noted."

The editor of the Erlangen edition has had the oldest editions of Stangwald's and Selnecker's editions in his hands, and makes the following judgment about the mutual relationship of these two editions to each other. The editor of Erlangen has had his hands on the oldest editions of the Stangwald and Selnecker editions and makes the following judgment about the mutual relationship of these two editions to each other: 2) "About the relationship of the Selnecker edition to the Stangwald edition, which have a great similarity with each other, one was so far in uncertainty and even Bindseil was not able to solve the question of whether Selnecker followed Stangwald or Stangwald followed Selnecker in the arrangement of the material, because the first Stangwald edition of 1571 and the first Selnecker edition of 1577 were lost to him. We were so

fortunate to obtain both editions, and have found that the Jnhalts-Verzeichniss of Selnecker's first edition of 1577 agrees so literally and literally with that of Stangwald's of 1571 that only the following two variants had to be applied. Namely, in the heading of chapter 28, the word "Co- nuenten" is printed in Latin letters in Stangwald's edition, and in German letters ("Conuenten") in Selnecker's edition, and in the heading of chapter 33, the word "D." is printed in Stangwald's edition, but in Selnecker's edition it is "Doct. printed. This is the whole difference in the table of contents. The "Kurze Register der fürnehmsten Materien", which follows, consists in both editions of 187 identical headings, and in the "Index bibli- cus" Stangwald has only 4 more biblical passages than Selnecker, everything else is the same. The sequence of the material and individual sections has been the same in both editions everywhere we have looked up and compared them, except that Selnecker has often omitted headings of the paragraphs in Stangwald's work, thus combining several smaller sections into one larger one and sometimes skipping a section that he may have placed elsewhere. Selnecker has also taken the marginal glosses verbatim from Stangwald and even in the appendix no other deviation of both editions from each other is noticeable, except that Selnecker has omitted several Latin verses and citations, which are found in Stangwald, and added at the end the aforementioned register of 4½ sheets. Yes, even Stangwald's explanatory notes in small print, in which he speaks of himself in the first person, are included verbatim in Selnecker's edition, as for example in "Melanchthon's Disputation with Luther on Justification" and in the "Book of the Birth of the Desolate Abomination of the Antichrist". We can therefore consider Selnecker's edition to be nothing more than a reprint of Stangwald's Redaction, as Stangwald himself correctly called it in the preface to his new edition of 1591, and we must agree with Walch when he asserts that one should not oppose Aurifaber's Redaction with Selnecker's, but only with Stangwald's.

1) What these numbers mean is unknown to us. They are also found in the 1581 edition.

2) Erl. Ed. vol. 57, p. XVIII f.

Both editions, Stangwald's and Selnecker's, have not been distinguished from each other even by learned, famous theologians; thus Walch mentions in his preface p. 14, 2nd column: "When the famous Mr. Johann Albr. Fabricius 1)

various editions of the Tischreden, so he also remembers two that came out in Leipzig, namely 1581 and 1621 in Fol. and immediately adds: in ordinem redacta per D. Nicolaum Selneckerum, qui majorem etiam delectum adhibuit, adjecta vita Lutheri et appendice argumentorum quorundam Christiane et utiliter ab eo explicatorum et admonitione de dictis quibusdam, quae Lutheri esse, non videntur, which message can be improved and expanded in one and the other. For the edition that came to light in Leipzig in 1621 is not Selnecker's, but a new edition of the one that Stangwald was in charge of. In this edition, there is no information about Luther's life, and as far as the appendix is concerned, it is not only attached to the Selnecker edition, but also to other editions. On the same page, Walch states that the famous Leipzig theologian Adam Rechenberg, in his *schediastate historico de beati Lutheri colloquiis*, declares the editions of 1581 and 1621 to be the best, mentions Selnecker's name in the former, but not Stangwald's name in the latter, nor that it had been printed several times before. Likewise, Johann Gottlieb Möller makes the same judgment about the 1581 edition, with Selnecker's name, but does not mention Stangwald's editions in his dissertation: *de auctoritate scripti sub titulo: Lutheri colloquiorum mensalium in Germanico, Anglico et latino idiomate editi*. Rostock. 1693. p. 6.

Before the year 1591, Stangwald's name did not come to light, and only in the preface to the edition of that year, twenty years after the first edition of 1571, one year before Selnecker's death, does he for the first time refer to the edition of 1571 as his own. In contrast, in the three intervening. Sel-

The name of the editor is mentioned in each of Aurifaber's editions, 1577, 1580 and 1581. However, this was done only one year after Aurifaber's death, with Selnecker's remark that he published Aurifaber's collection, which he "has communicated to us".

We cannot help but notice that it is very striking to us that Selnecker, one of the most famous Lutheran theologians, should have reprinted the work of Stangwald, a candidate of theology. Conversely, it would be much easier for us to understand. In our opinion, we are dealing here not with two, but only with one redaction of the Tischreden. One edition is as similar to the other as one egg to the other. Everything we have written about Stangwald's edition applies equally to Selnecker's edition.

Stangwald says in his preface of 1591: "But because the copies had all been sold, so that none could be obtained, I took the copy again at the suggestion of good friends and with the knowledge and approval of the Honorable Consistorii of Weymar" 2c. The first edition, differing in order from Aurifaber, appeared in 1571, without a name. The following three editions 1577, 1580, 1581 are, according to all testimonies, only a reprint of the edition of 1571, under Selnecker's name, and the edition of 1591 quite similar to the previous ones, except for Selnecker's preface, Selnecker's life of Luther and the pieces behind the appendix. From this we conclude that Stangwald's and Selnecker's editions are not **two** different editions, but only different imprints of the **One** Edition of 1571. The matter may perhaps lie like this: During Aurifaber's lifetime, Selnecker did not want to give his name to the altered Aurifaber edition, but put Stangwald in front. As soon as Aurifaber is dead, he appears in the following year, 1577, with his name. Fourteen years later, at Selnecker's advanced age, when he probably no longer wanted to deal with the publication of the Tischreden, Stangwald reappeared and gave his name in 1591,

1) In the centikoliop

A year before Selnecker's death, for the first time and also claims the edition of 1571 as his own. Whether the matter is one way or the other, factually it is certain that we are dealing with only one, not two different editions. Our assumption is also confirmed by the fact that Stangwald says: "Because all copies have been distributed, so that none more have been available", and he himself has not made the attempt to a new edition in the 20 years from 1571 to 1591. Three editions of Selnecker's edition were completely sold out during this time. Stangwald's first edition of 1571 will hardly have lasted that long. The version of the words in our edition of 1700: "und nachmals zu Leipzig etliche Mal gedruckt worden", seems to us to be much more appropriate to the circumstances than the one we find in the edition of 1591: "etliche mal nach gedruckt worden". These last words probably only mean "reprinted" because the supply was exhausted. Thus, the old famous theologians may be completely right in that they not only do not distinguish between Stangwald's and Selnecker's editions, but even, like Rechenberg and Fabricius, refer to the reprints of the 1591 edition, e.g., the print of 1621, as Selnecker's editions.

For the sake of an easier overview, we give here a compilation of all known editions of the German Tischreden published before Walch.

#### Aurifaber issues:

1566. Eisleben. Urban Gaub isch.  
 1567. Frankfurt. No indication of the printer. 1568. Frankfurt.  
 Simon Hüter.  
 1569. Frankfurt. No indication of the printer. Appendix Finck's.  
 Prophecies of Walther.  
 1569. Eisleben. Urban Gaubisch.  
 1577. Eisleben. Urban Gaubisch. After Aurifaber's death.

#### Stangwald-Selnecker editions with modified order and appendix:

- Without name: 1571. Frankfurt. Thos. Rebart's heirs. Selnecker: 1577.  
 Leipzig. Jacob Berwaldt's heirs.  
 " 1581 " ""  
 Stangwald: 1591. Jena. Tobias Steinmann. "

Stangwald: 1603. Jena. Tobias Steinmann.  
 " 1621. Leipzig. Bartholomäus Voigt.  
 ? 1669. ? ?  
 Stangwald: 1700. Leipzig. Andreas Zeidler.  
 "1723. Dresden. Leipzig. Joh. Christoph  
 Zimmermann and Joh. Nie. Gerlach.

All these editions, with the exception of the one from 1567, have folio format. After them, until our days, only four editions have appeared, all of them reprints of Aurifaber's edition, namely: 1. the edition by Walch, reprinted from the edition of 1568; 2. the Stuttgart-Leipzig edition, reprinted from Walch; 3. the Förstemann-Bindseil edition, reprinted from Aurifaber's first edition of 1566, and 4. the Erlangen edition, reprinted with minor changes by Förstemann-Bindseil.

#### d. Walch's edition.

For the first time in a complete edition of Luther's works, Walch's Table Talks are included. Walch gives the following information in the preface, p. 15, § 11, as to why they were not previously included in the collections: "They were not included in the collections of his complete writings, which could not have been the case, since all of them, with the exception of the Leipzig one, had been written and produced before they saw the light of day for the first time. Although the Wittenberg, Jenische and Eislebische parts were subsequently reprinted, they were not increased, and if this had been done, one might have had misgivings about including the said Tischreden. This is probably at least the reason why they were omitted from the Leipzig collection. The work is not regarded by all in the same way. Some think that it is more important to suppress it than to spread it by new imprints and to give the enemies even more opportunity for all kinds of slander against the blessed Luther's person and teachings". But what motivated him to include the Tischreden in the collection of Luther's writings, he writes the following in the last two paragraphs of his preface: "What finally prompted the present printing of Luther's Tischreden?"

As far as this is concerned, I cannot help but be concerned that various people considered it questionable and thought it would be more advisable not to include such table speeches in this new collection of Luther's complete writings. For in this way, the work would not only be spread out even more, but it would also be given a reputation, as it were, as if it belonged to the true writings of Luther, since until now, there had been misgivings about assigning such a place to him. I also cannot deny that I myself was of this opinion, and if it had gone according to the same, then these table speeches would have been omitted. But since the work has already become more than too well known through the many editions and is in so many hands, since it cannot be denied to the blessed Luther, and since much good can be found in it, since enemies gain nothing against Luther and his teachings through what is offensive and questionable, as has been sufficiently demonstrated in the present preface, as well as previously by others: Indeed, since for this very reason, if it were now to be suppressed as it were, they would be likely to give rise to blasphemies, and since very many have soon expressly requested that they not be omitted from this collection, the publisher has been moved by this to undertake this new printing, and has believed that if it were omitted, the collection of Luther's writings would not be complete, in which I do not wish to oppose him. However, one does not take more part in it than that these table speeches are presented as they first came to light. They are considered no more than an appendix to Luther's writings and have therefore been placed in the last part of this collection.

The printing itself was not done according to the Stangwaldian or Selneckerian editions, but according to the Aurifabrian editions. This has been done for the following reasons: because in this collection of Luther's writings, one promised to deliver everything correctly according to the first editions; because the three editions differ noticeably from one another, and it would not have been practical to show such a difference at all times.

The reason for this is that much of what is subsequently included in these Table Talks is already found in other writings that are in this collection and would therefore have had to be included twice. In particular, the edition of 1568 has been used for the reprint, which is consistent with the first editions of 1566 and 1567. The content of each chapter has been placed in front of it, as was done previously with the other writings. The larger Latin passages have been translated into German, while the smaller ones have remained. The many errors found in the first editions have been improved. Some have thought that it would have been good if one had made notes about the oerter, in which something questionable and offensive occurred; however, one has found reservations about this, and thought that Luther had already been saved enough because of these table speeches.

The title of this edition is: "D. Martin Luthers sowohl in Deutscher als Lateinischer Sprache gefertigte und aus der letzern in die erstere übersetzte Sämmtliche Schriften. Zwey und zwanzigster Theil, welcher die Colloquia oder Tischreden, so von Johann Aurifaber mit Fleiß zusammengetragen, und nach den Hauptstücken der Christlichen Lehre und Glaubens verfasst worden worden, enthält; Herausgegeben von Johann Georg Walch, der heiligen Schrift D. und Prof. Publ. Ordin. at the University of Jena, as well as Hochfürstl. Sächs. u. Brandenb. Onolzb. Church and Consistorial Council. Halle in Magdeburg. Printed and published by Joh. Justinus Gebauer. 1743." Quarto.

This edition has three prefaces. 1) An excellent, instructive preface by Walch of March 16, 1743, pp. 2-39, from which we have taken a great deal into our preface. Then follows the entire preface or attribution of Aurifaber's first edition of 1566, pp. 40-54, from which we have already included what is necessary. Finally, Aurifaber's preface to the edition of 1568, p. 54 f., which we have printed in its entirety above. On p. 56 is the "Verzeichniß der Hauptstücke" (index of the main parts).

1) As far as the prefaces go, not the individual columns, but the whole pages are numbered.

or the 80 chapters contained in the Table Talks. Then follow the Table Talks themselves with appendices on 2407 columns. At the end, there is a small register of the "Sayings of the Holy Scriptures, so in the Table Talks usefully explained and interpreted", on Col. 2408-2413, which we have also retained.

We must mention one printing error here, namely that in Cap. 74 the paragraphs from 12-20 are counted incorrectly. We have corrected this in such a way that we have designated the second § 12 as § 12a, because this incorrect counting has passed over into all editions after Walch's. Walch was the first to assign a number to each of the 80 main parts or chapters and to designate the subsections of each chapter with paragraph numbers. At the beginning of each chapter, the headings of the paragraphs of this chapter are then compiled, so that the order of the same and the content can be easily surveyed. Walch also first introduced the chapter and verse numbering of the biblical passages, which later editions have made full use of without mentioning Walch. Walch's spelling is modernized.

#### **e. The Stuttgart-Leipzig edition.**

As far as we know, a new edition of the Table Talks did not appear until 1836 under the title: "D. Martin Luthers sinnreiche Tischreden. Written according to the main pieces of Christian doctrine. A new, well-written edition. 2 volumes. Stuttgart and Leipzig, published by L. F. Rieger and Comp. in 1836. Volume I contains the first 23 chapters on 631 pages, Volume II the remaining 57 chapters, whose counting starts again at one, plus appendix on 760 pages. Everything is arranged in the same way as in Walch's edition. Here, too, the language has been changed according to the times without affecting the content.

#### **f. The Förstemann - Bindseil edition.**

The title of this critical edition is: "D. Martin Luthers Tischreden oder Colloquien, so er in vielen Jahren gegen gelahrten

The book is a compilation of the main points of our Christian doctrine, which is also given to foreign guests and his table companions. After Aurifaber's first edition with careful comparison of both Stangwald's and Selnecker's redaction edited by Karl Eduard Förstemann, Doctor of Theology and Philosophy" 2c. "and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil, Doctor of Philosophy" 2c. Abtheilung I-IV in 4 volumes. Gr. Octav. In the edition we have, the place and year of printing are affixed with a note that reads: Evangelische Buchhandlung in Berlin (Otto Kritz). We therefore take the following information from the Erlangen edition: "Abth. 1-3. Leipzig 1844-1846. Abth. 4. Berlin 1848. Gebauersche Buchhandlung." The first three volumes were edited by Förstemann, who prefaced the first volume with a 4-page preface. After his death, Bindseil continued the work in the 4th volume, which he provided with a preface of little over one page and an introduction of CXX pages. From page LIX to p. CXX is an exposition on the "plan of this new critical edition of the Tischreden". Each volume is provided with an index of the half of the chapters printed in the volume in the same manner as Walch did before each individual chapter. The first volume with indexes comprises 435 pages; vol. II 460 pages; vol. III 450 pages; vol. IV 750 pages. As the last leaf of each volume indicates, the first three volumes are printed by B. G. Teubner in Leipzig, the fourth volume by Ed. Heynemann in Halle. The main index of the 80 chapters of the Tischreden is found at the end of the fourth volume.

Because the Erlangen edition offers only a review of this edition, we include its review here and let its external description precede for the sake of discussion.

#### **g. The Erlangen Edition.**

This critical edition of the Tischreden forms the 57th-62nd volume of the Erlanger Ausgabe von D. M. Luthers sämtlichen Werken. The title is: "D. Martin Luthers vermischte deutsche Schriften. After the oldest editions critically and historically edited by D. Johann Kon-.

rad Jrmischer, k. second pastor at the Neustadtkirche and second university librarian at Erlangen. II Table Talks. Vol. 1-6. Frankfurt a. M. and Erlangen. Published by Heyder and Zimmer. 1854." Octav. With a preface by Jrmischer of XXXVII pages. In this preface, Jrmischer justifies himself because of the great similarity of his edition with that of Förstemann-Bindseil and gives p. XXXIV of the preface as the reason for it: Förstemann and Bindseil "applied a formal system of rules, where we merely continued to follow our simple general principles in the usual manner. That, therefore, the independence of our edition cannot be harmed by its similarity to that of Förstemann is, I hope, clear. A little earlier he says that he also had to "correct the biblical passages" and p. XXXV that he also compared Walch and Stangwald.

Now we can return to the consideration of the Förstemann-Bindseil edition.

In this edition, it is to be acknowledged that the comparison of Stangwald's and Selnecker's editions has really been done, which requires a laborious, lengthy work of which no one has a concept who has never done such things himself; it is to be regretted, however, that Förstemann and Bindseil have not made use of the good variants in these editions to improve Aurifaber's text from them.

In view of the difficulty already mentioned in finding a piece of Aurifaber's edition in Stangwald's or Selnecker's, it is not surprising that Förstemann and Bindseil have not provided proof for a fairly large number of them.

where they are to be found in these editions. It is, however, surprising that the Erlangen edition has also not found one piece of those which are missing in Förstemann-Bindseil - but which are nevertheless all in the Stangwald edition. From this, we must conclude that the editor of the Erlangen edition did not compare the Stangwald edition at all, but printed it from Förstemann-Bindseil. Such passages are the following: 1)

Table	stands by^	I Pole forest
Cap. 63, § 12/		i. Page 224.
" 60, § 15	****	446*.
" 7, § 79	e/ff	10*.
" 9, § 62	," "	24.
" 3, § 90	ε	183.
" 3, § 97	ff	111.
" 4, § 82		1771. .604*.
" 2, § 36		ε 223*.
" 7, § 123	****	ff 86.
" 7, § 169	ε	330.
" 7, § 171	ε ε	* " 603*.
" 26, § 28	****	811*.
" 15, § 47	****	776.
" 43, § 171	****	589.
" 59, § 6		" (Erl. 62, 132^para. 2.)
Cap. 7, § 115		Page 827.
" 43, § 4	****	376*
" 43, § 150	****	676. 798.
" 47, § 15		" 1 798*. 799.
" 48, § 28	f, ,f	,, 847.

This proof is still strengthened by the fact that the Erlangen edition has reprinted all proofs, which Förstemann and Bindseil have indicated wrongly, likewise. This has taken place, for example, in the following places:

Table speeches	. 2, 8	57 is wrong 8t.	406 *s	tatt8t. 460*. (Cf. the duplicate Cap. 34, 8, 6.)	" " 78* (" "
Cap	4, 8	87 "	74		" 2, 8114.)
	,, 4, 8	87 ,,	74	" 78*, p.74. (Same omission.)	
	,, 17, 8	16 " " 8.	555	" 555. (Selnecker twice; St. omitted.)	
	,, 19, 8	2 " " 8t.	181*	191*	
	,, 19, 8	12 " "	194*	" 194*.	
	,, 19, 8	13 " " 8t.	184*	" 8. 184*.	
	,, 21, 8	14 " " "	158*	" 8t. 558*.	
	27, 8	134 " " "	364*	" " 346*.	
	,, 37, 8	21 " " "	323*	" " 328*.	
	37, 8	24	392	" " 329.	
	37, 8	33 " " "	365*	" " 335*.	
	/, 37, 8	61 " " "	223*	" " 323*.	
	37, 8	123 "	385*	" " 345*	

1) We quote from Stangwald's edition of 1700.

In addition to the proofs provided by Förstemann-Bindseil from Stangwald's edition of 1603 and Selnecker's edition of 1581, the Erlangen edition has added the deviating leaf numbers of the editions of 1591 and 1577. This offered no difficulty in the otherwise quite identical editions, but was a purely mechanical work.

Furthermore, Förstemann and Bindseil bring everything that deviates in Walch from the first Aurifaber edition, continuously through the entire work, as variants. This seems to us to be quite unjustified and it seems to us that it would have been better to leave these deviations completely unconsidered, because Walch did not want to deliver anything new, not even an improved edition, but only an improved edition.

print the edition of 1568. It is not customary to make the printing errors the subject of continuous variants and marginal notes. The variants could only concern carelessness, misprints and accidental small improvements. Nevertheless, Förstemann and Bindseil have recorded all the variants found in Walch. The complete comparison of Walch had to serve to insert the biblical passages from **Walch**,

which was also done in such a way that all of **Walch's** printing errors, with the exception of six, have been transferred to the Förstemann-Bindseil edition. The Erlangen edition has faithfully reprinted all the printing errors from the Förstemann-Bindseil edition. These are the following:

1 Cor. 1, 11.	instead of 1 Cor. 1, 21.	Walch XXII,	159.	F.-B.	I, 126.	Erl. Edition. 57, 164.
1. ep. 3, 18.	2. ep. 3, 18.		7.		I, 6.	57, 5.
Matth. 18, 22.	Matth. 18, 20.		70.		I, 56.	57, 73.
Cap. 38, 23.	Cap. 38, 2. 3.		1096.		III, 15.	59, 304.
Cap. 5, 6.	Cap. 5, 16.		826.		II, 246.	59, 23.
Verse 12.	Verse 16.		1036.		II, 414.	59, 245.
Tit. at 3. cap.	Tit. at 1. Cap.		1002.		II, 385.	59, 207.
Joh. 11, 18.	Joh. 11, 48.		1032.		II, 410.	59, 240.
Offenb. 13, 17.	Offenb. 13, 7.		1307.		III, 174.	60, 179.
Cap. 12, 14.	Cap. 7, 25.		1307.		III, 174.	60, 179.
Joh. 21, 19.	Joh. 21, 15.		1307.		III, 174.	60, 179.
Genes. 20, 7.	Exod. 20, 7.		1612.		III, 408.	61, 92.
Tit. 3, 8.	Tit. 3, 5.		1671.		IV, 27.	61, 156.
1 Tim. 2, 5.	1 Tim. 2, 15.		1693.		IV, 43.	61, 176.
Matth. 5, 17.	Matth. 17, 5.		1395.		III, 242.	60, 273.
1 Cor. 6, 2.	1 Cor. 6, 3.		1147.		III, 49.	60, 12.
Joh. 8, 25. 26.	Joh. 11, 25. 26.		1277.		III, 152.	60, 150.
Ion. 4, 3. 9.	Ion. 4, 3. 8.		1941.		IV, 267.	61, 431.
Luc. 16, 1d.	Luc. 18, 11.		1040.		II, 416.	59, 248.
2 Petr. 2, 4.	2 Petr. 2, 14.		322.		I, 259.	57, 334.
Jer. on 3 Cap.	Jer. on 7 Cap. [V. 22.] "		788.		II, 215.	58, 428.
/ 2 Cor. 2, 23.	" 1		741.		II, 178.	58, 379.
/ Erl.: 1 Cor. 2, 23. ">		//				
Deut. 32:15.	Deut. 32:13.		2402.		IV, 715.	62, 467.
Isa. 23.	Jer. 23.		102.		I, 82.	57, 106.
2 Thess. 2, 10.	2Thess. 2, 11.		172.		I, 136.	57, 177.
Ps. 50, 4.	Ps. 50, 14.		185.		I, 147.	57, 190.
1 Cor. 12, 9.	2 Cok. 12, 9.		468.		I, 373.	58, 92.
Ps. 2, 2.i)	Ps. 2, 12.		482.		I, 384.	58, 107.
Jer. 49, 21.	Jer. 49, 19.		509.		1-405.	58, 136.
Luc. 7, 4.	Luc. 7, 45.		549.		II, 20.	58, 177.
Ps. 50, 5.	Ps. 50, 15.		618.		II, 75.	58, 249.
Luc. 19, 16.	Luc. 10, 16.		879.		II, 289.	59, 79.
Joel 2, 1.	Joel 3, 1.		895.		II, 301.	59, 95.
2 Cor. 6, 12.	2 Cor. 6, 10.		992.		II, 377.	59, 196.
Matth. 11, 22.	Matth. 11, 24.		1029.		II, 407.	59, 236.
Ps. 143, 11.	Ps. 143, 10.		1057.		II, 430.	59, 266.
1 Cor. 15, 54.	1 Cor. 15, 55.		1066.		II, 438.	59, 277.
1 Sam. 1, 6.	1 Sam. 2, 6.		1101.		III, 19.	59, 310.
Isa. 7, 4.	Isa. 7, 14.		1109.		III; 26.	59, 319.

instead of Job 3:11.	Walch XXII, 1218.	Erl. ed. 60, 87.
" Job 42:3.	" 1218.	" 60, 87.
Job 2, 11. Job	" 1240.	" 60, 111.
39, 37.	,,,1323.	" 60, 195.
Ex. 4, 24. Ps. 2,	" 1333.	F.-B. III, 105th "
4. 5. 8. ITHess.	" 1566.	111th, 106th "
" Rom. 16, 18.	" 1607.	111th, 123rd "
Rom. 10, 2.	" 1668.	111th, 186th " III,
Hohel. 5, 1.	" 1952.	194th " 111th, "
"Ezek. 16, 51.	" 1961.	372nd " 111th,
Ezech. 16, 52.	" 193.	404th " IVth, 24th "
"Apost. 7, 58.	" 732.	IVth, 277th " IVth,
apost. 7, 59.	" 2094.	286th " I, 154th "
" I Cor. 15, 50.	" 813.	11th, 170th " IVth,
1 Cor. 15, 15.	" 1998.	417th.
" Psalm 104:9.	" 11, 235.	" IV, 319.
" 2 Kings. (Sam.)		" 62, 44.
" Isa. 6, 1.		
" Isa. 6, 5. Psalm		
" Psalm 145.		
" Ebr. 13, 4.		

Lauterbach made this last mistake and it runs through all the issues.

It follows from the foregoing that Forste mann-Bindseil and the Erlangen edition do not look up the biblical passages.

but reprinted from **Walch**.

The Förstemann-Bindseil edition improved the following six printing errors in Walch; the Erlanger reprinted these six improvements:

Incorrect: 2 Petr. 2, 13. Correct: 1 Petr. 2, 13.	Walch XXII, 2184.	F.-B. I V, 500.	Erl. ed. 62, 239.
Matth. 8, 15. "	Matth. 18, 15.	957.	" II, 351.
Jer. 9:22. "	Jer. 9, 24.	449.	" I, 358.
Act. 5, 24.	Act. 24, 5.	1215.	" 111, 103.
Matth. 5, 9.	Matth. 15, 9.	766.	" II, 198.
2Thes. 1, 13. "	1 Thess. 2, 13.	1595.	" 111, 395.

A printing error in the biblical quotations is peculiar to the Förstemann-Bindseil edition; the Erlanger has reprinted it:

Joh. 5, 18. instead of Joh. 3, 18. F.-B. 111, 406. Erl. A. 61, 89.

From this follows: the Erlangen edition has direct from the Bible also not One

The book is not corrected in any place, but the few improvements from FörstemannBindseil are reprinted.

The following variants, mostly from Walch, are incorrectly given in Förstemann - Bindseil and also reprinted in the Erlangen edition:

F.-B. Var. 3 "one" in the Ausgg. instead of: once	Walch XXII, 1323.	F.-B. III, 186.	Erl. ed. 60, 195.
1 pushes instead of: pushes	394.	" I, 313.	58, 13.
5 suppressed instead of: suppressed	205.	" 1, 163.	57, 212.
2 beats it " beats it	394.	" I, 313.	58, 13.
1 X. 8t. u. IV. instead of: 8t.	459.	" 1, 366.	58, 83.
2 real instead of: right	1643.	" IV, 2.	61, 126.
1 Will " will	539.	" II, 12.	58, 167.
2 there is missing instead of: that is	898.	" II, 304.	59, 99.
3 such instead of: false	1591.	" 111, 392.	" 61, 71st (Var.I.).

Accordingly, it will probably follow that the Erlangen edition did not compare Walch, but reprinted everything related to Walch from Förstemann-Bindseil.

The Förstemann-Bindseil edition has from Cap. 28 to 31 *incl.* inverted counting, both in the text and in the registers; for Cap. 27 is set twice, once correctly, the other time incorrectly above Cap. 28, and then continues in the wrong counting until Cap. 31. 31. the superscription

of Cap. 32 is then correct again. Quite the same in the Erlangen edition, in the text and in the registers. From this we would almost like to conclude that the Erlangen edition has not printed its text from the first Aurifaber edition, but from Förstemann-Bindseil. This assumption gains probability from the fact that the Erlangen edition vol. 58, 258, Cap. 11, § 14, Walch XLII, Col. 628, refers to Aurifaber's note as Förstemann's note.



Only one case has struck us in the Erlangen edition, where the same does not include an error of Förstemann-Bindseil, namely vol. 57, 105, note 5. The F.-B.'sche edition vol. I, 81, has noted note 4, in relation to Walch's translation from the 2nd Psalm: "IV. und die Herzen (!) rathschlagen mit einander." There the Erlangen edition offers "gentlemen" as Walch really has it at that point. Förstemann had not read well. Such an obvious printing error, even if it had been there, should nevertheless have been let slip without an exclamation mark. But also in other places such printing errors are emphasized by exclamation marks, e.g. F.-B. Vol. I, 24, Note I "thätliches"; W. gives instead "tödtliches"!

The Förstemann-Bindseil edition has a large number of quite useless e.r variants:

#### F.-B.

- I, 27 datauf lieget instead of: lieget darauf.
- I, 40 one shall instead of: shall one.
- I, 45 Doctor Martinus Luther once said instead: Once said D. M. Luther.
- I, 52 without fruit not instead: not without fruit.
- I, 64 since they nevertheless the Aristotle instead: since they the Aristotle nevertheless.
- idiä. him the sophists instead: the sophists him.
- I, 318 Affects instead of: Affectus.
- I, 322 remain seated instead of: remain seated.
- I, 323 St. Paul instead: Paul.
- I, 324 Christos instead of: Christ.
- I, 328 the letters instead: Letters.
- I, 336 shall go over it instead of: shall go over it.

The advantage in these insignificant variants is usually on the side of Walch, who, without changing anything essential, has mostly made the language somewhat smoother than it is found in Aurifaber. It should be noted that the variants listed are taken by us at random from a small circle, namely F.-B. Bd. I, 27-64, and I, 318-336. Many hundreds of similar variants are noted by F.-B.. The Erlangen edition has omitted quite a number of these useless variants.

Neither F.-B. nor the Erlangen editions have accepted any of Walch's variants, even when an incorrectness is palpably improved, as in Cap. 43, § 115, where Walch, according to the sense, has written "not" instead of "also". Cf. F.-B. IV, 106, note 1, and Erl. Ausg. 61, 248, note 2.

That Förstemann and Bindseil did not make use of the Hallische Handschrift 1) to improve and correct Aurifaber's text is no longer surprising to us after we have become acquainted with it in Bindseil's Latin edition. Both the Hallische Handschrift and Rebenstock are, as we have shown above, just as much, if not worse, corrupted and contaminated with additions, bad readings and changes than the German editions.

## D. The English translation.

In 1652, an English translation of the Table Talks appeared in folio under the following title: "Dris Martini Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia, or Divine Discourses at his Table, etc. . . . Collected first together by D\* Antonius Lauterbach, and afterward disposed into certain Common places by John Aurifaber Dr in Divinitie. Translated but of the high Germane into the English Tongue by Capt. *Henrie. Bell.* . . London, Printed by William Du Gard, dwelling in Suffolk-lane near London-stone. 1652." Folio. 541 pp. 20 leaves of dedication, prefaces, index 2c. Dedicates: "To the Right Hpnorable *John Hendrick* Lord Major, The Right Worshipful the Sheriffs and Aldennen, the Common Council and the other Worthie Senatore and Citizens of the famous Citie of London", signed by Thomas Thorowgood. The preface comprises 9 pages and contains remarks against the Papists and praises of Luther taken from the writings of the Calvinists. From p. 11 on is "Capitain *Henrie Bell's* Narrati ve or Relation of the miraculous preserving of Dr. Martin Lutheri Book, entituled Colloquia Mensalia", dated July 1650. From this narrative, which appears quite fabulous, Walch has given the essentials in his preface p. 15 ff, § XII. We do not consider it necessary to repeat it here. On p. 14 is the verdict of Charls Herle and Edw. Corbett, who were also ordered to censor the book, dated November 10, 1646: "We find many excellent things are contained in

the Book worthy of the light and publick view. Amongst which *Luther* professed that he acknowledged his error which he formerly held touching the real presence *corporaliter* in *Coena Domini*. "There is no need to prove that those who have judged in this way have deviated from the truth; for Luther never deviated from the true doctrine, nor did he put up with the opinion of the Reformed. 1) Under the preceding narrative, there is a "Copy of the Order from the House of Commons" of February 24, 1646, executed by *Henrie Elsing*, in which a privilege is granted to *Henrie Bell* for the sole sale of his English translation of the Table Talks for 14 years. It is remarkable that such a privilege was granted on February 24, before the censorship of November 10. Then follows a testimony from Aurifaber's preface and three letters from Protestant clergymen about Luther's Table Talks, and finally the English translation of Aurifaber's preface complete on 9 sheets, along with a sheet index of the 80 sections of the Table Talks in the same order as Aurifaber. Now follows the work itself and finally the prophecies of Luther collected by Georg Walther. From this last appendix of the prophecies, it can be concluded that the English translation will be made according to the Frankfurt edition of 1569, which is presumably to be considered a reprint. The prophecies are attached only to this edition and to the later so-called Stangwald editions of 1700 and 1723. This edition was published again in London in 1791 in folio. Copies of the first edition

1) Walch Vorr. S. 18, § XIII: It is wrong what some want to pretend, as if he had left this true doctrine before his end and had put up with the opinion of the reformers, or had repented that he had written against them. When in 1546 D. Geortzius Major went to Regensburg to attend the Colloquio there, and Lutherus considered him, along with some others, suspicious because of the article on the Holy Supper, he confronted him with this and reminded him seriously, after he had apologized and made his confession correctly, to do the same in sermons, lectures and private conversations, and not to make himself suspicious, as before, with silence. Luther also said shortly before his death in Eisleben: if he should live longer, he would once again shout against the sacramentarians. Leoksnä. rist. Lutk. lid. III, 8161, x. 693.

are in the Royal Library in Copenhagen and in the Frankfurt City Library.

Of the translation itself, Joh. Gottl. Möller (x. 17) that it deviates from the German original, especially from the first edition of 1566, in some parts, without being able to decide whether the translator himself made these changes, or whether he had deviating editions of the original in front of him. We believe that this question would be settled by comparing the English translation with the Frankfurt edition of 1569.

### Nature of the table talks.

In the discussion of the various editions of the Table Talks, we have shown that we are actually dealing with only one, Aurifaber's, from which all the others have flowed, in such a way that all of them reproduce the same Aurifaber translation, all of them have exactly the same content, which is found in Stangwald and Selnecker only in a different order, what is therefore said about the Aurifaber edition covers all the others. Thus, we can now proceed to the consideration of the nature of the table speeches. It is not necessary to separate the external from the internal characteristics, because the presentation of the former will also make the latter completely clear.

### Duplicates in the table talks.

Through all previous editions of the Tischreden, without exception, from the first, the Aurifabersche, in 1566 to the last, the Erlanger, in 1854, there are a very large number of duplicates, now already 320 years. The number of duplicates, from which we have freed the Tischreden, amounts to about 520. Of these, the largest number, namely about 380, are duplicates in the Tischreden themselves; about 140 are pieces taken from other writings of Luther into the Tischreden. The latter are all interpolated by Aurifaber 2), who has added them several times with an insertion.

2) They are not found in the Latin editions.

The first part of the text is the first part of a paragraph, and the last part is not the same as the first part of a paragraph or paragraph. In the writings from which they are taken, these pieces rarely form the beginning of a paragraph, nor does the conclusion of them coincide with the conclusion of a paragraph or section, but they are usually torn out of the middle of a section, and the paragraphs are divided differently, which makes them very difficult to find.

The Stangwald and Selnecker editions are advantageously different from the Aurifaber editions in this respect, for they have 146 fewer duplicates than the latter. Also, in those editions, a large number of pieces that Aurifaber inserted from Luther's writings into the Table Talks are removed from the Table Talks and placed in the appendix with an indication of the writings from which they are taken. Walch and the later editions have not made use of this really significant improvement. Urged only by his publisher to include the Tischreden in his collection, Walch did not want to bother with an editing and improvement of the Tischreden. FörstemannBindseil referred to the duplicate only in 84 pieces that they recognized as duplicate by comparing Stangwald's and Selnecker's, but only in five of them did they decide to omit them. Förstemann and Bindseil did not notice 56 of the duplicates omitted by Stangwald and Selnecker, although several of them refer to the same place in Stangwald, e.g. to

Cap. 27, § 43 and Cap. 32, 811	aauf8t	. 350*.
" 45, § 24.	" 76, § 27(2).	" 483.
" 45, § 47	"" 73, § 12 a	"" 472.
" 48, § 2	"" 38, § 8	," 534.
" 48, § 40	"" 38, § 7	"" 534.
" 61, § 6	"" 7, § 104	" " 524*.

Of these 84 pieces, 9 are also duplicated by Stangwald.

The Erlangen edition, on the other hand, has reinserted all duplicates. Only in 9 places, according to the F.-B. edition, it has referred to duplicates. Yes, the inattention of the editor of the Erlangen edition goes so far that e.g. the

second paragraph of Cap. 61, § 10, which is another relation of Cap. 26, § 52, is printed again in its entirety in the latter place as a note. Likewise compare Cap. 22, § 151 and Cap. 43, § 2, where in the Erlangen edition to each of these two different relations the deviations of the others are printed as notes, thus one and the same thing is actually reproduced four times. Such a thing is repeated even more often, e.g. Cap. 20, § 14 and Cap. 1, § 89, in general almost every time when the notes referring to Stangwald assume a larger extent, e.g. Cap. 20, § 29 compared with Cap. 20, § 4; Cap. 27, § 95 compared with Cap. 22, § 104 etc. yi.

Walch left out only 5 pieces:

Cap. 15, § 21a,	because already Cap. 15, § 10.
" 76, 810a,	"" 4, 8 56.
" 74, 8 33a,	"" 74, 8 3.
" 43, 8 55a,	"" 43, 8 68.

and the long note, which the Ert. Ausg" vol. 60, 18 f. to Cap. 24, 8 74, Walch did not bring, because already printed Walch, alteAusg., Bd. IX, 1421.

A large number of these pieces are already duplicated, as different relations, which completely cover each other in thought, in the sources themselves, namely in the diary of Cordatus, from No. 1770 on. We have not included them, because we considered them dispensable due to the great similarity with their doppelgänger.

We have not printed the following numbers from Cordatus: No. 31, because contained in Lauterbach pag. 19; further, because duplicated in Cordatus itself: No. 1124. 1267. 1356. 1365. 1393. 1412. 1442-1449 (Melanchthon's letter to Brenz). 1450 (Luther's addition to the previous letter. Walch, old ed., XXI, 1349). 1439. 1620. 1677. 1715. 1770. 1771. 1772. 1773-1780. 1783-1814. 1816-1825. - To be found in other writings 359-362. 1186-1192. Not suitable for communication No. 614. So there are altogether 85 pieces of the 1843 numbers of the Cordatus, of which we have made no use.

At Lauterbach are only two duplicates namely:

In the Hall manuscript, too, we encounter quite a number of duplicates. The following have come to our attention.

Binding rope	Table speeches	Rebenftock
I, 49 and 11, 122.	Cap. 12, § 71.	I, 28b and II, 105 b.
I, 55 " III, 36.	" 7, § 16.	
I, 57 " III, 51.	" 38, § 3	
I, 68 " 11, 367.	" 18, § 2	and Cap. 13, § 68.
I, 113 " III, 63.	" 2, § 103	" 43, § 78.
I, 115 " 11, 36.	" 50, § 2.	" 49, § 9.
I, 135 " 111, 244.	" 27, § 35.	I, 63 " 11, 149 b.
I, 135 " 111, 245. <sup>^</sup>	" 27, § 36.	I, 64 " II, 36.
	" 56, § 4, cl. 2	" 30, § 5.
	" 27, § 37.	" 56, § 9.
I, 135 " 111, 245.	" 27, § 38.	
I, 159 " II, 179.	" 29, § 1	" 28.2 5.
I, 165 " 111, 185.	" 77, § 1.	
I, 167 " I, 375.	Missing.	I, 89 " II, 14b.
I, 178 " 111, 314.	" 4, § 63.	I, 89b " 1, 198.
I, 180 " I, 293.	" 66, § 50	
I, 218 " II, 307.	" 24, § 12.	" 4, § 83.
I, 250 " II, 20.	" 3, § 55.	I, 96b " 1, 142.
I, L66 " III, 132.	" 73, § 1	1, 116 " II, 228b.
I, 287 " 111, 229.	" 66, § 4.	I, 133b " II, 94b.
1, 322 " I, 330.	" 16, § 8.	
I, 348 " 11, 108.		I, 158 " I, 162.
I, 392 " 11, 285.		
1, 403 " 11, 113.	" 75, § 1(Turkish Empire),, " 27, § 2 (Antichrist) II, 60 (Antichrist.)	Lauterb. pag. 58.
1, 409 " 111, 128.	" 22, § 77.	Grief at L. pss. 199.
I, 419 " 111, 264.	" 27, § 95	
II, 5 " 111, 172.	" 27, 2121	" 22, § 104.
II, 13 " 1, 383.	" 67, § 2	" 27, § 85 Conclusion.
II, 32 " 111, 174.	" 37, § 7. -	" 76, § 16.
II, 89 " III, 3.	" 9, § 44.	
II, 90 " 11, 241.	" 11, § 16	" 9, § 19.
II, 93 " II, 95.	" 52, § 1.	
II, 122 " III, 29.	" 27, § 64	" 19, § 7.
II, 170 " - II, 344.	" 43, § 9.	
II, 220 " 111, 202.	" 59, § 6.	II, 28b and II, 201b.
II, 307 " 111, 217.	" 26, § 68.	
II, 341 " II, 344.	" 43, § 39.	
III, 47 " III, 59.	" 3, § 91.	
III, 111 " 111, 125.	" 22, § 12	" 22, § 64.
III, 115 " 111, 130.	" 22, § 25 x	" 19, Sec. 42, Para. 10.

As this register shows, 16 of the 39 duplicates in the Hall manuscript are also duplicates in the German Tischreden, of all those in Rebenftock only 13, i.e. just one third. The duplicates in Rebenftock are almost all small and insignificant, mostly only other redactions. The duplicate Bindseil I, 68 and II, 367 can hardly be named in the same way in Rebenftock, because it is only hinted at, but not widely executed, as in Bindseil. This makes us inclined to attribute priority to the Rebenftock collection over the Höllische manuscript.

We consider it superfluous to print here the register of the 520 duplicates we have proved in the German Tischreden, because

we have accounted for every omission of any piece and provided the necessary proof. Such an index would fill **12 entire columns** of our edition.

We have already spoken above about the presumed cause of the duplicate in Cordatus.

In the Tischreden, the same pieces are often assigned to different sections at the same time. By combining related material and reducing the number of chapters from 80 to 43, Slangwald noticed the 146 duplicates from which he has removed from the Tischreden.

The difference of the duplicate of a-

other often comes from the fact that they are different translations, e.g. Cap. 4, § 34, and 15, § 17; Cap. 1, § 18 and 4, § 35.

More often, through inattention, such repetitions are also found in the same section, e.g., Cap. 15, § 6 and 15, § 39; Cap. 15, § 10 and-15, § 21."

Frequently, different relations that completely coincide with each other, e.g., Cap. 27, § 36 is found three more times, namely Cap. 30, § 5; Cap. 56, § 4 and Cap. 56, § 9. Of these we have retained Cap. 56, § 4, authenticated by Lauterbach p. 174, and Cap. 27, § 36, authenticated by Cordatus No. 643.

Other miscellaneous relations, one of which is dispensable, include the beginning of Cap. 15, § 12, and the last paragraph of Cap. 12, § 35; Cap. 4, § 33, Cap. 13, § 72, and Cap. 21, § 1 (Cordatus No. 1631); the second paragraph of Cap. 4, § 78 and the last paragraph of Cap. 15, § 19 (Lauterbach pag. 21).

Even some of the pieces taken from Luther's own writings are found twice, e.g., Cap. 17, § 22 and Cap. 19, § 25 from the Great Catechism. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 130, § 232; Cap. 6, § 5, para. 3 and 8, § 8, last para. from the Kirchenpostille. Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. XIII, 674, § 25; cap. 24, § 35 and 7, § 130 from Interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians Cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VM, §§ 87. 88.

We are firmly convinced that, despite all our efforts, we have not succeeded in freeing the Tischreden from all the pieces that Aurifaber has inserted from other writings of Luther, but that quite a number of such passages can still be found. Pieces of which we assume that they can still be found in other writings are, for example, Cap. 2, § 84, of the provision; Cap. 10, § 4 and § 10, of free will; Cap. 11, § 11 and § 12, of the 1st commandment; Cap. 12, §§ 77-82, the law does not serve for justification; Cap. 17, § 23, of baptism, and others.

To make it clear to the reader how immensely altered the appearance of the Tischreden is in our edition by omitting the duplicates and pieces taken from other writings of Luther, we give

the proof about it at Cap. 12, "of the law and Evangelio". At the same time, we indicate the sources from which pieces are newly translated. Where the pieces omitted from Luther's writings are to be found, can be found in the relevant paragraphs in our edition. The paragraphs marked f in the front are omitted.

Table Talks.	Where printed elsewhere.	Sources.
Cap. 12,? 1.		
	2.	
	1-3.	Cap. 12, § 20. Letter to the Galatians.
f4	.	
f1-5	.	Cordatus No. 7-10.
	6. Sec. 1.	" 188.
	7. Ab. 2. Cap. 11, § 23.	"189.
f7	.	190. "" 291.
	.	"" 205.
	8.	Epistle to the Galatians.
	9.	
1-10	.	
1-11	.	
1-12	.	
1-13	.	
f14	.	
1-15	.	Cordatus No. 498.
t16	.	Cap. 26, § 72. . "" 502.
	17.	Cf. " 12,? 68a. " " 1623.
f18	.	cf. " 12,? 3. "" 34.
	' 19.	" 24, ?15.
	20.	" 12,? 43.
f-21	.	"74.75.
s22	.	"" 1781.
	23.	"" 1637.
	24.	/" 1,s84.
	25.	UNdl., 7,? 154.
	26.	"" 1648.
	27.	" 9,? 53.
	28.	" 12,? 31.
f29	.	"" 1032.
1--	30.	" 1649.
	31.	and(" 3?! ?50^ last para. letter to the Galatians.
	31	
	32.	Para. 1. " Cordatus No. 1017.
	1-	Para. 2. / Cap. 7,? 170.
33.		and I "13,? 46.
	1-	// " 1696.
34.		
	35.	
	35.	
		Cap. 12,? 55, para. 1.
	36.	" 26,? 1. Kummer bei Lauterbach,
	37.	pas. 203.
	38.	" 26,? 16, para. 1. end.
	39.	cf. cap. 12,? 22.
	40.	" 37,? 64.
	41.	
1-42	.	
	43.	

Table speeches.	Where printed elsewhere. Sources.
Cap. 12, 846.	Cap. 2, ? 36.
1	47. house mail.
	48.
f	49. Cap. 1, 8 55. cordatus No. 863.
1-	50. " 2, 8138.
	51, para. 1. " 12, 8 60.
	51, para. 2. Cordatus No. 340.
	52.
	53.
f	54. " 40, 8 1.
1-	55, para. 1. " 12, 8 41.
	55,letz,para. " 15, 8 12.
	56. cordatus No. 191.
	57. "" 1346.
1-	58. " 37, 8 M.
	59. " 131.
	60. " 12, 8 51. "" 1406.
	61.
	62. "" 815.
	Cf. Lauterbach pas. 141.
	63.
	64.
	65.
1-	66, para. 1. Preface to the A. T.
	66, para. 2. "" N.T.
	66, para. 2. 3. "" A.T.
	66, paras. 4-7. "" N. T.
1-	67, para. 1. " .....
	67, para. 2. 3. Letter to the Galatians.
1-	68.
1-	68 a. Cap. 12, § 19.
1-	68d. 26,Z43, para. 5.
	69.
	70. Lauterbach xaZ. 148.
	71. "" 172.
	174.
	72.
f	73.-. Epistle to the Galatians.
1-	74.
	75.
1-	76.
	77.
	78.
1-	79/Cap. 12, § 32.
	and I " 37, § 50, last. Para.
	80.
	81.
	83.'s Cap. 11, § 17. cordatus No. 1391.
	and " 11, § 22.
	84, par. 1-^."13, § 78. Cordatus No. 1327.
	1328.
	84, paras. 5-11. " 26, § 11.
	85. Lauterbach pag. 30.

Furthermore, other paragraphs than the ones we have indicated may have been taken from other writings of Luther, e.g., §§ 77-82, which are often repeated in Luther's great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians. 26 paragraphs of this section have been newly translated by us according to the originals. Thus, only 24 paragraphs remain in their old form.

### Admixture of foreign things.

In the collection of table speeches there is a rather large number of pieces that are not table speeches. We are not talking here about the pieces that Aurifaber took from Luther's writings and trimmed to make them appear as table speeches, but about those that openly stand out as strange pieces. It was already in the plan of the first collectors to include not only table speeches in the narrower sense, but also advice, concerns, consolations, letters, rhymes, interpretations of sayings, and so on. We encounter such things already, though rarely, in Cordatus and Lauterbach; much more in Rebenstock and the Hall manuscript; in considerable numbers, however, in the German Tischreden, including those that are not by Luther at all. Stangwald and Selnecker have relegated such things to their appendix. We, too, have not wanted to proceed too radically with these things, but have omitted only those pieces in which Luther obviously has no part, such as Melanchthon's letter to Brenz, and those which are already printed in other volumes of Luther's works. The others we have retained, namely because otherwise no place would have been found for their inclusion in Luther's writings and some of them are nevertheless very valuable and instructive, such as Luther's disputation with Melanchthon on justification, Cap. 13, §§ 2-11., This piece we have even newly translated from Oeem Latin, because the Aurifaber translation was not sufficient. Which of these pieces we have retained, and which we have omitted, may be found in the paragraphs concerned. They are the following:

In this chapter, 36 paragraphs had to be deleted, partly because they are duplicates, partly because they are taken from other writings of Luther. Paragraphs 26. 35. 43. 44. 46. 83. 84 are also duplicates, which are not deleted here, but in other chapters. If all these pieces were here

Cap. 1, § 64. Luther's rhymes from the Reum Testament.

" 4, § 67. Fable, told by Ph. Melanchthon with Luther's reproach. (Lauterbach pag. 67.)

" 7, § 30. Lx manusei Äptjs rrsotutionidus visputationum. (Stangwald 824.)

" 11, K 13. Interpretation of the Catechism. (Some of it in Cordatus.)

13, § 2-11. Luther's disputation with Melanchthon.

"Melanchthon's letter to Brenz with a postscript by Luther.

"19, § 42. Luther's speech with Bucer and Lycosthenes.

"21, § 5. admonition from the ban after the sermon Invocavit 1539.

24, § 60. Interpretation of the saying Joh. 8, 44. (Cordatus No. 657.)

"43, § 136. Luther's prayer for his marriage state.

" 47, p 6. verses from human life, told by Luther.

" 64,K2 . Excerpt from Luther's Warning to the Germans.

"66,? 20. Predigtam heil. The sermon was preached on Epiphany 1544 against the jurists.

" 66,H21 . " from the secret engagement Wider die Juristen

" 66,B22 . "Against the Lawyers.

and " 66' § 51 Sonnt . Reminiscere 1539 against the lawyers.

66,? 24. sermon to lawyers on how to study law.

66, § 52, on 23 Feb. 1539 Against the Jurists.

Appendix § 13. little verse: What money has for violence in the world.

### Furthermore, a number of pieces appear to be spurious:

Cap. 1, § 9, the last paragraph, seems to be Aurifaber's translation of No. 3 of the next 810.

.. 2, § 11, para. 4 seems to be another relation of Cap. 24, § 91.

" 2, 8 11, " 1-3 " " "9, 861., "

" 3, § 13, " I probably em to the following formed entrance.

" 7, § 179' probably "an expansion of Cordatus A'o. 1322. "

" 12,862Some other redaction of Cap. 26, § 16, para. 3, Cord. No. 815.

"19,86shall be taken from Cordatus No. 1351.

" 22,851An entrance formed to the following §. Cf. Lauterbach pss. 127.

" 23,85seemsunreal , compared with Luther inWalch , St. Louis ed. XIII, 2644, § 18 and Lauterbach paK. 96.

" 24,817 , the last paragraph, will probably be only an extension of the last words of Cordatus No. 1666 .

" 24,858perhaps formed from Cordatus No. 1418.

" 26, § 13 probably formed from Cordatus No. 891.

" 7,83very similar in thought to Cap. 7 , § 56; is probably formed from it.

" 24,821 , the last para, appears to be Aurifaber's narrative, not Luther's. Only in the German Table Talks.

" 37, § 114, para. 2, probably an adaptation of Cordatus No. 1338.

"47, § 3 will probably be just another version of Cap. 48, § 38.

That these assumptions of ours are not made up out of thin air, but have good reason, will be seen immediately from the following.

### Arbitrary treatment of the originals in the table speeches.

In the table speeches, the originals have been dealt with in a highly arbitrary manner and much has been fictionalized.

Cap. 2, § 17, Vine I, 3a. Zd, Bindseil I,^, 6, compared with Cordatus No. 517, offer, as D. Wrampelmeyer correctly remarks, a rather characteristic example of the way in which the original form of Luther's words is distorted by later additions and alterations.

From Cordatus No. 435, a single sentence, Aurifaber has spun two whole paragraphs, namely Cap. 7, §§80 and 81; Bindseil III, 37, on the other hand, gives only the first half of the sentence in Cordatus.

From Cordatus No. 1208, two and a half rows, Aurifaber has made the extensive first paragraph of Cap. 19, § 26.

Cap. 24, § 115 Aurifaber tells that one fainted in the presence of Luther, while according to Cordatus No. 453 Luther himself was afflicted by it. On this occasion, a whole consolation speech to the sick person is invented from the thoughts with which Luther comforted himself.

In Cap. 26, § 52, what was reported by Cordatus No. 1129 is illustrated by a set of

Additions brought to about four times the size.

Cap. 43, § 13, the last three paragraphs, Luther's words are horribly distorted. Cf. Cordatus No. 1513.

In Cap. 66, § 48, Cordatus No. 649, how the nobility deals with theologians and jurists, is transformed into a dispute of theologians and jurists.

From Cordatus No. 1097, One Paragraph, Cap. 74, § 2 three paragraphs are made.

Cordatus No. 555 has become more than threefold in Cap. 76, § 3.

In Cap. 3, § 14, No. 1761-1763 of the Cordatus are interwoven, rearranged, changed and provided with various additions.

An interesting example of how the originals were handled in the Tischreden is provided by Cap. 9, § 19 and 44, § 3, which are based on Cordatus No. 1743. 1745 and 734. Also included in these two paragraphs are Cap. 9, § 45 and § 46; Cap. 50, § 2; Cap. 2, § 42; Cap. 11, § 16; Cap. 2, § 61; Cap. 37, § 100; Cap. 44, § 3, and similarly Cap. 37, § 75. Of these 11 pieces, 8 had to be deleted.

The above information contains only a few samples of the deviation of the table speeches from the originals. The deviations from the records of Lauterbach are by far not as substantial as those of Cordatus. Nevertheless, what D. Wrampelmeyer has said in his preface p. 30 f. about this in relation to Cordatus, also finds its full application to the table speeches after Lauterbach, namely: "In many cases, the version of the Latin and German records is similar. This similarity, of course, almost never goes so far that one could speak of a literal correspondence of the Latin table speeches or claim that a paragraph of the German table speeches is similar.

The author of the book, the author of the "Cordatus", states that "the Cordatus Table Talks are a faithful translation of a Latin text on which they are based. -----"It is hardly possible to think of a greater contrast than that which exists between Cordatus and the later Tischreden in the material that has been handed down together. Those who compiled the Latin and German table speeches allowed themselves the greatest arbitrary wedges. They tore the original records apart, arranged the material under general categories and provided the individual sections with content, not infrequently with omissions and concealment of important data and facta. This was done to a particularly rich extent in the compilation of the German Tischreden. This procedure, however, has had bad consequences. In part, what belongs together has been torn apart, in part, it has led to superfluous repetitions on a large scale. Thus we are confronted with the phenomenon that, especially in the German table speeches, a lot of conversations occur twice, not infrequently three times and more. In fact, the mass of the actual repetitions is so great that after eliminating them, the volume of the German table speeches would probably melt down to half." 1)

By tearing apart the original records, one felt compelled to make new connections, to form introductions and conclusions, and to make other additions, some of which are correct, however, others are demonstrably wrong.

### Spoiled state of the table talks.

With regard to the Latin editions of the Table Talks, we have already demonstrated that they have a very corrupted text. Some false readings of the Table Talks run through all editions, e.g.: -

#### German Table Speeches.

Cap. 3, § 28: the Jewish countryside

: India. (Kummer at Lauterbach psA. 87.)

BixdseU.

III, 77.

"45, § 24: not much without blood instead of: not long in bloom; wrong also in Lauterbach paZ. 176. i, 352. cf. cap. 76, § 27, para. 2. Stangwald omitted the word.

"75, K I, para. 11 a. E.: by a pious man instead of: by a bad boy. (Cord. No. 1600.) I, 398. " 76, § 28, par. 2, middle: Bride instead of: pronunci sdepth of the seaj. (Cord. No. 1556.)' 111, 107.

"77, § 1, penultimate par.: gegen Abend instead of: gegen Morgen. (Lauterbach xaZ. 36.)

1, 165.

1) This assumption seems too high to us. What we have eliminated, is, according to our surplus, about one sixth. With knowledge and will, we have not left much in the way of actual repetitions, and what we have missed will probably not be significant.



Other false readings run through all German editions, again confirming their complete dependence on Aurifaber. This is the case, for example:

- Cap. 3, § 22: Lock legs instead of: Schooßbeine. Cord. No. 704.  
 " 7, § 17 towards the end: prior instead of: Priest. Lauterbach pn.] 45.  
 " 7, § 43: em good dishes instead: Bellitzschier (i.e., a happy face). Lauterb. pag. 79.  
 " 12, § 23, para. 2, end: papists instead of: Prophets. Cord. No. 74.  
 " 27, § 66, par. 1, middle: Hell dragons instead of: Hell's dragons. Lauterb. pag. 64.  
 " 30, § 2 to end: lice instead of: People. Cord. No. 806.  
 " 35, § 11to end: oddball instead of: Haufe. Lauterb. pag. 193.  
 " 35, § 12z. Ans.: Life instead of: Lobes. Cord. No. 537.  
 " 35, § 13geg . end: zu Kauf instead of: zu Häuf. Lauterb. pag. 19.  
 " 39, § 12: Scorpion [scorpio] instead of: Ostrich [struthio]. Cord. No. 230.  
 " 43, § 183: India instead of: Italia. Cord. No. 1538. Stangwald omitted the word.  
 " 48, § 17, para. 1 End: Altvater instead of: Adam. Lauterb. 104.  
 "48, § 25: Monks instead of: Dying. Kummer at Lauterb. pag. 202.  
 "54, § 27 Last paragraph: Johann XIII. instead: Johann XXIII Lauterb. pag. 83.  
 " 57, § 4, 2 rows are omitted, one in the middle, the other towards the end. Lauterb. pag. 192.  
 " 69, § 3, para. 1, end: drunkenness instead of: Dryness. Lauterbach pag. 184.  
 " 70, § 2, para. 4: they [the Sternes have to sue instead of: we have to sue. Cord. No. 169.  
 "75, § 1, para. 11 Begin: on loud wars [militia] instead of: loud malice [malitia]. Cord. No. 1599.  
 " 76, § 4, para. 1 middle: more miserable instead of: more internal. Lauterb. pag. 10.  
 " 76, § 16, sub. 2: Willows instead: Waid sFärbekraut): Lauterb. pag. 185.

In quite a few cases, Stangwald has chosen duplicates that contain the correct reading, e.g.

Aurifaber: Cap. 3, § 60: violence; Stangw.: has will [gewollt.] Cord. No. 949. cf. cap. 43, § 158. " 24, § 117: klage. Stangw.: schlage. Cord. No. 654. cf. cap. 26, § 27.

In other places, Stangwald noticed that not everything was in order, and then tried to put an end to the difficulty by circumventing it, e.g.

Aurifaber: Cap. 43, § 33: D. Phil., Lauterbach pas. 133: D. Pistor. Stangw.: N. N.

"66, § 25: da fehlet euch Wahrheit. Lauterbach pag. 46: Das fehlet euch. - Truth 2c.

Stangwald has omitted here the word truth, which belongs to the following, as we have already seen above twice that he has omitted the word that is burdensome to him.

Stangwald has actually corrected the following passages, for example:

Aurifaber: Cap. 37, § 114: Oil. Stangwald: Eel.

"" 45, § 70: Opinions, Stangwald: Meinigen.

""55, § § 7: Loss. Stangwald: Unlust. Lauterb. pnA. 56.

"" 74, § 6: Ueberwaschung. Stangwald: Ueberwachsung. U. a. m.

In his preface p. 33, Wrampelmeyer has named a whole number of wrong readings in the table speeches.

### Incorrect timing.'

Very often there are wrong time indications in the table speeches, even more often the time indications made in the originals are omitted.

- Cap. 2, § 99 towards the end: 1541 instead of: 1532. Cordatus No. 848.  
 " 4, § 116: 1542 instead of: 1538. Lauterbach pag. 5.  
 " 15, 819 : In January of the 40th year held: 2 Feb. 1538. Lauterbach patz. 21.  
 " 17, 829 : Anno 41, perhaps: 1531. Cordatus No. 789 .No speech in Cord, is  
 after 1537.  
 " 26, 883: 1541, v. Cordatus No. 1067, perhaps 1531.  
 " 55, 87: The same day (5 Apr., Lauterb. p. 56) held: 10 April 1538. Lauterb. pas. 60.  
 " 77, 83: 1537 instead of: 1538. Lauterbach pag. 13.  
 Vine II? 21b.: 1532 instead of 1533. Cordatus No. 1248.

Other information that differs from each other is also not uncommon:

- Cap. 4, ? 67: Melancthon told at table. Lauterb. pas. 57: inthecar .  
 "24, 888 : at Erfurt. Stangwald p. 163": to Bononia (v. i. toBologna ).  
 Cord. No. 907: at Wittenberg. Vine and binding rope: at Nuremberg.  
 Cap. 43, 831 : He had 21 wives, she had 20 husbands .  
 " 30, ? 34: " " 12 " " 9 " "  
 Lauterbach xaz. 140: (The wives not specified.); she had had 9 husbands.  
 Cap. 22, § 53: 500 parishes in Würzburg unoccupied.  
 " 1, § 21: 600 " " " " " "  
 "48, § 30: the cellar had collapsed behind Luther and his wife. Cord. No. 1607: a wall and a beam had fallen down next to Luther.  
 " 76, § 26, para. 7: The pope says: Christ will remain, instead of: Christ is inauthentic [manserem]. (Cf. the wrong translations below).  
 " 4, 8108: DaD. M. L. was in his garden, against Cordatus No 1553.

With a small piece we want to show the reader an example of the changes that the Tischreden have undergone through the various editors:

Lauterbach, pag. 174: Deinde legit in libro Campani, propria manu scripto et Munsterii reperto, cujus titulus erat etc. (After that he read in the book of Campanus, which he had written with his own hand and which had been found at Münster, whose title was 2c.).

Bindseil II, 30: D. Martinus Luthel-us librum Campani legens manu ejus propria subscripta et Munsterii, cujus titulus erat etc. (Since D. M. Luther read the book of Campanus, which was signed by his own hand and by that of Munster, its title was 2c.).

Rebenstock II, 33 a: D. M. L. librum Campani legens, manu illius propria scriptum et a Munstero relictum, cujus titulus erat etc. (Since D. M. L. read the book of Campanus, which he had written with his own hand and which Münster had left behind, its title was 2c.).

Aurifaber, cap. 37, § 6: D. Martinus Lutherus read in the Campani book, which he had written with his own hand and had overlooked and crossed out Münsterus, which title was 2c. Likewise Stangwald.

Aurifaber, Cap. 2, §39: As he was reading in the book of Campani, the gusher, so he was with

1) In order to understand how it was possible that the editors of the Tischreden made a person out of the city of Münster, one must note that "Sebastian Münster" attacked Luther because of his translation of the Bible, in that he wanted to judge everything according to grammatical rules. Cf. Lauterbach's Tageb. paz. In our edition: Appendix 1, No. 106.

of his own hand, the title was 2c. (Here "Münster." is missing.) This last redaction is missing in Stangwald, who has omitted it as a duplicate.

In a large number of pieces, it can be seen that the editors did not even replace them, e.g., Cap. 24, § 123, cf. with Cord. No. 86; 23, § 2, cf. with Laüterb. pag. 137; 14, § 21, cf. with Cord. No. 320. 321; 26, § 42, cf. with Lauterb. pag. 34; Cap. 12, § 23, cf. with Cord. No. 74. 75; 43, § 75, cf. with Cord. No. 35 and 38; 21, § 17, cf. with Cord. No. 1703. 1704; 7, § 148, cf. with Lauterb. pag. 69; 7, § 98, cf. with Cord. No. 48; 7, § 9, cf. with Cord. No. 42; 1, § 54, cf. with Cord. No. 1568; 7, § 152, cf. with Cord. No. 519; 19, § 4, cf. with Cord. No. 1350. In other ones, the straight opposite is reported of what the sources bring, e.g. 26, § 30, para. 1: Therefore come to me, my dear Schlainhauffen, item to Magister Philippo, Co.rdato 2c. In contrast, Cordatus No. 378, the challenged one is directed away from Philippus and Cordatus, to Christo. - Cap. 27, § 15 it is said that "the pope made an alliance with the emperor," while Cordatus No. 609 reports that the pope made an alliance with the emperor's enemy, the king of France^-. Cap. 48, § 30, the Latin words are the exact opposite of Cordatus No. 1311. The "not" is omitted. - In Cordatus No. 1252, private citizens and authorities are placed "opposite" each other; in the corresponding paragraph of the Table Talks, Cap. 44, §§ 7. 8, both are blended and drawn together.

In many cases, the German table speeches

Explanations inserted, often also what just occurred to the editors, e.g. Cap. 74, § 6, towards the end, the explanation of Ebionites, against Lauterb. 37; Cap. 74, § 9 the way Jerusalem was destroyed, against Lauterb. pag. 124; Cap. 80, § 1, where Burkhard's horses came from, against Lauterb. pag. 166; Cap. 12, § 30 and 31 the explanation of Labyrinth and Minotaur; Cap. 76, § 28 the annual marriage of the Doge of Venice to the sea as to his bride, against Cord. No. 1467. - Furthermore, much is inserted in Cap. 22, § 143, gegey Lauterb. pag. 203; in Cap. 76, tz 26, against Lauterb. pag. 166; in Cap. 13, tz 32, against Cord. No. 1385; in Cap. 76, tz 13, para. 2, vs. Cord. No. 886; in Cap. 37, tz 106, v. Cord. No. 530; in Cap. 37, tz 107

v. Cord . No. 1466; in Cap . 37, tz 108 ,  
v. Cord . No. 1093; in Cap . 37, tz 109 ,  
against Cord . No. 1102; in Cap . 37, § 110 ,  
v. Cord. No. 1226; in Cap. 55, tz 5, against Cord. No. 1268; on the other hand, omitted in Cap. 75, tz 2, compared with Lauterb. pag. 35; in Cap. 57, tz 4, compared with Lauterb. pag.

Cordatus, No. 1666: Daemon signo dato visus est exire, i.e.: That one has seen as if the evil spirit goes out on a given sign.

Cordatus, No. 1707: Tantum admittantur consolationes, i.e.: Only the consolation should be accepted.

Lauterbach, pag. 192: homines attoniti ac τυτυφωμένοι, i.e. senseless, deluded.  
People.

Lauterbach, pag. 120: qui lectorem suspensum relinquent, i.e. which left the reader in uncertainty.

Lauterbach, pag. 47: Alii juristae impii eua tantum quaerentes habent jus in armis, i.e. other godless jurists, who only seek their own, have the law in arms.

191 f.; in Cap. 37, tz 109, cf. with Cord. No. 1102. U. a. m.

Very extensive translations are found, e.g., Cap. 1, tz 79, cf. with Cord. No. 1605; 7, tz 166, cf. with Cord. No. 1759; 9, tz 42, cf. with Cord. No. 1318; 12, tz 26, cf. with Cord. 1637; 20, tz 2, cf. with Ed. No. 1415; 22, tz 62, cf. with Lauterb. pag. 178; 26, tz 42, cf. with Lauterb. pag. 34; 26, § 43, cf. with Lauterb. pag. 49 f.; 37, tz 61, cf. with Cord. No. 194; 37, tz 94, cf. with Cord. No. 1695; 37, 126<sup>^</sup>, cf. with Cord. No. 246; 37, tz 126, cf. with Cord. No. 394; 43, tz 84, cf. with Lauterb. pag. 164; 45, tz 34, cf. with Lauterb. pag. 121; 47, tz 4, cf. with Cord. No. 1828; 55, tz 5, cf. with Cordatus No. 1268; 59, tz 2, cf. with Cord. No. 1347; 66, tz 56, cf. with Cord. No. 1040; 74, tz 2, cf. with Cord.-No. 1097; Appendix tz 5, cf. with Cord. No. 1368.

In order to give the reader an idea of the immense prolixity of the translations in the German Tischreden, we let follow here some translation samples, compared with the originals.

Aurifaber, Cap. 24, § 17, penultimate paragraph: But that the devil has gone out by invoking papist monks and priests, and has left a sign after himself, such as breaking panes of glass or a window, or tearing a piece of the wall, that he has done 2c.

Aurif. Cap. 26, § 68, conclusion: And again, those who are in such temptations should also be comforted, or make a measure and an end of it, believing God's word more than their thoughts and Satan's input and corrupt arrows.

Aurif. Cap. 57, § 4, para. 3, middle: And darkened people who go drowning in their thoughts and respect no one, and melancholy heads, and hopeful, stubborn spirits.

Aurif. Cap. 57, § 6, beginning: Therein they let the reader hang between heaven and earth, stamping, concluding nothing certain.

Aurif. Cap. 66, § 25, para. 3, conclusion: "The others in general are godless, seek only their own enjoyment and benefit, draw the law and twist it to their advantage, make wrong out of right and right out of wrong, with their interpretation and sophistry, solely for the sake of money.

If you want to study further the way Aurifaber translates, compare Cap. 76, § 26, para. 3 with Lauterbach pag. 165 and Cap. 66, § 53 with Lauterbach 187.

After a close inspection of these translation examples, we hope that no one will want to agree with us that we have (probably the greatest thing we have allowed ourselves), e.g., Cap. 24, § 1 and Cap. 24, § 127 have been deleted as contained in Cap. 24, § 2, and deleted the last paragraph of Cap. 24, § 2 deleted, as contained in Cap. 5, § 5.

#### **Incorrect translations.**

There are a large number of mistranslations in Aurifaber, which run through all German editions.

Cap. 1, § 28, para. 7, middle, Lauterbach pag. 78 at the end: [verbum] vehiculum Dei Aurifaber translated: "GOtt wirkt durchs Wort, welches gleich wie ein Wagen ist", instead of: GOtt wirkt durchs Wort, welches sein Träger und Werkzeug [im Herzen] ist.

Cap. 4, § 111, para. 2, end, has^Aurifaber: [The booksellers] get a bad name to their copies, where Bindseil I, 411 correctly offers: "take maculatur for good paper to their copies." There Aurifaber seems to have read: nomen maculatur [i.e. the name is stained] instead of: nomen maculatur sd. i. take bad paper).

Cap. 15, § 21, beginning, Lauterbach xa§. 194: in festo Natali, Aurifaber translates: "on his [Luther's] birthday," instead of: am Weihnachtsfeste.

Cap. 18, § 7, Lauterbach pag. 27: certius responsum, Aurifaber translates: "an answer after eating, if he had washed his hands", instead of: a more reliable answer.

Cap. 22, § 42, Lauterb. pag. 33: olim magistratus percacavit papatum, Aurifaber translates: "the pope has insulted the secular authorities who elevated him," instead of: the authorities have made nothing of the pope. (Here again is the opposite.)

Cap. 22, § 50, Lauterbach pag. 115: an concionatores publice sint arguendi, Aurifaber translates: "whether a preacher should punish publicly", instead of the other way around: whether preachers should be punished publicly.

Cap. 25, § 5, Lauterb. p>a§. 121: ex gallinis: "from the hens' nests," instead of: from the chickens.

Cap. 27, § 78, toward the end, Lauterbach pag. 77, *vappas*: "cows," instead of: unworthy people.

Cap. 33, § 1, Lauterb. pa§. 126: in ipsa bona feria sextae: "on Friday and during the fasts," instead of: on Char Friday.

Cap. 35, § 8, Lauterb. pa§. 186: offa: "a soup," instead of: a morsel.

Cap. 37, § 1, beginning, Cord. No. 1059: suavissimis Verdis et moridus: "he was very kind in words, but frivolous in gestures and in life", instead of: of winning words and manners.

Cap. 37, § 99, Lauterb. pag. 8: seductore

L. -. "as G. K. boasted of his spirit", instead of: the seducer of Georg Karg.

Cap. ö4, § 27, para. 2, beginning, Lauterbach pag. 83: praesumptio: "presumption," instead: Anmaßung.

Cap. 75, § 1, at the beginning, Cord. No. 626: ponet arcem suam: "he will carry his bow," instead of: he will build his castle.

Cap. 75, § 1, para. 9 at end, Cord. No. 880: vulpes ex antris proveniens Caucasi montiss: "a fox, which from the hole Caucasus herfürwischet and creeps", instead: [the Turk), which emerges from the caves of the Caucasus Mountains.

Cap. 76, § 26, para. 7 at the beginning, Cord. No. 539: Christum manserem esse: "Christ shall remain," instead of: Christum manserem esse.

Cap. 5, § 19 in the beginning, Cord. No. 945: Maximilianus valde superstitiosus fuit in re militari. Gentes in periculis mactaverunt etiam dilectissima: "Emperor Maximilianus is said to have been very superstitious in servitude; in perils he vowed to God and slaughtered what he encountered first." (Quite likewise the Hallische Handschrift Binds. I, 188 f.) instead: Emperor Maximilian was very superstitious in matters of war. The pagans slaughtered even their dearest in danger.

#### **Unreliable data.**

There are very many unreliable statements in the table speeches. Often the same sayings are put into the mouths of different people.

Cap. 45, § 84, the saying is attributed to the Elector John Frederick, which, according to Cap. 19, § 32, Luther is said to have made.

Cap. 28, § 5 is attributed to a nobleman in Meissen, which according to Cap. 29, § 1 and Cordatus No. 1014 to the chancellor of Trier, Caesar Pflug. This seems to have come from the fact that Rudolph of Bunan, of whom a similar saying is told in the same paragraphs in Bindseil I, 151 and Rebenstock I, 825, was confused by Aurifaber with Caesar Pflug. In both places of the Latin table speeches, Caesar Pflug is called praefectus Lipsiensis.

Cap. 22, § 9, the process is attributed to Antonius Lauterbach, who, according to Cord. No. 1462 refers to the Cordatus. Likewise wrong Bindseil m, 109.

Cap. 26, § 70 is according to Kummer at Lauterbach pag. 62 copied from Luther's hand psalter, while according to Aurifaber and Bindseil III, 219 it is supposed to be a consolation writing that Luther sent to Justus Jonas.

Cap. 27, § 56, the statement is attributed to Campegius at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530/which, according to Cordatus No. 1480, Aleander made in Worms in 1521.

Cap. 17, § 4 is attributed in part to Luther's wife, in part erroneously to the wife of M. A. Lauterbach, against Cordatus No. 1205.

Cap. 15, §30 is titled: Prayer for a Child-Bearer. The title is fictitious. Cf. Cordatus No. 933; also incorrectly Bindseil II, 184.

Cap. 7, § 25, para. 3, middle: "da nun Magister Rörer sagte"; whereas Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1595: "da sprach die Frau."

Cap. 27, § 10, last paragraph, Veit Dietrich is introduced against Cord. No. 920. Likewise Bindseil III, 228>.

Cap. 5, § 19, last paragraph, and Binds. I, 189: Veit Dietrich had asked about weeping virginity, against Cordatus No. 945. ,

1) This statement and some of the following ones may be correct: but we do not consider them reliable at all, because the originals do not mention anything about it.

Cap. 71, § 2, Bindseil I, 209, Rebenst. I, 110K, Veit Dietrich is introduced against Cordatus No. 672.

Cap. 69, § 1, para. 4, where Hebrew is mentioned, Mag. Förster must help to speak, in Bindseil If 261 and Rebenstock I, 1856 the professor of Hebrew, Matthias Aurogallus, is added against Cord. No. 1615.

Cap. 51, § 3, middle, M. Leonhard the Mathematicus joins in the astronomy against Cordatus No. 953. Likewise Binds. I, 86 and Rebenst. I, 49a. Förstemann-Pindseil and the Erlangen edition make in a note the pastor Leonhard Beier in Zwickau to this Mathematicus.

Cap. 26, § 30 and Bindseil II, 292, Schlaginhausen is introduced against Cord. No. 378.

Cap. 26, § 20 Aurifaber brings Melanchthon and Pommer, in against Cord. No. 475 and Binds. II, '302.

Cap. 4, § 124 at the beginning and Binds. II, 292, D. Henning is introduced against Cordatus No. 970. Likewise Cap. 13, § 67 against Cord. No. 1072 "and Cap. 9, § 63 against Cordatus No. 1501.

Cap. 4, § 58, Bindseil I, 184 and Rebenst. I, 99a, Valentin Mellerstädt is introduced against Cord. No. 1266.

Cap. 72, § 2 Doctor Johann Cellarius v. Cord. No. 1709.

Cap. 19, § 4, Binds. III, 25 and Rebenst. II, 133a Mag. Hausmann v. Cord. No. 1350. In the German Tischreden he is called pastor in Zwickau, Rebenstock calls him pastor in Dessau and Bindseil says that he officiated in Dessau.

Cap. 27, § 153, D. Jonas is introduced against Cord. No. 1363. Likewise Binds. I, 130 and Rebenst. I, 76a.

Cap. 22, § 34 Aurifaber introduces M. Joh. Mathesius against Cord. No. 1688, also against Binds. I, 38 and Rebenst. I, 216.

### Pointless stuff.

It is not uncommon to find quite meaningless sayings in the "Table Talks" that run through all the editions.

Cap. 76, § 14: The right worship and invocation of the prophet Elijah and the Baali-

The false worship and shouting are painted on a blackboard.

Cap. 37, § 30: Arch-heretics were said to have no hope for their fatherland.

Cap. 15, § 41: Then the eyes of all the horses were full of gnats and flew out to the country.

Cap. 78, § 2: Therefore one should get used to being industrious in time, even in the least, otherwise nothing will come of such rascals.

Cap. 62, § 2: No strength nor manhood can help against guns; he is dead before he is seen. Likewise Bindseil II, 194.

Cap. 76, § 19, para. 2 at the end: Christ is called an anointed one; with this they anointed and crowned kings.

Cap. 27, § 82: Finally, the fraud and deception was revealed by a boy and driven out of the country by the king.

Cap. 14, § 19: cups, which they touch with a little finger, instead of: they "do not" touch.

Cap. 43, § 5: A hen and she, instead of: a he [male] and a she.

Cap. 76, § 27, para. 4: Arragon and Pinsky are mountainous countries, pour water into the flour and put it outside on a hot stove and thus bake bread from it. (This sentence is improved from Slangwald.)

Cap. 43, § 167b, middle of the paragraph: who had a pig's spit standing by him, which also jumped out of bed and fiercely defended itself.

The Latin table speeches also offer something similar. Bindseil 1, 145, middle: *Erat enim depicta virgo Eva a Drotz, cum qua dux Bruns. Henricus genuit tres liberos in virginitate, et quinque post mortem martern. After martern, perhaps uxori 8 uae will have to be added, and vir Zinit8, 8 to be understood from the time before he was married. Likewise Rebenstock I, 79 b.*

### Knowingly counterfeiting.

Aurifaber seems to have had Lauterbach's diary in front of him in a fairly original form, but a form of Cordatus' diary that had been corrupted by multiple copying and editing. He himself also contributed to making these deviations even greater. From the Lauterbach

The German is mostly quite faithfully reproduced in his notes, but the Latin, which forms the main part, is often mistranslated, expanded, shortened, often not understood at all. The difficult passages are mostly skipped and omitted, or, if he has dared to translate them, wrongly rendered, not infrequently the exact opposite of what the originals offer.

But not only from ignorance and lack of understanding come many inaccuracies, false statements, etc. in the table speeches, but often, unfortunately we must say, they are deliberate falsifications. What may have caused Aurifaber to do this, we leave undecided. Also during the publication of the Jena edition of Luther's works, he would have tried, as already mentioned above, to include other writings than those published by Luther himself, but fell into disfavor over this and was therefore deposed from his office as court preacher in Weimar by Duke John Frederick the Middle. 1) With respect to the two Eislebische Theile published by Aurifaber, Walch, old edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 645, § 31 states: "One has wanted to pretend that some things were printed here under Luther's name, which he did not do, but Aurifaber wanted to assure the opposite. So much is clear to us that one has to be very careful and cautious in what goes back to the Eislebian volumes as the first source. Many errors in the editions are due to the Eislebic edition. For example, the letter to Joachim von Anhalt is given by Aurifaber in the Eisl. Ausg. Ü, 499 as not having been printed before. However, it is found in the Wittenbergische Ausg., vol. XII, 162d and in the Jenaische, vol. VI, 167. Cf. Walch, St. Louiser Ausg., vol. X, 1808 and again old edition, vol. XXI, 1407. De Wette IV, 460 and IV, 536.

The "Concern and Instruction of the Monasteries, and all Spiritual Vows," which is part of the sermon on the day of the Three Kings,

1) Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XXIV, the fourth chapter, especially p. 641, h 29 ff.

is also marked in the Eislebische Ausgabe as not having been printed before, but it is found in the Wittenb. Ausg. vol. IV, 464 and twice in Walch, alte Ausg. vol. XIX, 2053 and St. Louis Ausg. vol. XI, 391-414, §§ 253-312.

In the Eislebische Sammlung II, 112, the "German short interpretation of the 23rd, 24th and 25th Psalms" is preceded by the remark: "The following interpretation of three Psalms is taken and added from D. Luther's own handwriting. Luther's own manuscript." Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. IV, 2220. The Latin edition Eri. Tom. XVII, 276, which is procured by the children and heirs of Veit Dietrich in 1559, is also prefixed: *De autographo D. Lutheri expressa*". Thus we have two autograph originals by Luther of the same writing.

The text: "Die zehn Gebote GOTTes mit einer kurzen Auslegung ihrer Erfüllung und Uebertretung", Walch, old edition, vol. III, 1994-2005, is a German translation of the Latin text Eri. Tom. XII, 219 ff, rearranged and somewhat changed and shortened at the end. Only a small section Eri. Tom. XU, 226, item (e) septem - gratiae is missing. In the Wittenberg and Jena editions only in Latin. Viteb. I, 199, lon. 1, 175. This German Uebersetzung first appeared in d<sup>r</sup> Eislebische Ausgabe I, 21 and from there passed into the other editions. The other authentic German version is found in Wittenb. Ausg., vol. VI, 104 (108); Jen. I. 244 (319b); Walch, St. Louiser Ausg., vol. X, 148 ff.

What, in the case of these and similar pieces, only suggests itself as a suspicion that Aurifaber may not have proceeded with complete honesty in the publication of Luther's writings, becomes an undoubted, irrefutable certainty when we look at his edition of the Table Talks. Already among the pieces that Aurifaber, as the first writer, handed down, we encountered in Cap. 1, § 95, Para. 1 an excerpt from Luther's writing: "Wider den Meuchler zu Dresden" (Against the Assassin at Dresden), Walch, old edition, Vol. XVI, 2069, § 6. If we look around further in the Table Talks, we encounter in more than 140 paragraphs of the Table Talks probably more than two

The author has inserted, omitted, made introductions, conclusions, and applications to a hundred sections that have escaped from other, already printed writings of Luther, which Aurifaber has remodeled according to his liking. All the pieces he took from Luther's writings were more or less changed by him to make them appear as table speeches.

Because we have referred to the relevant passages in Luther's works for all such pieces that we have discovered, we will limit ourselves here to indicating only some of the most obvious ones.

Cap. 10, § 12, Walch, old edition, vol. XVI, 2044 f., is from Luther's gloss on the supposed imperial edict, but prefaced: "Dear Sirs, said v. Martinus Luther."

Cap. 1, § 40, Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. XI, 523, § 19 and 519, § 9, is from the Church Postilla, but prefaced: "Of this saying one asked D. M. Luthern."

Cap. 1, § 49, Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. XI, 546, § 2 and § 4, is from the church postilion, but introduced: "Es fragete einer über D. Luthers Tische."

Cap. 9, § 33. 34. 35., Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XIII, 541, § 5 and 6; 542, § ch 543, § 8; 550, § 31; 545, § 15; 543, § 9; 545, § 16; 543, § 11. 12. 13; 546, § 20. 21; 549, § 27. 28, divided into 13 pieces and mixed together, with expletives and additions, formed entrances and concluding speeches. They are all from the same sermon on Sunday Quasimodogeniti in the house postille, but prefaced, "Since D. Martinus was asked..." "he answered."

Cap. 10, § 4, Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. XIII, 1623 f., § 15. 16, is from the house postilla, but introduced: "sprach D. Martinus."

Cap. 10, § 6, Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. XI, 555, § 7. 8. 9. 10; 557, § 12; 558, § 14; 559, § 16. 17, is from the church postilion, but introduced, "What, said D. M. Luther."

Cap. 10, § 7, Walch, St. Louis ed,

Vol. XI, 1268, §61, is from the Church Postilla, but prefaced: "Since on the third Sunday after Trinity the Gospel of the Good Shepherd, who sought the lost sheep, was commemorated."

Cap. 19, § 25, Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. X, 137, § 246 and 130, § 232, is from the Great Catechism, but prefaced, "It was asked."

Cap. 18, § 12, Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. X, 2158, § 1-8, is from the brief instruction on how to confess.

Cap. I, § 61, Walch, old ed. vol. VIII, Cap. 2, § 55. 56. 63. 67. 68, is from the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, but introduced: "D. Luther sagete."

Cap. 2, § 151, Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, *ibid*, Cap. I, § 60 and 59, transposed and abridged and introduced: "I have often said it, said D. Martinus, and still say it."

Cap. 7, § I, paras. 4 and 5, *ibid*. Walch, Vol. VIII, Cap. 4, §46, introduced: "So gedachte sein abermal D. M. Luther."

Cap. 7, § 57, *ibid*, Walch, vol. VIII, 1524, § 1, introduced: "In my heart, said D. Martinus."

Cap. 9, § 7, *ibid*, Walch, vol. VIH, cap. I, § 68, introduced: "Since one asked."

Cap. 12, § 67, is compiled from Luther's Preface on the New Testament of 1545, Walch, old edition, vol. XIV. 103, § 14. 15 and (paras. 2 and 3) from the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Walch, vol. VIII, Cap. 2, § 137, introduced: "Therefore I say."

Cap. 12, § 73, Walch, Vol. VIII, Interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 2, § 128 and § 152, introduced: "I say truly, said D. Martin."

As an indication, this will probably be enough. More than ten times as much proof can be found in our new edition, and yet Aurifaber says quite naively in his preface to the edition of 1568, which is included above: "so I do not like to see that one buys old for new and that the people are changed by the new titles and improvements on the nose." And yet only he, and no one else, sets the

The author is not interested in the content of the book, but rather in the way it is presented to the public.

### Credibility of Table Talks.

Not all information even from the first recorders of the Table Talks is completely reliable. Cordatus No. 338 has quite a number of erroneous statements about incidents from Luther's life. The name of Luther's mother is incorrectly given, Hanna instead of Margaretha, the year of Luther's birth is only corrected by an old hand, probably from 1484 to 1483, the time of the omission of the theses is set in the year 1516 instead of 1517, the time of the first papal bull of excommunication in the year 1519 instead of 1518, as it is correctly stated in Cord. No. 569 is correctly stated.

In No. 343, Cordatus says that Luther omitted his theses in the second year after he became a doctor, even though Luther had already received his doctorate in 1512. The same error is also found by Kummer in Lauterbach pag. 102. - In Nö. 930 it is stated that Luther became a doctor in his 27th year, instead of in his 29th year, cf. Cord. No. 892.

Cord. No. 632 the relation is in several details different from what Luther himself writes to Amsdorf in 1525, 1) 2000 florins instead of 4000 florins at Cordatus. The latter does not state that Luther had the Polish Jew imprisoned, which is stated in this letter as well as in the letter to Spalatin 2), and that Luther had him set free because he did not want him to be martyred.

Therefore, we should not be surprised that we encounter many more and grosser errors among the later collectors of the Table Talks. We know that Luther had five living children, namely John, Martin, Paul and Magdalena. Elisabeth, about one year old, died again on August 3, 1528. Rebenstock, however, lets Luther himself tell in a conversation, which falls into the year 1532, and where Cordatus speaks only of three children, that he had six children.

4) Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 951, § 5.

2) Walch, old edition, Ban- XXI, 955, § 1.



Rebenstock adds a fourth, Andreas, to Luther's three boys. In the Hölliche Handschrift 1) Luther already has six children and the wife is pregnant with the seventh.

Especially from Cordatus, Veit Dietrich and Schlaginhaufen we know (not so definitely from Lauterbach) that they made their notes on the spot, in the presence of Luther. Nevertheless, with respect to the table speeches copied from Luther, what Walch said at the end of his preface p. 23 b remains true. 23 b at the end: "One does not deny that, because it has not been possible to memorize all the words as they were spoken, and therefore to record them always in the most exact manner, it soon happens that one person, when he hears another's speech, sometimes does not quite grasp and understand it, and therefore cannot put it down on paper correctly: Also, since such collected speeches have been copied by others, some errors can creep in, and these table speeches have been marked differently in some parts and subsequently printed, than the same Lutherus really spoke. But this in itself does nothing. The inaccuracies that have been incorporated do not overthrow the work itself, Lutherus remains the author, and what I noted earlier, that those who collected these speeches could and would have written down the truth, also remains true. One only makes a distinction between the thing itself and some special circumstances of it."

Other questions, which should be discussed in a preface to the Table Talks, are answered by Walch in his preface so appropriately and aptly that we are unable to put anything better in its place and therefore place the relevant paragraphs here.

§ The other question which I have to deal with here is: if Lutherus is to be regarded as the author of the Table Talks per se, whether it would have been advisable to have made them known through printing after his death? To this I answer in the negative, and believe that it would have been better if they had never been published.

1) BiNdkel II. 353.

and would have published them. For the fact that one writes down another's speeches, which one hears from him over the table or otherwise in familiar company, and thereby has the intention of using them only for oneself, is not in itself wrong; that they are subsequently, when their author is dead, disseminated to all the world through printing, is a thing that one cannot approve of so generally. It happens, without dispute, against the intention of the one who spoke it. To a certain extent, one does him an injustice after his death by having him print something that he did not want to have printed. Many things are spoken in confidence at the table and to good friends: one speaks something that one has misgivings about saying at another time and in another place; indeed, if one worries that it might be spread and brought among other people, one even holds back. The publication of such table speeches was also not necessary. Blessed Luther had left behind so many splendid and excellent books that one could be satisfied with them and have reason to praise and glorify God for this noble treasure: not to think how one gave the papists the opportunity for many blasphemies and slanders against Luther's person and life.

To prove this, Walch refers to the unanimous judgment of many eminent men, Christians and pagans, and finally, to Luther's Latin preface to the "conciunculae", which has already been touched upon several times. 2)

Then Walch continues, § XXII: "If one had wanted to promote Luther's Table Talks for printing, it would have been good if one had made a proper selection and not found all those who had written miao, but only those who could not give any offense. This has already been mentioned here and there. Among others, Mr. D. Rechen berg 3 writes: *rectius colloquiorum illorum collec-*

2) Walch, page 27, has the following comment on this: "e) Nicolaus Selnecker, in the preface; or rather, in the letter, which he made to these table speeches in 1577, is not satisfied with those who think that such speeches should not have been printed." Selnecker then seeks to refute the reasons of those who opposed the printing.

3) In the dissertation cited above, § XV.

tores fecissent, si graviore ejus sententias a lepidis, quae ipsi, forte remissionum tempore, in mensa cum jucundis amicis confabulanti, exciderunt, separassent et has non coniecissent in chartas et postea typis mandassent publicis, ac adeo sycophantarum turbae, cui tantopere exosus est Lutherus, calumniandansam praebuissent. This did not happen, and Joh. Aurifaber, who first brought the work to light, made a mistake in it, not only because of a lack of reflection that clung to him, as some believe, but rather out of excessive respect for Luther, by virtue of which he thought that nothing of what he had said and written should be left behind, but that everything should be published and made known through printing. And even if this respect prevented the proper and sufficient insight, the oversight that occurred originally came not from a corruption of the intellect, but of the will.

§ XXOO: "The third question, which I have to discuss here, is: 'Since Luther's table speeches have been made common by printing, whether anything can be proved from them that is detrimental to the best person and doctrine? It is known what kind of slander, special-

1) Walch's note p. 27: "Z) In the Höllische auserlesenen Anmerkungen part. II. p. 161, it is said that the ludicrous Anton Lauterbach had first compiled Luther's table speeches, but Aurifaber had made them common to Luther's extreme prostitution out of a pedantic simplicity and lack of understanding through printing, which judgment seems to be somewhat too harshly formulated. Of the same opinion is Just Christoph Motschmann in Lrkkoräia utsrata, namely in the second collection p. 222, but he expresses it somewhat less harshly, noting that Aurifabro's power of judgment was weak, and that this could be seen especially clearly in the table speeches of Lutheri that he compiled, since he did not keep the slightest selectum, but gathered together everything that occurred to him, without considering whether it was spoken in jest or in earnest: whether it could be interpreted as good or bad. Therefore, those with understanding often wished that such collection had either been omitted altogether, or had been done with more caution."-In Walch's note p. 28, 6) it is said that D. Heu mann in poscil. torn. II, lidr. I. p. 6, Luther would never have given his consent to the publication of the Tischreden. ^urikai-er autsm I'utberum babobat pro oraoulo ynociani, at'ue 6tiain svnta OZN8 omnia pntabat 6886 linsönda. - Seckendorf in bistor. Krittrler. lidr. III, z 134, p. 643 calls the table speeches: lidrum minus osuts eompositurn, aut VulMtum.

The first time, Satan needed unfaithful and ungrateful disciples. In the beginning, Satan needed unfaithful and ungrateful disciples, people to whom Luther had done many good deeds. The most distinguished among them were: Georg Wicelius, Johann Agricola and Friedr. Staphylus. After the Table Talks came out, one thought to have found all sorts of things in them by which one could, as it were, make him stink with everyone, or paint a color on these and those slanders. One has sometimes mounted something against his person, sometimes against his teachings, and wanted to take the proof from such speeches. This has now been done without reason, and it is considered reasonable that nothing can be proven from the Table Talks that could be detrimental to Luther. For even if they came from him, as I have noted before, they are and remain table speeches: speeches that he spoke without prior deliberation, that were written out without his care and will, and after his death a special book of them was brought to light, which he could neither see nor read through. Our scholars of God have long since remembered this, not without reason. I refer to Johann Gerhard, 2) Leonhard Hutter, Johann Adam Schertzer, Joh. Adam Osiander, Georg Zeämann, not to think of others."

§ XXIV: "In order to elaborate on this, I will add a few special remarks. The first is that one encounters many learned and excellent things in Luther's Table Talks, according to all kinds of matter of which they deal. Of the main articles of our Christian religion, many beautiful thoughts are found here, as of the Word of God, of Christ, of free will, of the difference between the Law and the Gospel, of justification 2c. It

2) Walch's note p. 28: "N He writes in 6X6F68. artio. <is scriptura saer. § OXXXIII, p. 51: lib6r eonvivialium 86rrnonuni " ibntlmro nee visus, noo l66tU8, N66 aä probat U8 68t, qnin multoti68 xrivato ynoruruckarn arbitrio mutatus, mutilatus, auctn8, iä yuoä üäoin autbnticam illi inorito äero^at. So he also judges in eoniessione eatbolioa p. 331 and in äi8putationibn8 tkoolosio. p. 1210." An apt, sharp-witted judgment!

is emphatically taught about the Roman Antichrist and the Pabstacy is presented in its right form. From time to time, many serious and moving admonitions and warnings are given. The book can be read and used with benefit; it serves not only for learning, but also for edification. Andreas Stangwald 1) presents this with several others, and adds: It can be said without falsehood that in these *miscellanea* the whole Christian doctrine is abundantly, brightly and clearly set forth, so that in it every Christian can have rich and full instruction of all that he needs to know for his soul's bliss. Johann Aurifaber notes exactly this, and Nicolaus Selnecker says that there are many great teachings, spirit and comfort in these table speeches, so that one must hold it in high esteem."

Then Walch defends Luther against the accusation that he spoke too disdainfully of some books of the Holy Scriptures and of the church teachers, "and then continues:

§ XXVII: "Thirdly, I add that even if one encounters one and the other in Luther's table speeches that one cannot approve of and endorse per se, he is nevertheless to be excused for this reason, or nothing is to be proven against his person and teaching. This remark is also of such a nature that it is based on good reasons. Blessed Luther was a human being and the grace of God, which proved itself in him powerfully, did not go any extraordinary ways with him, which made him not only gradually enlightened and sanctified, but also constantly clung to human errors and weaknesses, and he therefore spoke and did many things that did not come from the spirit of God dwelling in him, but from flesh and blood, and from the remnants of his corrupt nature. He himself knew this very well and confessed it freely. He says in one place: 2) In St. Augustine's office

In the books one finds many sayings that flesh and blood have spoken, and I must also confess of myself that I speak many words that are not God's words when I speak outside the preaching ministry, at home over the table, or otherwise. He had spoken and written many things in the heat, which he later recognized as a mistake and complained about it. In another place, he remembers how he puts down on paper in a few words one thing and another that he has in mind, so that he does not forget it: There are in them (as we are human beings) such things as are human, even tasting of the flesh. For when we are alone and disputing, we are also often angry; and God laughs at our excellent wisdom, with which we show ourselves whimsical before him; only believe that he also delights in such of his fools, who teach him how to rule, which I have not seldom done and still often do."

§ XXVIII: "Out of such human weakness, or out of the corruption of a lively, bright, and hot temper, some of Luther's speeches have flowed, which, considered in themselves, are not to be condoned; but he is to be excused. For if he sometimes made joking speeches; if he used an expression that does not completely correspond to decency, he did not do so out of a special inclination to what is dishonorable and indecent, but out of carelessness and thus indicated that he was a human being. It remains to be seen whether all idioms, words and expressions really flowed out of his mouth as they were distinguished by his table companions and other acquaintances and subsequently made common through printing. Thus, here too, one must not lose sight of the nature of the time in which he lived. The way of speaking

1) In his attribution of the Table Talks.

2) Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, 1976, § 7, Hauspostille, Pred. über das Ev. am Sonnt. Jubilate.

3) Wülch, St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XII, 1859 f. in the preface to some short sermons, given to a good friend as a rule.

and writing was much harder then than it is now. That which is called decent is changeable. Herr von Seckendorf 1) says: *multa verba et dicteria, quae hodie vilia aut spurca habentur, illo tempore sine turpitudine dici poterant et inter facetias non inhonestas locum habebant, quod ex collatione veterum et recentiorum librorum haud difficulter demonstrari posset.* Many times it happened that Luther showed his zeal against shameful things, and then he thought that it was not necessary for him to measure the words according to the art, not to think how Luther's enemies often took them out of context and twisted them in many ways."

Wrampelmeyer in his preface p. 37 says: "Also the reproach could be made to the records of Cordatus that they contain just like the later table speeches some coarse, for us offensive. Of course, they do not contain as much offensiveness as the Latin and German table speeches, but at least enough. Here we' certainly must not apply the standard of the present time. Luther's manner has certainly often not been a fine one. But he speaks the language of his people and of his time, and at that time people not only did not take offense at such expressions, but even counted them among the good jokes." Further, in the third note to No. 124 of Cordatus: "Such expressions of Luther's prove very often in the German table speeches, in the pieces which transmit them together with Cordatus, to be later additions not originating from Luther." .. . "The strongest such expressions tend as a rule to occur in Luther only," . "when he wishes to lend the strongest expression to his abhorrence of the devil, his instruments and works." To this we have to add: At that time, when a court jester could put something in his prince's boots and then, to the general amusement of the people, could excuse himself with impunity by saying that a little bird had done it 2), many things were considered proper that are judged quite differently in our time. Therefore, one should not be surprised if such things happen to us.

1) In 618tor. 6ut6. likr. III, § 134, n. 643.

2) Bindseil I, 250.

Offensive things also occur here and there in the table speeches. By our standards, indecency is found several times, but in our edition, which has been renewed according to the originals, not nearly as much as in the old editions; however, Luther never contains anything truly indecent, no matter how much his enemies would like to burden him with it.

Some people also take offense at some of Luther's harsh statements. Often Luther speaks very harshly about the peasants, as well as about burghers and nobles. That in this Luther, who calls himself the son of a farmer, is not a haughty contempt of honest classes, especially the peasantry, but the expression of the truth: "that the more blessings God pours out on people, the more ungrateful they are," is evident from what we read in Cordatus No. 700, in our Table Talks Cap. 4, §20: "Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jsaat were not only farmers and tillers of the soil, but also theologians, for the Scripture says (Gen. 24, 63.) that Isaac went into his field to signify the gifts of GOD and the creatures that are perceived in the field."

According to this, Luther also declares our faithful, godly peasants to be theologians who do not fall under his harsh judgments.

Something similar is laid down by Walch in his preface in the 29th paragraph. Then he continues in § XXX: "The enemies and the ill-minded can carefully read out of the Table Talks everything that, according to their imagination, serves against the blessed Luther, and therefore take the opportunity to blaspheme and slander in many ways; but if they wanted to show themselves honest and impartial, then they should not forget the many good and useful things that are in it, and for this reason let both Luther himself and the book receive what is right and fair. This must be done here all the more, because one finds far more to praise than to blame in this work. Nicolaus Selnecker 3) writes, not without good reason: "It is a sin and a disgrace that the unholy slanderers have come out of a great, beautiful, excellent garden,

3) In the letter to the table speeches.

If there are all kinds of noble trees, fruits, herbs and fragrant flowers in it, and among them a prickly sour herb is found for the wild pigs, they will soon turn their eyes and judgment on such a bitter herb and for that reason reject and destroy the whole garden along with all noble trees and fruits and not think that just such a prickly herb was put there for the wild, desolate pigs. It can be seen from this how Luther always spoke of important and useful things at his table and also presented a teacher to his table guests here, not without some advantage. That is why Herr von Seckendorf also says: 1) *Joci aliquantum liberiores in conviviis et inter familiares ei exciderunt; sed conversatio illa amoenior et amorem ei conciliavit, et plurimis profuit; sale enim condire noverat jocos, et in conviviis proponere etiam solebat, quae ad firmandam fidem christianam et corrigendos mores facerent, ut vel ex libro colloquiorum mensalium, minus quidem caute composito aut vulgato, constare potest, et scriptorum fide dignorum testimonio adseritur.*"

§ XXXI: "But as it is abundantly clear from what I have just said that blessed Luther must be excused if things occur in the Table Talks that are not in themselves to be approved of; so in truth his enemies can cite nothing from it or prove anything that would be detrimental to him and the best doctrine. Let it be said that there is something in them that is either false and erroneous, or evil and dishonorable; does one know that such passages have been so carefully noted and correctly recorded by those at the table that they are in all respects as Luther really spoke them? Is it not fair that those writings which he himself brought to light, or which came out during his lifetime and with the best of his knowledge and will, should be preferred to the table speeches, and that his teachings and opinions should not be judged both by these and by those? For since the aforementioned table speeches are, according to his-

1) In the *Historia Lutk.* lid. III, § 134, x. 643.

Since it is not known whether they were understood and written out correctly in all respects, since they are table speeches and thus conversations that were brought forward without prior consideration, it would be astonishing if one wanted to derive and prove the best doctrines from them, and not rather from the writings that Luther himself edited. To prove this, Walch then states that according to Cap. 17, § 3, Para. 3, in case of need, baptism can also be done with wine, beer, milk, and the like, whereas Luther, in his sermon on baptism 2) from 1540, says that it must be water, not wine, beer, lye, or any other thing. On the basis of this, the papists also accused Luther of error. But now we see from the originals of the Table Talks, 3) that Luther said nothing of the kind, so the accusations of the papists are completely groundless.

Then Walch continues, § XXXII: "And how may the admirers of the Roman bishop bear with Luther's table speeches? How might they judge his person and teachings according to them, and therefore take their accusations against him in the first place? since they would certainly not approve if one were to seduce them and their own in the same way. If one were to record the table speeches of popes, cardinals, bishops, prelates and others, there would certainly be such evil, ungodly, shameful things that one would not easily hear. If they were to be compiled and made known through printing, the papists would in truth be doing a bad favor. Yes, what would they say if one were to judge the character and doctrine of this and that person on the basis of such speeches and therefore wanted to get the proof, since one could perhaps do this with more justification than with Luther's table speeches and also add the shameful deeds? This is what our people have long since recalled against them, and not without reason. Among others, Joh. Ernst Gerhard says: 4) 'et sane

2) Walch, old edition, vol. VII, 1011, § 13; Col. 1015, 8 19.

3) Cordatus No. 935.

4) In the letter to his father Joh. Gerhard patroloK.

si, ut sermones convivales, quos adversarii beati Lutheri super mensa in familiari colloquio proferre saepe adsolent, in publicum spargerentur, contingeret, nae futurum, ut quam plurimi erubescant notabiliter'. . . . : aegre ipsi pontificii ferunt, si, quae de pontificum Romanorum, episcoporum et aliorum sacri ordinis hominum sermonibus aut dictionibus, parum Christianis, passim memorant historici, illis exprobrantur. Cur ergo Lutherani reprehendunt, si forte aliquando inter familiares amicos liberius paulo de hac, vel illa re loquutus sit? Nemo sane unquam ex illo vel tam turpes voces audivit, vel in colloquiis ejus consarcinatis legit, quales in pontificum et episcoporum Romanensium vitis, aut scriptis leguntur"

### Our issue.

We have removed 520 "duplicates" from the Table Talks, which are found partly in the Table Talks themselves and partly elsewhere in Luther's writings.

The diaries of Cordatus and Lauterbach are entirely translated by us from Latin and included in our edition.

In the diary of Cordatus there are 1843 numbers in total. Of these, 1031 are included in the Table Talks, 727 in Appendix No. II; not used because Duplicate 2c., 85 numbers.

Lauterbach has a total of 488 numbers. Of these, 356 numbers are housed in the Tischreden, 127 in Appendix No. I.; 5 numbers are not used. Of these, two are duplicates, two are not by Luther, and one number is not suitable for sharing.

From sorrow 24 pieces are placed in the table speeches.

All Bible passages are looked up and many other errors are improved.

1) In the Dissert. äs solloquiis mensliduslmtkeri 8 XXII. one thus add: Ioh. Gerhard in sontssion, eatkolis. p. 331. Joh. Möller in äslnsions Imtkri äsknsi v. 13. and Ernst S a l. Cyprian in the Überzeugende Belehrung vom Ursprung und Wachstumum des Pabstthums x. 692.

To bring pieces that have been torn apart back together, the following is transferirt:

	Cap. 1, § 62 after	Cap. 66, 8 33.
	" 1, s M	" 3, 8 23.
	" 2, 8 24	" 6, 8 2.
Partial	" 5, 8 19	" 5, 8 18.
	" 7, § 44	" 24, 8 75.
	" 7, 8132	" 7, 8133.
	" 11, 8 26	" 11, 8 12.
In	" 17, § 10 is	Cord. No. 1183 to 1155 inserted.
	Cap. 12, 8 71	According to Cap. 27,
	" 17, 8 24	" 17, 8 4.
	" 22, 8 24	" 22, § 10. ,
	" 22, 8116	" 58, 8 3.
	" 22, 8156	" 44, 8 5.
	" 24, 8 8	" 7, § 94.
	" 26, 8 33	" 26, 8 20. .
	" 26, § 35	" 26, 8 5.
	" 27, 8 79	" 27, 8138. '
	" 37, § 29	" 45, 8 59.
	" 37, 8 44	" 30, § 14. '
	" 44, 8 8	" 44, 8 7.
	" 45, 8 6	" 21, 8 6.
	" 45, 8 14	" 58, 8 3.
Partial	" . 45, § 65	" 21, 8 6.
	" 48, 8 25	" 13, § 44.
The last paragraph	" 51, 8 2	" 51, 8 3.
Partial	" 52, 8 3,	" Annex § 10.
	" 59, 8 9	Cap. 69, § 1.
	" 67, 8 5	" 4, 8 71.
	" .74, 8 23	" 7, 8 56.
	" 75, 8 2	" 62, 8 1.
	" 76, 8 16	" 67, § 2.

In the case of a number of other pieces, which are also separate, the transfer was not necessary because, as often happens in conversations, there was no internal connection.

Only one heading has been changed by us, Cap. 39, § 12 after Cord. No. 230, where the manuscript offers struthio, not scorpio.

Some pieces are given by us twice, both according to the redaction of Lauterbach and according to that of Cordatus, namely Cap. 3, § 16; Cap. 27, § 11 and 30, § 10; Cäp. 27, § 36 and 56, § 4; Cap. 43, § 63 and Cap. 62, § I and 75, § 2.

Twice, according to Cordatus and Kummer, we have communicated: Cap. 4, § 82 and 24, § 59; Cap. 15, § 11 and Cap. 2, § 121; Cap. 22, § 6; Cap. 22, § 12 and 73, § 14; Cap. 73, § 17; Cap. 75, § 1; Cap. 76, § 23.

In the choice of pieces we have been bound by the old table speeches, and have left many a paragraph which, if the choice had been with us, we would not have given. But because these

pieces have often been brought to light in corrupted and mutilated form, justice demands that they now be published in proper form as well.

The external arrangement of the table speeches into chapters, as in Aurifaber, and into paragraphs, as in Walch, even the headings of the paragraphs, we have left unchanged, because they have often been cited and we did not want to cut off the possibility for the buyers of our edition to look up such pieces.

We have often used Wrampelmeyer's remarks without using his own words. We consider it necessary to note this explicitly here.

We have left unchanged those pieces of Aurifaber's edition with respect to which we could not draw anything from the originals. There is still much of value among them.

We have made use of square brackets [ ] several times in our edition: The word [ ] inserted in such

Brackets enclosed contains either an addition made by us, e.g. additions of initial letters of names, historical additions, additions of omissions, necessary word explanations, Bible passages inserted by us, translations where the Latin had to remain, or handwritten words, if they are particularly interesting, if a concise, untranslatable word is in the original, In the case of scholastic expressions, for a better understanding of our translation, sometimes also when the word we had at our disposal did not seem to completely cover the meaning of the original, or when we were not quite sure whether we had hit the right note.

Where it is a matter of a revelatory citation, the scriptural sayings are not reproduced by us in the version of the originals, nor, where it could be otherwise, according to the wording of the Vulgate, but according to Luther's translation of the Bible.

# Main register to Luther's Table Talks.

(Arranged alphabetically by item.)

	Columne		Columne
Idolatry .....	238	Hypocrites and false brothers .....	1098
Annoyance .....	1114	Court life .....	1648
Allegories and spiritual interpretations of Scripture .....	1338	Jews .....	1570
Contestations .....	784	Lawyers .....	1472
Antichrist or Pabst .....	840	Catechism .....	392
Apostle or Disciple of Christ .....	1432	Church, Christian .....	594
Astronomy and star art .....	1544	Kings, princes and lords .....	1230
Resurrection of the dead and eternal life .....	1318	Diseases and their causes .....	1288
Confession of doctrine and consistency .....	534	Wars .....	1438
Occupation .....	1640	War chiefs and heroes .....	1446
New Testament books .....	1408	Lands and cities .....	1612
Books of the fathers in the church .....	1388	Legends of the saints .....	1344
Cardinals and bishops .....	970	Fair .....	998
Ceremonies .....	996	Monks, their life and good days .....	950
Christians and Christian life .....	1094	Musica .....	1536
Christ .....	260	Authority and princes .....	1214
Concilien .....	1348	Ear confession .....	554
Trinity .....	256	Patriarchs and Prophets .....	1418
Noblemen .....	1468	Preaching office or church servant .....	628
Marital status .....	1122	Law, papal or ecclesiastical .....	982
Angel .....	696	Imperial days and conventions, or meetings in	
Excommunication and ban .....	610	Religion matters .....	1370
Purgatory .....	1006.	Rome .....	1634
Prayer .....	510	Sacrament of the altar .....	562
Counter and emergency defense .....	1454	Creation .....	138
Spirit, Holy .....	354	Schools and universities .....	1522
Scholar .....	1560	School theologians .....	1400
Law and Gospel .....	414	The following are the most important examples of this.	
Faith in Christ alone makes one righteous before God .....	446	Luther have laid .....	1008
Worship, right .....	1118	Sophistry .....	1112
Ecclesiastical or church property .....	1382	Languages .....	1540



	Column		Column
Studies .....	1558	Will, free .....	382
Sin .....	356	Word of God or the Holy Scriptures .....	1
Day, youngest .....	1330	Magic .....	780
Baptism .....	540	Signs and wonders .....	1554
Devil and his works .....	700		
Death ....	1298	<b>Appendix.</b>	
Traditions, human.....	990	Some table speeches, so in below indicated sections belong.....	
Drunkenness .....	1646	.....	1654
Turks .....	1590	<b>Appendix No. I.</b>	
Disagreement .....	1284	Diary of M. Anton Lauterbach on the year 1538 .....	1668
Downfall of the enemies of the divine Word	946	<b>Appendix No. II.</b>	
Damnation and hell .....	1328	Diary about D. M. Luther kept by D. Conrad Cordatus 1537 ....	1808
World and its kind .....	182		
Works of God .....	64		
Works, good .....	488		
Adversaries	who wrote against Luther .....936		

# D. Martin Luther's Meaningful Table Talks,

according to the main points of Christian doctrine.

## The 1. Chapter.

### From God's Word or the Holy Scriptures.

1. Of the holy Biblia.
2. proof that the Bible is the Word of God.
3. at what time the Bible was interpreted.
4. difference of the Bible and other books.
5. what to look for primarily in the Bible.
6. that one should read the text of the Bible diligently and stick to it as the one true foundation.
7. that the Bible is the head of all arts.
8. the school theologian art in the Bible.
9. that one cannot study the Bible.
10. that the Scriptures are difficult to understand.
11. of the contempt of the divine word; how the world behaves against the same.  
That the ingratitude of the world may drive away the word of God.
13. of the future loss of the divine word.
14. about the future lack of righteous preachers.  
Where God's word is taught, people are the most wicked.
16. D. M. Luther's prophecy of his teaching.
17. of the excess and contempt of the word of god.
18. ingratitude of the world for God's word.
19. what God's word drives out.
20. The enthusiasts despise God's word.  
The antinomians are despisers of the divine word.
22. that the persecutors of Christians and God's word have little luck.  
People willfully resist God's word.
24. contempt of the divine word is severely punished.  
(25) He who despises the word of God is not to be argued with.
26. what Albrecht, Bishop of Mainz, judged of the Bible.
- 27 The Bible is hated by the worldly wise and so-
28. the swarmers' error of God's word.
29. the use and effect of the divine word: that God's word alone is certain and surmountable.
30. Apart from God's word, nothing is certain.
31. be sure of God's word.  
With the word of God you can defend yourself against the devil.  
The gospel reveals the secret wickedness of men.
34. majesty and glory of the divine word, that God speaks to us through it.  
The word of God is a fiery shield to all who trust in it.  
God is certainly sought and found in His word of Christ.  
(37) That all actions and life should be guided by the divine word.  
God Himself speaks through the Word, and such a Word is powerful.  
God's word is the highest comfort.  
The gospel is a mystery.  
The world, especially the church, is governed and sustained by the Word of God.  
God instructs man's heart, reason, hands and feet through His Word.
43. God has bound us to the oral word.
44. how to teach God's word correctly.  
The listeners of the divine word are obliged to feed the preachers.  
The Word of God shows all the divine states and teaches how to conduct oneself in them.  
The Word of God alone overcomes the devil's fiery darts and all temptations.  
The Word of God is and remains the Word of God, whether we believe it or not.
- 49) To whom the divine word is useful.
50. where one loves the word of God, there dwells God.

The Word of God alone does everything.  
 The word of God is twofold.  
 The power of the Word of God.  
 The word of God alone is to be believed and not doubted.  
 55. Those who have God's word pure and hold fast to it are poor.  
 (56) True Christians are ready to suffer death and all misfortune for the sake of the gospel, but hypocrites flee the cross.  
 Preaching God's word brings the cross.  
 58. Whoever wants to teach and confess God's word must not wait for honor, but for the holy cross.  
 59. the nature of the word of God.  
 60. God's Word is the body in which children of God are conceived and born.  
 61. God's word is to be preferred over all persons and things.  
 62. through whom GOD keeps his word.  
 63) The word of God is to be firmly believed, but the wickedness of the world is so great that the last day must control it.  
 64 A rhyme from the New Testament.  
 65 A rhyme about the Psalm: Blessed are those who fear the Lord.  
 In matters of religion, one should judge from God's Word and not from human wisdom.  
 In the past, there was evil study, especially of the Scriptures.  
 The word of God is not to be judged by the fruits and lives of the hearers.  
 The Gospel is the best new newspaper.  
 70. contempt and corruption of God's word is the greatest wrath of God.  
 71) For what the contempt of the divine word serves.  
 The first is a description of what the Holy Scripture has to do with people.  
 73. the sacred scriptural custom.  
 The word of God appears to reason to be a vain lie.

That the Jews have better teachers and scribes of the Scriptures than we Gentiles.  
 The first is a complaint about the number of books, and an exhortation to read the Bible carefully.  
 The first is the first of the two fables of Aesop and the second is the first of the two fables of Aesop.  
 78. No one is offended by the simple speech of the Scriptures.  
 Why the same thing is repeated so often in the Scriptures.  
 80. One should hold on to God's word alone and remain firm.  
 The word of God is to be heard, not pondered according to God's majesty.  
 82 Another one of these.  
 83 Another one of these.  
 That God's word was preached much more powerfully in the apostles' time, and now in our time, and has been spread more widely than in the time of Christ.  
 85. contempt of the divine word.  
 The essence of a thing is to be separated from its custom, and remain solely with God's word.  
 The Word of God performs great miracles, but everyone wants to master it.  
 Without God's word, the ceremonies are filth and dung.  
 Without challenge, God's word is not learned.  
 90. that ingratitude against God's word will do great harm to our churches.  
 The world considers that the teaching of the divine word must soon perish.  
 Preaching God's word annoys the world.  
 93) How to stand against the despisers of the divine word and the sacraments.  
 94. How God spoke to the fathers.  
 95. how the world wants to abolish and settle the division in religious matters.  
 That the divine Word and the Christian Church may be preserved from the raging of the world.

### 1. from the holy Biblia.

The venerable Doctor Martin Luther once said to Philippo Melanchthon, item to Doctor Justo Jonah and others, about the Biblia or Holy Scripture, that it was like a very large forest, in which there were many and all kinds of trees, from which one could break off many kinds of fruit. For in the Biblia one would have abundant comfort, teaching, instruction, admonition, warning, promise and prophecy 2c. But there is not a tree in this forest on which he has not knocked and broken and shaken off a few apples or pears. 1)

1) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis Edition, p. 221.

### 2. proof that the Bible is the Word of God.

(Cordatus No. 410 and No. 1345. 2)

The Bible is a book with which God misleads the world. But it is wonderful that God has protected this book, as well as His Church. But just as the devil has killed many saints whom we do not know, so no doubt God has caused many good books from the Bible to perish, of which we do not know.

That the Bible is God's Scripture is proven by the fact that everything in it is written by Moses as it goes and stands in the

2) Aurifaber had torn No. 1345 apart and placed No. 410 in between.

World, that is, as God made it and created it, and all kingdoms have ceased, but this book, however much it is challenged, remains. God has preserved it with special power. Others who have remained, such as Virgil and Homer, have been loved by the world.

### 3. which and at what time the Bible was interpreted.

Once, when talking about the interpretation of the Bible, D. M. Luther said that 341 years before Christ's birth and incarnation, the Septuagint interpreters, the seventy doctors and scholars of Jerusalem, at the time of Eleazari the High Priest, at the request of the king of Egypt, Ptolemaic Philadelphi, had brought the five books of Moses and the prophets from the Ebraic language into the Greek, and that the same king had spent great expenses on this interpretation. Then, after the birth, suffering and death of Christ, in 124 years, a Jew named Aquila, after being converted to the Christian faith, interpreted the Old Testament from the Ebraic into the Greek language in the time of Emperor Adrian. Three and fifty years after this Aquila lived Theodotius, who also interpreted the Bible. Symmachus did the same in the thirtieth year after Theodotius, under the emperor Severo. One, whose name is unknown, in the eighth year after Symmachus 'also interpreted the Bible, which interpretation is called Vulgate, that is 1) the common and fifth.

St. Jerome, who first corrected and improved the seventy interpreters and translators, then translated the Bible from Ebrew into Latin, which interpretation we still use in the churches today. And he did enough for one person, *nulla enim privata persona tantum efficere potuisset*. But he would not have done badly if he had taken a learned man or two to himself for translation: then the Holy Spirit would have seen himself all the more powerful.

According to the saying of Christ Matth. 18, 20: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there will I be in the midst of them. And interpreters or translators shall not be alone, for good and propria verba do not always fall to one man. And because the Church of the Gentiles has stood, the Bible has never been so ready and understandable, so safe, that it could have been read without offense, as we have prepared it here in Wittenberg and brought it into the German language (praise God!).

### 4. difference of the Bible and other books.

Luther said that the Holy Scriptures are full of divine gifts and virtues, and that all the pagans' books teach nothing at all about faith, hope and love; they know nothing at all about it, but the pagans' books only look at the present, which can be felt and grasped and understood with reason. But trusting in God and hoping in the Lord is not in them. We should see this only from the Psalter and the Book of Job, as these two books deal with faith, hope, patience and prayer. In sum, the Holy Scriptures are the highest and best book of God, full of consolation in all temptation. For it teaches of faith, hope, and love much else than reason can see, feel, understand, and experience: and when things are bad, it teaches how these virtues should shine forth; and teaches that another and eternal life is over this poor miserable life.

### 5. what to look for primarily in the Bible, and how to study and learn the Scriptures.

(Cordatus No. 575. 576. 577.)

The highest lesson in theology is to be able to recognize Christ. The teacher should not be ashamed to learn from the pupil and the pupil from the teacher, and if I can be indulgent and kind to my friend, how much more Christ to me!

If the devil leads me to the law, I am condemned, but if Christ leads me back from the law to the gospel and

1) So Stangwald. Aurifaber lacks the words: "VulS., that is".

the promises of God, I am free and righteous. Therefore Peter says in one great word: "Grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ", not in the knowledge of the dialectical or any other art, as if it justifies, but in the knowledge of Christ. On the other hand, the devil's greatest art is to obscure this knowledge from us, so that we end up trusting a friend more than Christ.

So great is the greatness of grace in Christ that we do not experience, understand, or realize this without temptations and fear. If I were not challenged by tyrants and false brethren, I would become very hopeful in my gifts, I would lead to the devil with my great art. I would attribute it to my powers, not to God, not to grace, I would not pray, and so on. That is why I am chastised.

#### **6. that one should read the text of the Bible diligently and stick to it as the one true foundation.**

Once upon a time there came into D. M. Luther's house of a noble doctor's son, an honorable, diligent and disciplined student, who did not set his sights on high things, nor did he flutter to and fro in the air; but was content with the lowly, and remained with the foundation and the first reasons, namely with his Institutionibus Juris. He studied these diligently. As the table companions diligently commended him to D. M. Luther, D. Martinus said. Martinus said, "He does this without a doubt from his father's counsel and command. For he who has laid a good foundation, and is well arranged in the text, so that he becomes a good textualist, has a foundation on which he can certainly rest and build; he does not easily run into trouble, nor does he err. And this is also highly necessary for a theologian. For with the text and the foundation of the holy Scriptures I have outwitted and outlived all my adversaries, for they only go along sleepily, teaching and writing everything from their own minds and according to reason, and think that it is a badly easy thing about the holy Scriptures. Just as the Pharisee thought it would be soon

This is what happened when the Lord Christ Luke said to him on 10:28, "Do this and you will live. For the fluttering spirits and enthusiasts understand nothing in the Scriptures, but meanwhile go astray with their wavering, inconstant and uncertain books, which they have devised.

Summa, he who is well versed in the text is a true pastor. And this is also my best and Christian advice, that one draws water from the well or spring, that is, reads the Bible diligently. For he who is well grounded and practiced in the text becomes a good and excellent theologian, since a saying and text from the Bible is more valid than many scribes and glosses, which are not strong and round, and yet they do not hold the engraving.

As when I have before me the saying of St. Paul, 1 Tim. 4, 4, where it is said: "All creatures of God are good, if they are received with thanksgiving. This text indicates that what God has created is good. Now, to eat, drink, marry or be married is 2c. God's creature; therefore it is good. Against this are the glosses; for St. Bernard, Basil, Dominic, Jerome and other holy fathers and teachers have written and done much differently. But the text goes far before and above all glosses. Nor have the dear fathers had a greater reputation among the papacy with their glosses than the bright sayings of the Bible. And so the Bible has been greatly wronged for a while, and yet the dear fathers, as Ambrose, Basil and Gregory, have often written cold things enough.

#### **The Bible is the head of all the arts.**

Let us, said Martin Luther once, not lose the Bible, but read and preach it diligently in the fear of God and in prayer. Let us not lose the Bible, but read and preach it with diligence, in the fear of God and in invocation: for if it abides, flourishes, and is rightly acted upon, all will be well and proceed happily. For it is the head and empress among all faculties and arts: if it, the theologia, lies, then I throw on the stocking. 1)

1) Stocking, i.e., torso. Cf. § 62.

But because these people, who are still alive in our time and teach God's word diligently, are still present; and who are also still alive, who have seen and heard me, item, Philippum Melanchthonem, D. Pomeranum, and other pious, faithful and righteous teachers: there it might still stand well. But when they are gone, and this time is past, a fall will occur. As we have an example of this in the book of Joshua and Judges. For in the book of Judges Cap. 2, 8-12, it is said: "When Joshua was dead, and all that lived at that time, there arose after them another generation, which knew not the Lord, nor the works which he had done for Israel; and they did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim, and forsook the Lord their fathers' God, which had brought them out of Egypt, and went after other gods. So also, after the apostles' time, a fall soon arose, because they and their disciples departed: yes, while the apostles were still alive, as St. Paul complains, a great fall happened in the church among the Galatians, Corinthians and in Asia. As, unfortunately, we have also experienced with Muenzer, the Sacramentarians, the Anabaptists, the Antinomians and the like.

#### 8. the school theologian art in the Bible.

The art of the school theologians with their speculation in the holy scriptures is nothing but vanity and human thoughts according to reason. I have read much of this in St. Bonaventure, but he has made me almost deaf. I would have liked to know and understand how God was united with my soul, but I could not learn it from it. They say much about the union of the understanding and the will; but it is vain fantasy and rapture. But this is the right speculativa, rather practica theologia, as: Believe in Christ and do what you are obliged to do in your profession. Likewise, the mystical theology of Dionysius is nothing but a work of fables and lies. Just as Plato also fables: Omnia sunt non ens, et omnia sunt ens. Everything is nothing, and everything is nothing: 1) and so lets it hang.

1) ichts d. i. something.

True, righteous theology is based on practice, custom, and training, and its foundation and bedrock is Christ, that his suffering, death, and resurrection may be grasped with faith. But all those who today do not hold with us, and do not have our doctrine before them, make for them only a speculative theology, since they are guided by reason and how they speculate about things; for they cannot come from the thought that he who does good and is pious is well off. But it is not so called; but he that feareth and trusteth in God, the same is well in the end. Therefore such speculative theology belongs in hell to the devil, as Zwingel and the sacramentalists also speculate, and think: The body of Christ is in bread, but only spiritually, for we see only bread. So they only dream and follow their thoughts, as much as they can comprehend with their five senses. And this is also Origen's Theologia. But David does not do so, but recognizes his sin and says: Miserere mei, Domine: God, have mercy on me. But among men God cannot maintain that he alone is God, for all men are after deity and would also like to be gods; much less can he maintain that he alone is pious and just; and this he can hardly maintain, that he is immortal.

#### 9. that the Bible or the Holy Scriptures cannot be studied in depth.

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, Aug. 5, 1538. S. 109.)

Luther: We will probably remain students of the holy scriptures. Dear one, who can properly grasp this saying (1 Petr. 4:13): "Rejoice that you suffer with Christ"? That we should be joyful in the midst of the greatest distress, even gladly, like children, kissing the rue. But always let the Epicureans go, the presumptuous smarties, who ridicule the Holy Scriptures and think they have learned them all ready; like Jakob Schenk (and Joh. Agricola), who are the pestilence of religion, and the fruit of their hopefulness and contempt will be nonsense and blindness. Ah! dear God, we want to act so thirsty in your sanctuary, and

your Scriptures submit to us. And yet we laugh at the fact that the pagans acted with such great, heated zeal in their false religion that virgins and matrons swept the temples with their hair?

And at that time, the doctor said a lot about how powerful the holy scriptures were, which far, far surpassed all other arts of the philosophers and lawyers. Although they were good and necessary, they were, as it were, a dead thing compared to God's word, as far as eternal life was concerned. Therefore, one should look at the Bible with different eyes than one would look at the books of lawyers and other arts. For if anyone here does not come to terms with his reason, and denies himself, he will certainly come to grief in the Holy Scriptures. Therefore, the world cannot understand them, since it neither knows nor understands anything about the mortification and death of the old Adam, which is clearly and distinctly indicated in the Word of God. And just as one does not understand God's word, so one cannot be wise in God's matters. This can be seen in Adam, who had only two sons. The firstborn was called Cain, that is, a householder. This one, as Adam and Eve thought, was supposed to be the man of God, and the heir of the serpent was supposed to crush the serpent's head. After that, when Eve became pregnant again, they hoped that there would be a daughter, that the dear son would have a wife: but when she gave birth to a son, she called him Abel, that is, vanity and nothingness; as if she wanted to say: It is in vain with my hope, and I am deceived. But this is the image of God to the world and the church, so that we may learn how things are always done in the world. For Cain, the godless wicked one, is a mighty lord on earth; but the pious and God-fearing Abel must be the ash-brooder, nothing and subject to him, even his servant and oppressed. Now it is completely reversed before God: for Cain is rejected by God, but Abel is accepted and is the dear child of God: even though it does not seem so to reason, but the contradiction is seen, one does not have to turn back on it. So also Ishmael had a beautiful name, which was called: God's listener; but Isaac was nothing. Esau was also called the valley and the man, as he was called.

Jacob did not have to be anything either. So Absalon was called a father of peace. The ungodly always have such an appearance and glitter in the world, but in truth and in action they were scorners, mockers and rebels. But from God's word one can judge and recognize these fellows; therefore let us love the dear Bible and read it diligently.

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 1381.)

No art is easy for man now, except theology. I would give all my fingers to it, except for three, that it would be so easy for me, too. But I can't get through it any better, because I say, devil, lick me in the ass.

(Cordatus No. 384 this paragraph.)

He who has only one word from the Word of God and cannot make a whole sermon out of it is not worthy to ever preach. I have often decided to carefully think through the holy ten commandments, and when I began with the words: I am the Lord, your God, I have usually stopped at the word I and cannot yet understand it enough, when will I go through the whole decalogue in thinking it through?

(From here to the last paragraph of the § in Cordatus, No. 93. 109. 110. 111. III a. III d.)

The ancients distinguished a threefold theology. The real one, which they called the historical one, as the history of the Passion of Christ and indeed the writings of all the evangelists; the symbolic one, as when Christ is called a shepherd; thirdly, the mystical one, which teaches to seek God negatively. But I have set my sermon on the oral word, whoever wants to may follow me, but whoever does not want to, let him leave it. But this is immeasurable above us, not among us, as many enthusiasts scoff. Also those who seek to explore higher things with their thoughts than the simple word of God prescribes are similar to them. Of these the prophet says: I have had a dream, I have had a dream.

In spite of [StJ Peter, in spite of Paul, John, and all the saints, that they understood fully only One Word from the Word of God, for His

Wisdom has no limit, but what is ours, as reason, insight and everything else, is it not circumscribed by a certain limit?

The saints understand the word of God and can speak of it, but they do not learn it. The scholastics have used the parable of a ball; when it lies on a table, it is indeed grasped completely with the eyes, but the table touches it only at one point.

1) I have made an effort, and I have done so with all diligence, and yet I have not yet fully grasped a single word from the entire Scripture. That is why I have not yet come out of the children's teaching, but rather move daily in the spirit what I know, and seek the right understanding of the holy ten commandments and the Christian faith. And indeed, it displeases me to some extent that I, such a great doctor, may or may not want to, have to stay with all my learning with the learning of my Hänlichen and Magdalenichen and go to the same school in which they are brought up 2). For who of all men understands in its full extent, as it must be understood, only this word of God: Our Father, who art in heaven? For whoever understands these words in faith: the God who has heaven and earth in his hands 3) [is our Father], immediately concludes with complete confidence of heart: Because this God is my Father, and I am His child, who will be able to harm me? For I am a Lord of heaven and earth and all things that are in them. The angel Gabriel is my servant, Raphael my carter, and all the other angels are ministering spirits in all my needs, and are sent to me by my Father who is in heaven, so that I may not strike my foot against a stone. And then I believe thus: If my good Father leads me to and has me thrown into a dungeon, if he soon afterwards has my head cut off, or if he has me drowned in water, - that this [that we are thus tempted] may happen, so that we may realize how completely we are

When we have learned these words, or rather only this one "Father", then the faith in our heart falters and our weakness thinks: Yes, who knows if it is true? But I know one word, which is the most difficult in the whole scripture, namely "Thine" in the first commandment. (Ex. 20, 2.)

When he spoke this at the table, with a full and fervent heart, under the midday meal, his wife said, "Why do you speak without ceasing and do not eat?" But he said, "I would have liked this very day, before the women began to preach, for them to pray. You are to say an Our Father beforehand.

After that, I [Cordatus] tried to bring him back to the previous thoughts, and asked what one should answer those who urge plerophoria [complete certainty in doctrine] like Campanus? He answered, Against plerophoria no one ever taught in Wittenberg, but they talk about the question whether there is anyone who has this plerophoria. And he said, we must be sure of our doctrine or faith, and so on.

4) At another time, Luther said about the understanding of the Holy Scriptures that no one should remember that he had tasted the Scriptures, because he had ruled the church for a hundred years with the prophets, John the Baptist and the apostles. Therefore, it is a great miracle to understand God's word correctly.

#### (10) That the Scriptures are difficult to understand.

M. Luther wrote these words in Latin on a piece of paper in 1546, when he was in Eisleben and lived only two days later, and left them on his table. I, Johannes Aurifaber, copied it, and Mr. Justus Jonas, Superintendent of Halle, who was in Eisleben at that time, kept the note with him.

1 Virgilium in Bucolicis nemo potest intelligere, nisi fuerit quinque annis pastor. Virgilium in Georgicis nemo potest intelligere, nisi fuerit quinque annis agricola. 2. Ciceronem in epistolis (sic praecipio,) nemo integre intelligit, nisi viginti annis sit versatus in Re- publica aliqua insigni. 3. scripturas sanctas sciat se nemo degustasse satis, nisi centum

4) The last paragraph of this § will probably be nothing else than Aurifaber's translation of No. 3 in the next §.

1) The following except for the last paragraph before the Nov. 7, 1531. (Cf. Cord. p. 507.)

2) In the manuscript uduuntur. Perhaps: aluutur?

3) Here is a gap in the manuscript.



annis cum Prophetis, ut Elia et Elisaeo, Joanne Baptista, Christo et Apostolis, Ecclesias guber- parit. Hanc tu ne divina Aeneida tenta, sed vestigia pronus adora. 2Bir finb SBettler, hoc est verum, 16. Februarii Anno 1546.1 )

Otherwise he also said that the clever and great men of the world do not understand God's word, but the lowly and simple ones do; as the Lord Christ also testifies in Matt. 11:25, where he says: "I thank you, heavenly Father, that you have hidden these things from the wise of the world, and have revealed them to babes and sucklings. And Luther said that therefore St. Gregory had rightly said: "That the holy scripture is water in which an elephant swims, but a sheep walks through it with its feet.

#### 11. from the contempt of the divine word: how the world holds itself against God's word.

(The first paragraph is omitted because contained in Cap. 4, § 3 and § 23.)

2) On another occasion, D. Justus Jonas spoke to D. Luther about a nobleman in the country of Meissen, who cared for nothing so much as how he collected much money and goods and great treasures, and that he was so very blinded that he paid no attention to the five books of Moses. The same had given this answer to the Elector of Saxony, Duke Johann Friederichen (since his Electoral Grace had talked with him much about the doctrine of the Gospel) and said: "Most gracious Lord, the Gospel is none of your Electoral Grace's business. Then said D. M. Luther: Were there also little ones? And he told a fable, how the lion had invited all the animals as guests, and had a delicious, glorious meal prepared, and also invited the sow. When the delicious dishes were served to the guests, the sow said, "Are there also small animals? So are our Epicureans now. We preachers set before them in our churches the very best and most glorious food, as eternal blessedness, forgiveness of sin, and God's grace;

they throw up the rebuke, and scrape for thalers: and what should the cow Musealen? she isset probably Haberstroh. This happened once to a priest, Ambrosio R., of his parishioners. When he admonished them to listen diligently to God's word, they said: "Yes, my dear pastor, if you would have a barrel of beer brewed in the church and call us to it, we would gladly come. The gospel in Wittenberg is like the rain that falls into the water, since the rain is of little use: but if the rain falls on a sandy field, and since the seed is meager and withered and burned by the sun, such rain refreshes the land and makes it fertile.

#### That the world's ingratitude and contempt may drive away God's word.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 17, 1538, p. 172 f.)

After that Luther said: "We will, God willing, be diligent to leave a righteous church and school for our descendants after us, so that they may know how to teach and govern righteously: although the great ingratitude and ungodliness of the world frightens me that this light will not stand for long, not more than 50 years. For this has always had its course, as in the time of the archfathers it flourished for a time under Adam, Noah, Lot, Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Josiah and Ezechia, and has always come between these the Baal, then it had to be pulled out again.

Consider how the word of God had its course in the time of Christ, which did not last fifty years; indeed, soon in the time of the apostles heresies of false brethren went forth. Arius soon followed. After that Ambrose, Hilarius, Augustine restored the word of God. Soon after, it was extinguished again by the Vandals and Longobards. After that, it was in Greece and other countries; it wandered continuously, as now in Denmark and England and, I hope, also in Italy, but not without great persecution, because the church grows through the blood of the martyrs and is purified by it, because [Ps. 116, 15.] the death of its saints is valuable.

1) For this, see another relation in De Weites Sammlung von Luthers Briefen, Vol. VI, 414.

2) This seems to be another relation of Cap. 28, § 5.

held before the Lord, and before God the blood of the pious is held in honor. When this is shed, Abel's blood cries out in heaven, and God must hear this. But that such great wickedness and ingratitude and godlessness arise in the world now that the gospel has risen again and the Antichrist has been struck to the ground; this is because before the light of the gospel was brought to light again, people did not see or recognize sin in this way. But now, because the bright morning star has risen, the whole world awakens, as if from a stupor, and sees to some extent the sin that it could not see before in sleep and in the dark night.

I hope that the last day will not be long, not more than a hundred years, because God's word will fall again and great darkness will come through the lack of servants of the word. Then the whole world will become animalistic, and will walk in such a crude life in the most certain way. Then the voice will sound (Matth. 25, 6.): "Behold, the bridegroom comes." For God will no longer be able to suffer it.

### 13. of the future loss of the divine word.

In 1536, on the 2nd day of December, Luther spoke of the future hunger of the Word of God, and of great tribulation and sorrow that would follow, such as had not been from the beginning of the world, according to the saying of Christ Matth. 24, 21. And how now such affliction is already present, namely, the oppression and corruption by tyrants and fanatics, since the spiritualists especially torture, frighten and mislead the consciences in such a way that they do not know which way is right or which doctrine is right. And said D. Luther: "No greater harm can befall us than when God's Word is taken from us and falsified, so that it is not pure. God protect us so that we and ours do not experience this harm: he would rather let us die first, or kill the Turk, or otherwise die blessedly with grace.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, on Jan. 10, 1538, p. 8.)

Where people have the truth, they are always safe. But in error they are very careful and try very hard, just as a wanderer walks safely on the right path, but is very anxious on the wrong path. That is how it is with us now.

### 14) The future lack of righteous preachers of the divine word.

D. Luther said: "In a short time there would be such a lack of pastors and preachers that the present righteous preachers would be scratched out of the earth again, if they could be had; then the papists, and also our peasants, who plague the preachers so much, will see what they have done. For physicians and lawyers remain enough to rule the world; but one must have two hundred pastors in a country, since one has enough of one lawyer. If there were only one lawyer in Erfurt, that would be enough. But it is not the same with the preachers. Every village and small town must have its own pastor. My most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, has enough lawyers for his country and people, but he must have 1800 pastors. In the meantime, we still have to make parish priests out of lawyers and Medicis. You will see.

### 15. where God's word is taught, people are the most wicked.

In all lines, from the beginning of the world, where God's word is taught and preached purely, people are most wicked and commit the greatest and most heinous sins, as in the time of Noah, Abraham, and the Lord Christ and the apostles; for then the world lived most ungodly and in the highest ingratitude and wickedness. So also now, in our time, the people are very presumptuous ingrates, and much more stingy than they ever were before: they do not like to help a poor person with a penny. But it shall be so. However, whom one will deceive, 1) that one shall well know.

1) So Stangwald, instead of: "if they will be deceived".

### 16. prophecy of D. M. Luther of his teaching.

(The beginning of this § to "names" in Cordatus No. 141.) Those who do not want the core in my life, will worship the shell when I am dead, that is, the name. And said upon it, Let every man send himself into the time, and use it, and cut in, because there is yet harvest; and as the Lord Christ Joh. 12, 35. saith, "Walk in the light, because ye have it, that darkness overtake you not."

### 17. of the excess and contempt of the word of God.

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, April 14, 1538, p. 62.)

That day he admonished his wife to read and hear the word diligently, especially the Psalter. But she boasted that she had read and heard enough and knew it, God willing, she lived by it. Luther answered with a sigh: "Thus arises the weariness and contempt of the Word, that we allow ourselves to think much, want to know it, and yet do the contradiction, and want to be unpunished for it. This leads to misfortune, and God makes us hungry for His word. There will be many new interpretations and the Scriptures will be neglected. That is why I would prefer that my books not be printed, because of the future mobs that will cause all kinds of misfortune. For in my first books I gave the pope a lot of slack, and then I also interpreted the passages of Scripture a little too leniently, as I had read them at the time.

At another time, Doctor Luther spoke of the excess of the divine word and said: "The world has become very secure, and relies on the books it now has, and thinks that if people read them, they can do anything. And he said, "The devil would have made me more lazy and secure, thinking, 'Here are the books, if you read them, you can do it. So the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians also make them believe that if they only read a little book, they can do everything. Against such certainty I pray forever, and repeat my Catechismum after Lin

other, like my little Hans. And pray daily that God will keep me by His holy, pure Word, that I will not grow weary of it or think that I have studied it out.

Otherwise, he once said that the nobility, burghers and peasants, and almost everyone, high and low, knew the gospel much better than he, Luther, or St. Paul himself, as they thought. For they were wise, and thought that they were more learned than all the pastors: but they despised not the pastors, but the Lord and chief of all pastors, who commanded them to preach; who again will despise them, and be their enemy, and take hold of their heads, that they may feel it; he that saith Luc. 10:16, "He that heareth you heareth me," and "he that assaileth you taketh hold of the apple of my eye." Zech. 2, 8.

(Seven lines omitted here because contained in Cap, 65, § 8.)

### 18. ingratitude of the world for God's word.

(Cordatus No. 1400.)

Since [God] gives His Son for the servant, and the servant is ungrateful, even wanting to kill the Father and the Son who redeemed him, is this not an ingratitude worthy of all the Turks, pestilence, etc.?

### 19. what God's word drives out.

At the table, where the doctor had several scholars as guests, the gospel was discussed, as it had come to Sweden, Denmark, and now to other foreign countries: for even in Hungary, where the Turk reigns, the gospel is preached, and from the same place those who would be called to the church office were sent to Wittenberg, and had them ordained there; as the reformation of the churches in Carinthia shows. Then said D. Luther said: "Praise be to God, who wants to rule even in the midst of his enemies. He will reign even in the midst of his enemies and be known under the cross. For tyranny and persecution will not drive out nor eradicate the Gospel, 1) but our shameful, cursed, harmful ingratitude and disgust for the dear Gospel.

1) Cf. cap. 37, § 148, near the end.

## 20. The enthusiasts despise God's word.

(Cordatus No. 1264, 1265.)

It is astonishing that the oral word is so despised by the sectarians, since even Christ after his resurrection would have appeared to his disciples as a mere ghost if he had not comforted them with his words. It is the devil's only concern that he should take away our swords. But the Scripture says differently [Ps. 45:4], "Gird up thy sword at thy side, thou hero; put it forth, lash out."

When Schweinsfeld 1) had debated with me for a long time, he finally said: "Doctor, you must put the words "this is my body" out of your eyes, then we will come to an agreement. It is certain that the pope did it this way from the beginning, before he arrogated to himself the sole authority over the interpretation of the word; thus he crucified Christ. Let us only take care of the word, and we will crucify them again.

### The antinomians are despisers of the divine word.

(Contained in Cap. 22, § 53.)

## 22. that the persecutors of the Christians and the divine word have little luck.

Emperor Diocletian's persecution, said Luther in Eisleben, was very great, because he was willing to murder and exterminate all Christians, and had twelve thousand Christians killed at once. And when all the executioners and their servants had grown tired of the slaughter, he had new executioners 2) brought in and had the Christians beheaded, and thus thought to deter the Christians from the divine word with his tyranny. When this did not help, he also raged against the female gender, which he reviled and dishonored. He had two trees bent down against each other and tied an arm and a foot of a woman to each tree.

The tree was then broken open and the women were torn to pieces. Or he would hang them naked on the trees with one arm or leg and let them hang until they died. If they wanted to cover their shame, they could do it with the arm that was not tied to the tree.

Finally, when everything was in vain, and the Christian matrons and women did not want to fall away from the divine word and their dear Lord Christ, he had hot lead poured into the backs and fronts of the women (to speak with breeders) and strangled them. When the Roman Empire became empty of people and desolate, so that there were no more farmers, cobblers or tailors (because this emperor killed countless people through his cruel tyranny), the emperor was told that he would not be able to do anything with his tyranny. For he would either have to let the doctrine of the Gospel be preached freely, so that he would retain subjects in the empire; or, if he wanted to kill all the Christians and clear them away, that he would have to endure the danger that he would have the Roman empire quite desolate and empty of people. When Diocletianus, the emperor, found out that his slaughtering and strangling were of no avail, and that God's punishment would also befall him, and that he would not be safe in life and limb, he resigned from the empire and became a hortulanus, planting herbs and grafting trees. So this tyrant lost his empire because of the persecution of the Christians, and had to let Christianity remain, which he even wanted to exterminate. So, I also think, our Emperor Carl will start something vicious against the Gospel, that he will lose all his Netherlands. Johann Pommer once told me that in Lübeck, in an old chronicle, a prophecy was found in the town hall that around the thousand, five hundred and fiftieth year, a great uproar would arise in Germany on account of religion, and after the emperor would get involved, he would lose everything he had. But I do not think that the emperor should start a war because of the pope, especially because war costs a lot of money. For

1) A derisive name for Caspar von Schwenkfeld in Silesia, as also "Stenkefeld". Walch, old edition, vol. XX, 2195.

2) So Stangwald instead of executioner's knife.

If it were without money, I think the emperor would have caught something for his person long ago, but to go out money for the pope, the emperor is not lenient.

Unfortunately, in 1546, after Margaretha, only five months after Luther's death, a war was started by Emperor Carl against the Estates of Augsburg. Luther's death, a war was started by Emperor Carl against the Estates of the Augsburg Confession, in which Duke Johann Friedrich, Elector, was captured before Mühlberg; the Landgrave of Hesse rode on escort to Halle to the Imperial Majesty, and was also imprisoned there. Soon after this war, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1548, a change in religion was made, called the Interim, which caused all kinds of unrest in Germany. After this Schmalkaldic War, Emperor Carl had no luck at all, neither before Costnitz nor before Magdeburg, nor before Metz, which city he wanted to win back to the empire, and at that time the King of France had inside. In the end, Emperor Carl handed over the empire to his brother, King Ferdinand, moved to Spain, and died in a summer residence built close to a monastery. It is said that His Majesty had her regestras painted on some cloths, of which there were twenty pieces. His Majesty had these hung on the wall in the cloister of the same monastery, and often let himself be carried for a walk in the same cloister, and sat there in front of the painted cloths, and remembered what had happened in the war campaigns, sieges, field battles and otherwise, what he had used for war chiefs, captains and captains, and also what luck and misfortune he had had there. And when His Imperial Majesty came before the cloth on which the history of the Schmalkaldic War and the imprisonment of the High Elector of Saxony, Mr. Johann Friedrich, before Mühlberg had been painted: then His Imperial Majesty used to sigh before it and to say: If I had let him remain who he had been, I would also have remained who I had been. And it is so; for His Imperial Majesty, after the Elector's imprisonment, had little luck nor victory against her enemies.

#### **People willfully resist God's word.**

D. Luther once said: "If I had known in the first place, when I began to write, what I have now experienced and seen (namely, that the people were so hostile to God's word and opposed it so vehemently), then I would have thought of

I would never have been so bold as to attack the pope and almost all men and enrage them. I cried that they sinned only out of ignorance and human infirmities, and did not support themselves in deliberately suppressing God's word; but God led me up, like a horse whose eyes are blinded, so that he does not see those who run toward him.

And the doctor then said that a good work is seldom done or happens out of wisdom or prudence, but everything must happen in an insanity or ignorance. So I went to the teaching and preaching ministry with my hair: but if I had known that I now know, ten horses could hardly have drawn me to it. So Moses and Jeremiah also complain that they are deceived. No one would take a wife like that, if he really thought about what he should have in marriage and in housekeeping. To this Philip Melanchthon replied: He had diligently observed it in the histories and noticed that no great special deeds were done by old people: the great Alexander's and St. Augustine's ages did it; after that one becomes too wise, and old people do a thing thoughtfully before they do it. Then said D. Martinus said: You young fellows, if you were wise, the devil could not get along with you; but since you are not, you may also do ours, who are now old. Our Lord God does nothing great by force; as they say: If the old were strong and the young wise, that would be worth a lot of money. The spirits of the mob are vain young people, Icarus, Phaetontes, who flutter in the air, Gamsensteiger, on top and nowhere off, and want to push the twelve cones on the boßleich 1) around, since you only have nine on it; whimsical heads, as Zwingel and Oecolampadius were also.

#### **24. contempt of the divine word is severely punished.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 994.)

I have already survived the greatest plague, namely the contempt of the Word, the uttermost and most ungodly wickedness of the world, the noth-

1) Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. V, 1182, § 5.

The only thing that has to follow as a punishment is the abominable things in this world. If I wanted to curse someone very much, I would curse him for the contempt of the word of God, then he would have all that is evil at once, namely internal, external and eternal evil, which the world will not always despise.

In all histories it is seen that where God's word has been preached purely, and it has been despised, punishment has soon followed, and the despising of pure doctrine always precedes punishment; as the examples of the times of Lot, Noah, and the Lord Christ indicate. And because now there is hardly a nobleman, a shepherd, a burgher or a peasant who wants to walk on the pastors and preachers with his feet, I believe that God will punish the ingratitude and contempt of his word severely. The preaching ministry must indeed remain in the world, either righteous or adulterated; for the world does not want and cannot be without worship, and the Turk must also have his priests and church servants, otherwise he could not maintain his regiment: but where one despises God's word, there it wanders away, and the true God and his worship are lost.

Otherwise D. M. Luther said at another time of contempt of the divine word: that if God's word would come to a place, then from that time on also the contempt of the same would be there; this would be certain. And this was also seen in the Jews. God sent them the prophets, Esaiam, Jeremiam, Amos and others: finally he sent them Christ, his Son, even the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, when the apostles were divided and went into the whole world. All of them cried out at the same time: repent; but nothing would help, they all had to be held up: and all the prophets were killed, Christ was crucified, and the apostles were chased away. But soon after Jerusalem lay in the mire, and such destruction continues to this day. The same will happen to the German land, which now also despises God's word. I think that a great darkness will follow after this light of the gospel, so that the gospel will no longer be heard publicly in the pulpit, and after that the last day will soon follow.

**(25) He who despises the word of God is not to be argued with.**

(Except for the last paragraph Cordatus No. 1073. 1074.)

Whoever admits that the evangelists write God's word, we will meet him. But whoever denies this, I will not exchange a word with him. For then this will also happen in Christianity: Against him who denies the main reason, one must not dispute. Yet all Jews, pagans, and Turks say that the Bible is the holy scripture. For this book has the highest testimony. And there is no harm if some say that the five books of Moses are not written by Moses, but they are written by Moses.

Idle questions are to be avoided in Moses, like that of Egranus, Moses writes, the birds lived in the water, since he means the air here. That would be just so [if one asked] whether the beard had been earlier than the man, and one answers: Certainly, for the goats and he-goats were created with a beard on the fourth day before man, but Adam on the sixth day. Such questions are to be answered only with mockeries [ironiis illudendae].

The Biblia was unknown to the people in the Papacy. Doctor Carlstadt began to read the Bible only in the eighth year after he had become a doctor, because he and Doctor Petrus Lupinus had been driven to read Augustinum.

**The Bible is a source of inspiration for the Bible.**

Doctor M. Luther said in Eisleben, shortly before his death: that at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530, Bishop Albrecht of Mainz had once read the Bible; now one of his councilors came to him and said: "Most gracious Prince and Lord, what is Your Lordship doing with this book? Then he answered: I do not know what kind of book it is, for everything in it is against us.

**The Bible is hated by the worldly wise and the sophists.**

Doctor Usingen, an Augustinian monk who was about my preceptor in the Augustinian monastery

at Erfurt, once spoke to me when he saw that I was so fond of the Bible and liked to read the Holy Scriptures: Brother Martine, what is the Bible! One should read the old teachers, they have sucked the juice of truth out of the Bible, the Bible causes all turmoil. That is the world's judgment, said D. M. Luther, of God's word, as is also seen in the other Psalm. For if we say to the great men, And now, ye kings, let yourselves be instructed, 2c. if they say no to it, and will not suffer the doctrine; then we must also let them go as good fellows.

### 28. the swarmers' error of God's word.

(Lauterbach, May 10, 1538, p. 77 ff.)

On May 10, he read a book by Bullinger, who was very vehement against the Anabaptists, who despised the oral word, and otherwise against those who appropriated too much to the word, for they sinned against God and his divine omnipotence, just like the Jews, who called the ark of the Lord God in 1 Sam. 6; Bullinger, however, as if he were trying to keep the right center, taught the true reason, which was the right use of the word and the sacraments. To this Luther answered and said: "He is wrong, does not know himself what he means. I see their deception well, they do not want to appear to have erred, and [claim that] we and they have stood on two extreme things [extremes]. They reject the oral word and the power and effect of the sacraments altogether; but we press hard upon them. Now they seek the middle way, and praise the Word and the sacraments, so that we too may drop our extreme opinions and be one with them. Previously they taught that the oral word and the sacraments were only signs and slogans of love. Thus Zwinglius and Oecolampadius went too far. When Brentius resisted, they softened their opinions as if they had not rejected the oral word and other means, but only condemned some gross abuses. They thus separated the word and the spirit from one another; they separated the

Man who preached the word, from God, who worked; the servant who baptized, from God, who cleansed [through baptism]; and think that the Spirit is given and works without the word. Let this word be but an outward watchword, which findeth the spirit that is before in the heart. Now if the word does not find the spirit, but an ungodly man, then it is not God's word. And so they lie, and define the word not according to God who speaks it, but according to the man who receives it, and yet they want this to be the word of God, which produces fruit, which brings peace and life, but because it is not effective in the ungodly, it is not the word of God. Thus they teach that "the outward word is, as it were, an object, an image that explains something, and they determine only its material use, not wanting it to be an instrument and effective cause, a bearer of the Holy Spirit and the beginning of justification. They are drowned in this error and do not understand themselves. Oh, dear Lord God, if only someone would be angry to death against the devil, who so resists the word and rages in the papists and enthusiasts. He sees well that the oral word and the outward office of the church are doing him harm. That is why he is now spreading various errors against it; but I hope God will strike against it recently.

But a Christian must certainly say: The word of God is one and the same word, whether it is preached to the pious or to the ungodly, just as the church is among sinners; and the same word, whether it bears fruit or not, is a power of God, which makes blessed all who believe in it [Rom. 1, 16.], and which will judge the ungodly, Joh. 12, [44. ff.]. Otherwise, the wicked would have a very good excuse before God, that they could not be condemned, because they would not have had a word, since they would not have accepted it. But we say that the preacher's (even though he is a man) word, absolution, sacrament, is not the work of a man, but the voice of God, the cleansing and effect of God, but we are only the instrument and co-workers of God, through whom God acts and works. We

do not want to grant them that metaphysical distinction. Man preaches, the spirit works, the servant baptizes, absolves, but God cleanses, forgives 2c. Not at all. But we conclude: God preaches, baptizes, absolves. "It is not you who speak" 2c. "He who hears you hears me" "What you will solve on earth" 2c. (Matth. 18, 18. 20. Luc. 10, 16.) So I am sure, when I go to the pulpit to preach and read, that it is not my word, but "my tongue is a stylus of a good writer" (Ps. 45, 2.). For GOD speaks in the holy prophets and men of GOD. There man and GOD are not to be metaphysically divorced but I am simply to say: this man who speaks, be he a prophet, or an apostle, or a righteous preacher, is the voice of GOD. Then the listeners should conclude: Now I do not hear Peter, Paul or a man, but God Himself speaking, baptizing, absolving. Dear God, what comfort could a frightened conscience receive from a preacher if it did not believe that his words were God's comfort, God's word, God's judgment! Therefore we conclude simply: God works through the Word (or He works nothing everywhere), which is His vehicle and instrument in the heart. For even the words of Balaam's donkey are not the donkey's words, but God's words; and the very word that comes out of the mouth through the lips: "Son, be of good cheer, your sins are forgiven you", Matth. 9, 2. penetrates the heart of man, and he is comforted.

But that the word brings forth and works different fruits is God's secret will. The wind blows where it wants (Joh. 3, 8.). It does not behoove us to inquire into it. I cannot say why I am happy now and cannot be happy soon; why I have a better desire for the word one time than another, since I always have the same word. I am not always delighted by the word in the same way.

If I had such a desire for God's word at all times, as I do at times, I would be the most blessed. But dear St. Paul, who complains (Rom. 7, 23.) that he sees another law in his members that contradicts it, was also mistaken. Should the word therefore be false

if it does not happen [at all times]? Summa, this determination of the word has been in great danger from the beginning of the world, and has stood much that men would be certain that it is God's word when a prophet or apostle speaks.

But the enthusiasts are still papists and do not understand the power of the Word of God. I am very surprised at what they may preach, read and write. Oh, dear Lord God, keep us by your word, do not let this treasure be taken from us, but accept it with thanksgiving and keep it. The papists and the enthusiasts do not want to be recognized for having erred, and they deal with the mendacious, as he did, who torments the passage of 1 Sam. 6, that they called the ark of the Lord God itself.

### 29. The Use and Effect of the Divine Word. Only God's word is certain and insurmountable.

(Cordatus No. 36.)

Frederick (the Wise, Elector of Saxony) said: He had noticed that even if something was thought out by human reason, however astutely, something more astute could still be invented and produced 1). God's word alone is invincible, and the gospel is higher than all reason. This he perceived from the answers of Christ, like that of the interest, likewise of John, whether his baptism was from heaven or not. (Matth. 22, 17-21; 21, 25.) 2)

### (30) Apart from the Word of God, nothing is certain.

It was once said that one had read and written much without all understanding; to which Doctor Martinus said: "A great light has indeed now dawned upon us, for we have not only the words, but also the understanding of the same. Praise God that we know what is right. No sophist has this saying, Habac. 2, 4: "The righteous lives by faith", nor can he interpret it,

1) adtruäi, which has cordatus, gives this appropriate sense. Therefore, the conjecture of Dr. (Wrampelmeyer), ukstruäi, is at least unnecessary.

2) On this §, see Walch, old edition, Vol. IV, 267 6.



neither did the fathers understand him: for to be righteous and to do righteousness they interpreted in many ways, except some Augustine. Such great blindness is in the dear fathers. Therefore, one should read the Holy Scriptures first and foremost, after which one may also read the fathers, but with modesty, because they do not always speak and judge correctly about God's things. But those who turn from the Bible to the commentaries and books of the fathers, their study is endless and futile.

### 31. You should be sure of God's word.

In matters of religion, concerning God's word and doctrine, one should be certain of the thing, and not waver, so that the confession may stand in the challenge, and one does not say afterwards: I would not have meant it; for as such speech is otherwise dangerous in worldly matters, so it is very harmful in theology. Therefore the canonists, the pope's hypocrites and other heretics, are quite a Chimaera, and a horrible beast of wonder, whose face is like a beautiful virgin, and the body is like a lion, but the tail is like a serpent: that is, their doctrine seems beautiful, seems pretty, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful, seems beautiful. Their doctrine is beautiful, seems beautiful, and what they teach is pleasing to reason and has a reputation; then their doctrine breaks through with force, for all false teachers commonly have the brachium saeculare attached to them, but in the end it is a slippery uncertain doctrine, just as a snake has a smooth skin and wipes through one's hands.

At another time, D. Luther said: "First of all, we must know whether this doctrine of ours, which we lead, is the word of God; for if we know this, then we can firmly build on it, that this thing shall and must remain, and no devil shall overthrow it, much less the world, with all its courtiers, how much they rage and rage against it. I, praise God, certainly hold my teaching to be the word of our Lord God, and have now chased away from my heart all other beliefs, whatever they may be called. And I have almost overcome these heavy thoughts and temptations, since my heart said for a while: "Are you the only one who knows the right thing?

Word of God pure? And all the others do not have it? Thus Satan also sets his sights on us, and violently storms in with the name and title of the churches: Yes, he says, what the Christian church has hitherto decided and considered right for so many years, you overthrow as if it were wrong, and destroy both the spiritual and the temporal government with your new teaching. I find this argument in all the prophets, where the noblest leaders, both in the churches and the police, say: We are God's people, because we are in the proper government, founded and appointed by God: What we, as the largest and best group, conclude and recognize as right, that is to be held: Who are you fools, that you want to teach us? are you hardly a handful? Truly, one must not only be well prepared and armed with God's word, but also have the certainty of doctrine, otherwise one cannot stand in the battle; one must be able to say: I know for certain that what I teach and hold is God's, the high Majesty in heaven's, own word and final decision, and the eternal unchanging truth; the rest, everything that does not agree with it or is contrary to it, is vain lies of the devil, false and wrong. And that alone does it, that one starts a game and stays with it and says: You others all err and are wrong, but my teaching alone is right and God's certain truth, I stay with it, even if the whole world says otherwise. For God cannot lie, because I have His word, which I cannot lack, nor be overcome by all the gates of hell; and I have the consolation that God says: I will give you people and listeners who shall accept it: let me only worry, I will stand over you, you only stay firm with my word.

One must be sure that the doctrine is right and the eternal truth, and not ask anything about how it is held by people. Therefore Christ says John 8:46: "Who among you can reprove my doctrine? but if I tell you the truth, why do you not believe me?" And all the apostles were most certain of the doctrine; and St. Paul especially practiced the Plerophoriam, when he said to Timothy, "I do not believe you.

Theo 1. Ep. 1, 15. says: "It is a precious and valuable word that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. For faith in God through Christ must be certain and firm, so that it makes the conscience happy and satisfies it. And St. Peter in his 2nd Epistle Cap. 1, 19, says: "We have a certain, firm, prophetic word, and you do well to pay attention to it, as to a light that goes out in the dark" 2c. If one has this certainty, then that is the victory against the devil; but if one is not certain of the doctrine, then it is not good to argue with the devil.

If you are to be saved, you must be so sure of the word of God that even if all men said otherwise, even if all angels said no to it, you alone could still stand on it and say: I still know that this word is right.

(This paragraph at Cordatus No. 209.)

No face will I have, no miracle will I allow, no angel will I believe who teaches me differently than God's word. I believe this and God's works because these two are in harmony with each other and in all things, from the beginning of the world. For the Word remains the same from the beginning, and I experience in my thinking and feeling that it works as God's Word says, and in all histories we see the works of God agreeing, for as a thousand years ago, so God still works today. I want the word, I do not want miracles. Erasmus, however, wanted miraculous signs because, although he had the word, he did not keep the word.

#### **With the word of God one can defend oneself against the devil.**

(Composed of Cap. 26, § 2 and Cap. 24, § 59.)

#### **The gospel reveals the secret wickedness of men.**

(This § is taken from the sermon after Christ Day in the Hauspostille. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, Col. 99, §§ 41. 42. 43; Col. 101, §§ 45. 48.)

#### **34. majesty and glory of the divine word, that God speaks to us through it.**

The majesty and glory of the divine word is inexpressible, and we can

Never thank God enough for this. Reason thinks: If I should hear God the Lord, the Creator of heaven and earth, I would run to the end of the world. Listen, brother! God, Creator of heaven and earth, speaks to you through His servants, pastors and preachers, baptizes, instructs, teaches and absolves you Himself through the mystery of the Word and the Sacraments: these words are not Platonis, Aristotelis, or other high scholars and men, but God Himself speaks there.

And these are the best preachers, who teach the common man and the youth in the most simple way, without subtlety and prolixity, 1) just as Christ also taught the people through crude parables. Such are the best listeners, who gladly hear God's word and believe it simple-mindedly: even if they are weak in faith, if they only do not doubt the teaching, they can still be advised and helped. God can suffer weaknesses, yes, even gross bulbs and errors, 2) if one only recognizes it and crawls to the cross again, also asks for mercy, and corrects himself and diligently hears the divine word, believes it, and changes his sinful life accordingly.

David says Ps. 119, 113: "I hate the fluttering spirits, and love your law"; he wants us to diligently pay attention to the power of the divine word, and not to despise the oral word, as the enthusiasts, and especially Schwenkfeld, do now. For God wants to act with us through such means, and also to work in us.

(From here to the end of paragraph Cordatus No. 473.)

It seems wonderful to me when a person (like Michael Stiefel) takes the trouble to tell me one word from the Gospel, which God in heaven has spoken to me before. That is why the ancients said that neither one who preaches nor one who baptizes is to be rejected.

In Balaam's time there were both righteous and false preachers and teachers. That now the text 4 Mos. 23, 3. says, Bi- \*.

1) Cf. cap. 22, § 74, and Cap. II, § 13, the last paragraph.

2) Cf. cap. 2, § 24.

Moses said that he went and asked the Lord for advice, which is to be understood as meaning that he asked the advice of righteous teachers, who advised him that he should not do anything against God. Moses then explained himself and said, "He no longer went to the judge, as he had before, but to a false teacher and a false prophet.

This way of speaking, that they asked God for advice, gives us an indication that they held up God's word, and that they did not look at those who spoke it, but looked at what they spoke. Thus Rebekah, Gen. 25, 22, did not ask God Himself, but Shem, or an archfather, for advice. For God has always had certain persons and places in the world by and through which He has made His will known. Thus he sent Moses, and through him revealed his word to the children of Israel, so that when he spoke something, they had to say, "This was not given by Moses, but by God himself. After Moses he sent Christ. His teaching is certain, so is his person, so that we cannot be mistaken nor deceived about what we hear from him, that God himself has certainly spoken it; as the heavenly Father says Matth. 17, 5: "This is my beloved Son, whom you shall hear." And when Christ ascended into heaven, he sent the apostles into the whole world, first instituting baptism and his supper. Now, when God's word is heard and the sacraments are received, we can say with truth: God says so. Thus, many times, when I was in temptation and in fear, Philip Melanchthon, or O. Pommer, or even my housewife, comforted me with God's word, so that I was satisfied, and felt: God says this, because the brother said it, either because of office, or because of the duty of doctrine; for God seriously commands that one should hear Christ, and Christ says that we should hear the apostles.

And this also deceives the sacramentarians and other enthusiasts who speak of God's things according to their thoughts. But we say that one should hear what God says.

Now God says before the creation of the world: "Let there be the world! then the world came into being and stood immediately. He also says the same thing in the Lord's Supper, that the bread (which he gave to his disciples) is his body; so it is certainly there, as the words say, and does not hinder Bullinger's cavillation here, since he pretends that, because Christ's body is not seen, it does not exist nor is it present; for here he did not create the visible, but the invisible [things], in the form and manner that he willed and pleased him. That God has preserved his word in the world, and that the kingdom of the Lord Christ has remained in the world in the papacy, is one of the greatest miracles of our Lord God. But our Lord God takes some hearts, to whom he reveals his word, and gives them a mouth for it, and preserves it, not by the sword, but by his divine power.

#### **The word of God is a fiery shield to all who trust in it.**

The word of God is a fiery shield, because it is more proven and purer than gold tried in the fire; which gold loses nothing in the fire, and nothing comes off it, but it endures, remains and overcomes everything. Therefore, he who believes the word of God overcomes all things and remains eternally secure against all adversity. For this shield fears nothing, neither the gates of hell, nor the devil, sin, or death, but the gates of hell fear him; for the word of God endures forever, sustaining and protecting all who trust in it. Otherwise, without God's word, the devil has won the game, for no one can resist him, nor ward him off, without God's word alone: whoever grasps this, and firmly believes in it, has won. Therefore, we should not forget the divine word, much less despise it, as the devil seeks it.

#### **God is certainly sought and found in his word of Christ.**

(This § is from the Great Interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, [trans.] § 56 and § 55.)

**(37) That all our actions and life should be arranged according to the divine word.**

God also has his guidelines and canons, which are called the Ten Commandments, which are written in our flesh and blood; and the sum of them is: that which you would have done to yourself, do also to others. And our Lord God keepeth these things: for by the measure that thou measureest thou shalt be measured again. God has marked the whole world with this guideline and yardstick: those who live and do according to it, good for them, for God will reward them abundantly here in this life, and the same reward can be shared by a Turk and a Gentile as well as a Christian.

**God Himself speaks through the Word, and such a Word is powerful.**

D. Luther once spoke of God Himself speaking to us through His Word, and said: If it is true that God speaks to us in the Holy Scriptures, and you still doubt it, you must 1) think in your heart that he is a liar who speaks a thing and does not keep it. But believe thou that he is the supreme divine majesty; therefore, though he open his mouth, it is as much as three worlds, he poureth out the whole world with one word, Gen. 1; and Ps. 33:9 it is said, "When he speaketh, it is done; when he giveth, it standeth."

Therefore, first and foremost, a certain distinction should be made between the word of God and the word of man. A man's word is a small sound that passes into the air and soon vanishes: but the word of God is greater than heaven and earth, even death and hell; for it is the power of God and endures forever. If it is God's word, then it should be taken for it and believed that God Himself speaks to us; therefore one would gladly learn His word. David saw this and believed it, for he says in the Psalter: "God speaks in His sanctuary, I am glad of it. Ps. 60, 8. And we should also rejoice in this, but such joy is also often oversalted for us; as then

1) We have omitted the word "either" with Stangwald.

David also had to endure many temptations, including murder, adultery and expulsion, so that he would walk and remain in the fear of God. That is why he says in the 2nd Psalm verse 11: "Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling". Somebody rhyme this together, be glad and be afraid. My son Hans can do it against me, but I cannot do it against God. For when I sit and write, or do something else, he sings a little song to me; and if he wants to make it too loud, then I start him a little, he sings on all the same, but he does it more secretly, and somewhat with worry and timidity. So God also wants us always to be joyful, but with fear and reverence for God.

**God's word is the highest consolation.** (Cordatus No. 1832.)

The highest grace is to have the word of God, for he who does not have it will one day fall into despair. This is what David says [Ps. 119, 21. "Cursed are those who lack your commandments" and [Matth. 15, 13.]: "All plants [which my heavenly Father did not plant, me will be choked out]."

**40. the gospel is a mystery**

(This § is in the church postil. Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. XI, 523 § 19; Col. 519 § 9.)

**By the Word of God the world, especially the Church, is governed and sustained.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 4, 1538, p. 157. Follows Cap. 3, 8 77.)

Speaking is a great and divine gift to men; for by word and not by force wisdom rules men, instructs, edifies, comforts, soothes in all situations of life, especially in matters of conscience; therefore God has given His church an audible word and visible sacraments. But Satan resists this holy ministry of preaching with all seriousness and would like it to be destroyed, because this alone would destroy his kingdom.

It is truly a great and marvelous power of the oral word, that through such a weak word, which comes out of man's

The devil, who is a very hopeful spirit, is chased away and put to shame by the hissing of the human mouth. That is why he is so vehemently opposed by the sacramentarians, who even despise it, as Carlstadt calls it a hissing of the human mouth. I will be silent of the Anabaptists who blaspheme the oral word. St. Paul says (1 Thess. 2, 13.): "When you receive from us the word of divine preaching, you receive it, not as the word of men, but as the word of God." Item, to Romans, Cap. 10, 14: "How shall they believe, of whom they have heard nothing?" Likewise, in 2 Thessalonians, Cap. 2, 4. he says of Antichrist, who exalts himself above all that is called God or worship, above God who is preached (λεγόμενον). Otherwise, besides this word, every fanatic would make up a special worship and God. Rom. 1. (v. 16.): "There is a power of God which makes blessed all who believe in it." And Matth. 10, 20: "It is not you who speak, but it is your Father's Spirit who speaks through you." Nevertheless, the sacramentarians are so bold, and unashamedly reject the oral word, since they conclude: "No external thing makes blessed: the oral word and the sacraments are external things; therefore they do not make blessed.

I answer: It is much another, God's outward thing, and man's. God's outward thing is wholesome and very powerful. The poor people thought that the external preaching ministry was the same as the cold human traditions of the papists. So the devil went with Schützen: 1) Flesh is of no use (Joh. 6, 63.). If this argument were valid, an unspeakable harm would have followed, for he would have rejected all external means. The devil has also seen this, for he is wont to start with the lowly until he rises to the heights.

1) The manuscript has: "So gieng der teuffel mit schutzenn." The meaning is perhaps: The devil himself, through his members, has perverted God's word with fiery arrows against the truth, in order to destroy and exterminate it. Aurifaber has: "So the devil also dealt with Zwingel, and drove him, since he said 2c." Bindseil I, 44th: "So the devil went with schertzen." Possibly, however, it is to be read: "So the devil went about with shooters." Then the meaning would be: the devil gave such stupid reasons to the ignorant ABC students. Cf. Cordatus No. 1488 in Cap. 60, § 13.

### God instructs man's heart, reason, hands and feet through His Word.

God alone instructs the heart through His word, so that it first comes to know itself, so that it may know how evil and depraved it is, even that it is an enmity against God; as St. Paul testifies Rom. 8, 7. Then God leads man to come to the true knowledge of God, and to be rid of sins, and after this miserable and short life, to attain eternal life. On the other hand, human reason, with all its wisdom, can go no further than instructing people how to govern themselves and live honorably in this temporal and transitory life: that they may do what is good for them in the sight of the world, and that they may leave off what is bad and evil for them. Item, how one should learn to govern, to keep house, to build, and other good arts, that one learns in philosophy and from the pagan books; and nothing more. But how to know our Lord God and His dear Son, Jesus Christ, and to be saved, this the Holy Spirit teaches only through the divine Word; for philosophy understands nothing in the matters of God. And I am very concerned that it will be mixed too much with theology, although I do not dislike the teaching and learning of philosophy. I praise and approve of it, but it requires modesty; let the philosophy remain in its circle, for which God has given it, and use it like a masked person when one plays comedies, and as one otherwise uses worldly justice. But that one wants to mix her into the theologiam, as if she also belonged to it, that does not do, it is also not to be suffered. And I do not like it at all that faith is called a thing, or a quality, or a skill, or an accidental thing; for these are all philosophical words, used in schools and in other worldly affairs, which reason can understand. It thinks that true faith remains in us like the paint on the wall; but faith is a thing in the heart that has its essence for itself, given by God as its own work. But

not such a substantia and self-existent thing, ut in praedicamentis corpus est substantia, as one otherwise teaches the boys in schools, that a corporeal thing, so one can see, grasp and touch, is a substance and self-existent thing.

#### 43. God has bound us to the oral word.

Doctor M. Luther once sighed for the sake of the sects and cults that despised God's word, and said: "Oh, that I were a good poet, I would gladly write and make a delicious carmen, song or poem about the benefit, power and fruit of the divine word; for without God's word everything is nothing and in vain, especially what one does in matters of faith. Therefore, God has bound us to His oral word when He says Luc. 10, 16: "He who hears you hears Me." There he speaks of the oral word that comes out of a man's mouth and sounds in other people's ears, and does not speak of the spiritual word that comes from heaven, but that sounds through the mouths of men. The devil has challenged this from the beginning of the world, and has opposed it, and would gladly eradicate it; therefore let us stay with this medium and means, and hold the word in honor. For some years now I have read the Bible twice a year, and if it were a mighty tree, and all the words were branches and twigs, I have knocked on all the branches and twigs and wanted to know what was in them and what they were capable of, and always knocked down a few more apples or pears. 1)

#### 44. how to teach God's word correctly.

The Word of God must be taught and shared correctly, for there are two kinds of people: 2) Some are frightened and grieved in conscience, as they feel their sin and God's wrath, and have remorse and sorrow over it; these are to be comforted with the Gospel. Then there are hard, wicked, hardened, stiff-necked hearts, which must be comforted with the preaching of the law.

1) Cf. § 1 of this Cap.

2) Cf. Cap. 9, § 16; 12, § 19. § 43. § 62; 22, § 60; 26, § 16.

and punish them, and hold up to them the examples of divine wrath. As, Elijah's fire; item, the flood, Sodom's and Gomorrah's downfall, and the destruction of the glorious city of God, Jerusalem, for these same stubborn heads must be attacked and terrified.

#### 45. the listeners of divine word find guilty to feed the preachers.

(The first paragraph to "Commandment" at Cordatus No. 309.)

The hearers of the divine word are more obliged to feed the ministers of the word, than that they should not fornicate, steal 2c.: for the ministry of preaching concerns not only the first table of the ten commandments of God, but especially the first commandment. St. Paul also tells the Corinthians that "whoever serves the altar should also live from the altar, and the ox that feeds should not have its mouth tied", 1 Cor. 9, 9.

But how does the world maintain the preaching ministry? Luther spoke of this in Eisleben shortly before his death and said: "The poor preachers are now treated strangely. For if they now have a patch of wood, beautiful meadow wax, arable land or vineyards in their parishes, it is taken from them. One shares with them, just as he in the fables of Aesopi made a pact with Mercurio 3) that he would give half of everything he found to Mercurio. When he found a sack of dates and almonds, he went and peeled the almonds, and put the almond shells on one side, together with the date kernels, and put the almond and date kernels on one side. He gave half of the almond shells and date kernels to Mercurio, but kept the almond kernels and date kernels for himself. So the portion that the peasants give to the poor preachers and priests is nothing else, but dead shells, chaff, grubs and such small things.

**The Word of God points to all divine states and teaches how to conduct oneself in them.**

(Lauterbach, May 29, 1638, p. 89.)

The Holy Scripture tells us in the shortest and most explicit way how to live rightly. In

3) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 216.

In religion: that you believe in God, and that you love your neighbor as yourself 2c. In the secular regiment: Be obedient to the authorities. In the domestic regiment: love your wives, educate your children. But the pope despises all these as common, worldly things. Our Lord God could be rich if he wanted to, if he would take the plagues, diseases and misfortunes to himself and sell them for money. What would he redeem for money! In the realm of the pope, however, it has been almost so conceived that every single disease had its idol and intercessor. That is why Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg said with sobs: "Don't tear up this perfectly ordered rule.

**The Word of God alone overcomes the devil's fiery darts and all temptations.**

As a black artist, called Faustus, was thought of over the table in the evening, M. Luther said seriously: The devil does not use the magician's service against me: if he had been able and capable of harming me, he would have done it for a long time. He has often had me by the head, but he still had to let me go. I have well tried him, what a fellow he is. He often hit me so hard that I didn't know whether I was dead or alive. He also brought me into despair, so that I did not know whether there was also a God, and I completely despaired of our dear Lord God. But with God's word I have rescued myself. There is no other help or counsel, except that God helps you (with a word spoken by a man, or otherwise seized by one). But if one does not have the word of God, then it is soon over for us, for then he can ride and drive people according to his will.

**The Word of God is and remains the Word of God, whether we believe it or not.**

(This § except for the last paragraph at Cordatus No. 254. 15. IN. 17. 18.)

The Anabaptists have come into their error for no other reason than that they have not received God's word and work in due form.

of honor. For they think, out of ignorance and godlessness, that baptism is based on their faith, for they believe that God's work cannot be solid unless it is built on human foundations. They also think that God's work is nothing because I do not think it is, and that God must give way and repeat His work for the sake of my unbelief. He does not do that. If I am baptized without faith or in unbelief, my unbelief shall be transformed, and I shall yield to God and believe His work, because God's work is perfect in itself and cannot be changed. I will explain this by an example: Ten years ago I heard the Ten Commandments preached, which I did not believe then; but now I believe them as God's laws. In this change I have changed, not the ten commandments, which have always remained the same. Likewise, if my overlord had commanded something three years ago, but I had not obeyed, it would not follow that his command had become futile because of my disobedience, and he himself will therefore not change his command, but wants me to change my disobedience. It is the same with infant baptism, if the case is made that their [the infants'] baptism was not powerful because of lack of faith. But I do not consider that the children are without faith when they are baptized. For they are offered to Christ by the church, and since the church prays for them, they receive faith.

The Anabaptists say that a child is not worthy of baptism because he does not believe, as if this were a correct consequence: he is worthy of baptism who believes and has faith. Wouldn't that be robbing God of what is his? For it is God alone who baptizes, therefore he does not baptize in vain, but he baptizes a sinner who is unworthy of baptism, yes, he baptizes a man who is worthy of damnation. Therefore, if anyone does not want to err or be deceived, let him not say that he was baptized because he believed, but let him boast that he was baptized by God's own hands. But if you wish to be baptized again, you deny that you have been baptized by God, which God has not done.

will let go unpunished whose work you, O man, are bringing to nothing; for he has commanded to baptize in his name.

These clear words: "Baptize all nations," likewise the command of Christ, and in addition to these two pieces, the example of the church, which baptized children for over a thousand years, urge me that I cannot believe the rebaptizers according to that [their] way, nor do they allow me to be rebaptized.

Baptism must be where Christians are, and Christians are where baptism is; for God does not let His work be in vain and without all fruit. For as the rain from heaven does not depart without fruit, which is nevertheless a bodily thing, and which God causes to fall upon all men without distinction, how should the sacraments be without fruit, which God has ordained and instituted for His children, whom He has begotten through the blood of Christ? The sacraments, the Bible and certain ceremonies of the Christians must also be with the heretics who want to be carried as Christians and be called by the name of the Lord. Without these, no one is in God's people, not even in name, neither in fact nor in reputation. False faith is the work of men, therefore it is without good fruits. But true faith, which is directly God's work, cannot be without good works. Therefore, where God leaves baptism and preaches the gospel, it will not return empty.

What God has commanded (as preaching, baptizing, administering Sacrament) is not our work and we do not do it.

God does not base His word and work on our piety and worthiness; yes, even a prankster and a knave, as now happens in the papacy, may preach or hear a sermon, baptize or be baptized. But such a rascal must be converted if he wants to be saved, and change his unbelief and sinful life: but God's work remains as it is, for and for God's work.

#### 49) To whom the divine word is useful.

(This § is in the church postil. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, 546 f. § 2. § 4.)

#### 50. where one loves the word of God, there dwells God.

Concerning the saying of Christ John 14:23: "He who loves me will keep my word, and my Father and I will come to him and make our abode with him," Luther once said: "Heaven and earth, even the castles of kings and emperors, are not able to make a dwelling place for him; but in the man who keeps his word, that is where he wants to dwell: although Isaiah Cap. 66:1 calls heaven his chair and earth his footstool, but not his dwelling place. If one then searches long where God is, he will find him in those who hear Christ's word, as the Lord Christ says here: "He who loves me keeps my word, and we will make our home with him. Surely no one could speak more childishly or more simple-mindedly than Christ, and yet disgrace all doctors with it. It is not in sublimi, sed humili genere to speak in this way; and if I were to teach a child to speak, I would teach it thus: He that loveth me keepeth my word. It is not to abstain from food, from meat, from women, from money; that is to ask the devil as a guest with all his company.

#### The Word of God alone does everything.

Doctor Luther said: "Just as God makes everything out of nothing, and creates light out of darkness; so also his word makes that in death there must be nothing but life. Therefore, whoever clings to the word of God and follows it, will finally experience what David says in the Psalm: "When God speaks, it is made, and when He calls it, it stands there," Ps. 33:9; but before one comes to this experience, one must suffer something; for God's way and nature is to create and make everything out of nothing.

#### The word of God is twofold.

(Abridged from Cap. 24, §15, the last two paragraphs.)

#### 53. the power of God's word.

(Cordatus No. 767.)

Great is the power of the Word of God, indeed, the Epistle to the Hebrews rightly calls it



[A double-edged sword, because it has the twofold power to comfort and to frighten. Those, however, who neglect this source, will again drink from the puddles of void. Scribes drink which are scraped out and read with very great difficulty, but with little benefit. Chrysostom writes almost nothing pure but of infant baptism; Jerome treats of his devotions. Neither of them commemorates the authorities, nor do they praise the world's regiment, but they were (as they say) hermit-like, 1) like our monks. Everything has to go in monkishly. But those who want to teach others and govern in the church must know the world, because monastic thoughts are not suitable for governing.

(Here 19 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 7, 8178.)

**The word of God alone is to be believed and not doubted.**

(Cordatus No. 459 and 1568.)

A challenged person does not join those who want to investigate the highest things, but the church that thinks about faith and grace, because if two become one in her, why it is that they ask, they will be heard [Matth. 18, 19]. This they shall believe, and they shall be saved. Furthermore, whatever the ministers of the Word or other godly people speak to the afflicted in the name of God, they are to be believed, because they are commanded by God to comfort and teach. That is why confession and absolution are so important.

That someone may have the true sacrament, likewise baptism, likewise the true word which I preach, for this I stake my soul, for this I will also die. This is not valid, 2) for he who believes will be saved 2c.

1) In the original äsvotarii. I do not know a concise expression for it, but the sense of the word is undoubtedly the same as "monkish". Monks do everything out of their own devotion, without God's word, without knowledge of life. Compare what Luther says, especially about Jerome's teaching and life, Walch, old edition vol. IX, 422, § 17, and vol. III, 612, § 7.

2) namely: without own faith based on God's word.

I do not rely on any other faith, but on the Word. Here is an example: If I give you a hundred guilders and put them under the table, but you think it is lead or tin, it is you who are lacking, not me, as it is still money and good gold, if you do not think it is. So God does not lie when he promises eternal life; only see that you believe it and consider it to be true.

**Those who have God's word pure and hold fast to it are poor.**

(Cordatus No. 863.)

Where the truth of the gospel is, there is poverty, according to the words [Isa. 61, 1/: "He has sent me to preach to the wretched," and [Luc. 7, 22.]: "To the poor the gospel is preached." In former times great monasteries were given full, now not even a penny. Superstition and hypocrisy give money enough, truth goes to Parteken. 3)

(Here 10 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 5, § 26.)

**True Christians are ready to suffer death and all misfortunes for the sake of the gospel, but hypocrites flee the cross.**

V. Luther said: He had a table-goer in Wittenberg, named Matthias de Vai, a Hungarian, who had also lived in Luther's house in Wittenberg. This one, after he came home to Hungary and became a preacher there, was at odds with a papist preacher. When the pope accused him before the monk George, Woida's brother, then governor and regent of Ofen, and in the interrogation one had harshly condemned the other, and the monk could not reconcile the parties, because each wanted to be right, the monk George said: Harret, I will soon know which part is right or not; and go to and set two barrels of powder in the marketplace at Ofen, and say: Whoever wants to defend his doctrine, that it is right and the true word of God, let him sit on the barrel of one, and I will put out fire: who then remains alive, when the fire

3) Go to Parteken - go begging.

with the powder, so that it does not burn, the teaching is right. Then Matthias of Vai quickly jumped on one of the barrels and sat on it, but the pope did not want to get on the other barrel with his help. Then the monk George said: Now I see that the faith and doctrine of Vai is right, and your, the papists', religion is wrong: he punished the same papist priest and his assistant for four running Hungarian guilders, and had to pay and maintain two hundred soldiers for him for a while; but he let Matthiam de Vai preach the gospel publicly.

And Luther said: "No one on the papist side wants to dare to go into the fire, but our people go confidently into the fire, yes, into death; as one experienced in the past with the holy martyrs, St. Agnes, St. Agatha, Vincentio and Laurentio. Should the papists now be driven to the fire for the sake of their doctrine and religion, oh how many would fall away. Illi sunt Martyres active, non passive. Emperors, kings, princes and lords now drive out and murder the Christians, so the Turk accepts them, defends, protects and handles them. Papistae nolunt regnum Christi, habeant ergo regnum diaboli. This is what Luther said at Eisleben in 1546 shortly before his death, and he also said: We are respected in the world ut oves occisionis.

Next, in Paris, two nobles and two magistrates were burned for the sake of the Gospel: the theologians got the king of France to light the fire himself with a straw wipe. We are like a bunch of sheep that do not go to pasture, but stand in the barn, waiting when they are put on the spit or in the pot.

### **Preaching God's word brings the cross.**

(Cordatus No. 1.)

When God preaches His word, He adds one thing so that the word may be understood. For example, when he preaches that the cross follows the word, the pious experience the cross soon after hearing the word. In the same way, when faith is preached and good fruits follow faith, it is impossible that the one who has been taught by

If a man is righteous by faith, he should not also do good works in his own time. And if this did not happen, no one would understand God's word rightly, because action interprets the word rightly. This is what Christ wants when he says: "Now I tell you before it comes to pass, that when it is done ye may believe." [John 13:19Z

### **58. Whoever wants to teach and confess God's word must not wait for honor, but for the holy cross.**

Whatever gifts our Lord God gives to the people of the world, they take the glory from it; thus people boast of goods, power, wealth, wisdom, art 2c. Our Lord God allows this to happen and suffers it; only God's word and religion (if it is otherwise righteous, pure and unadulterated), since he alone wants to have and keep the glory of it; how just. Therefore he hangs the dear cross, shame, persecution, the world and the devil on the necks of us, who are righteous, faithful teachers, to keep us in humility, so that he alone will keep the honor and we will not become trustworthy. For this reason it rhymes that if one wants to seek honor and good in theology and in God's word, as if he wanted to take coals from a fiery furnace, he would certainly burn himself. Let every theologian, yes, every Christian, be guided by this; otherwise nothing will come of it, if he does not want to be a false teacher and a muzzling Christian.

### **59. word of god Art.**

(Cordatus No. 261.)

In the time of Christ and the apostles (that I say so), the gospel was a doctrinal word; later, among the entire papacy, it was a reading word. Now, however, it has become a fighting word and no longer wants to suffer its enemies, but to get rid of them.

### **60. God's Word is the body in which God's children are conceived and born.**

Just as in the world and in the household a child becomes an heir only by being born into the hereditary estate; so make

faith alone to God's children those who are born through the Word, which is the mother in whom we are conceived, born and brought up; as the prophet Isaiah Cap. 46, 3. says about it. Just as we become children of God through such a birth, which God accomplishes without our doing, so we also become heirs in the same way: but now that we have become heirs, we are free, set free from sin, death and the devil, and have eternal life and righteousness.

#### **61. God's word is to be preferred over all persons and things.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 2. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 55. 56. 63. 67. 68.)

#### **62. through whom GOD keeps his word.**

(This § is transferred to Cap. 66, § 33, where it belongs).

#### **The word of God is to be firmly believed, but the wickedness of the world is so great that the last day must control it.**

(Composed of Cap. I, § 80, end of first paragraph, and Cap. 51, § 2, end of penultimate paragraph).

#### **A rhyme by D. M. Luther of the New Testament Book.**

The will is a noble book, Great art, wisdom it teaches,  
Blessed is he who keeps it, To him God will bless all his things.  
For God's word abides forever, And shares the kingdom of heaven with us,  
We must leave this world, for the Word holds fast with us, and strengthens us in the time of death,  
And helps us out of eternal death.

#### **Another rhyme of D. M. Luther about the words of the psalm: Beati omnes, qui timent Dominum; found in A. Erasmi Sarcerii Liberei, among the Colloquiis Lutheri.**

(This § is in Walch, old edition, IX, 1356.)

#### **In matters of religion, one should judge from God's Word and not from human wisdom.**

(Contained in Cap. 55, § 2, subsections 4 and 5.)

#### **In the past, there was evil study, especially in the Holy Scriptures.**

In our time, studying was evil, since theology and all the good arts were despised, and fine, clever minds were plagued with sophistry. Aristotelem, the pagan, was held in such esteem that whoever denied him or contradicted him was considered the greatest heretic in Cologne and condemned; since they did not understand Aristotelem, the sophists obscured him much more. As the monk did, who spent two hours in the passion sermon with this question: Utrum Quantitas realiter distincta sit a Substantia? Whether the quantity in itself is distinct from the essence? And showing this example, he said, "My head could creep through this hole, but the size of the head cannot. So he separated the head from its size, as a fool. A bad grammarian could have solved it in a simple way and said: the size of the head, that is, the largest head.

With such foolish work, fine, skilful minds were burdened, and neither in good arts nor in theology were they properly instructed and taught. Thus Antipho, Cusa, Cardus, Bovillus and others have labored miserably and tried how they could bring that which is round into the square, also comparing the right string or equal lines with the crooked. Now we have blessed times, God wanted the youth to make good use of them, and to study diligently in those arts that are now flourishing and green.

#### **The word of God is not to be judged by the fruits and lives of the hearers.**

(Contained in Cap. 11, § 25, subd. 1.)

#### **The Gospel is the best new newspaper.**

As one once told sad new newspaper about D. M. Luther's table, D. M. spoke. M.

Luther: The gospel brings good new news, and these are certainly from Jesus Christ, our dear Lord and Savior; otherwise I know of few good new news in the world. There is no greater thing and grace, than if we could believe that God spoke with us; if we believed that, we would already be blessed.

**70. contempt and corruption of God's word is the greatest wrath of God.**

(Cordatus No. 1361.)

Because GOD gives everything for free and ceaselessly serves people, He bears this reward that they crucify and despise His Son and persecute all servants of GOD, but He also knows this reward that He gives to His despisers, the Jews and Greeks, the Turks, the Germans and Italians the Pope.

(Here 6 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 1, § 13, end of first paragraph).

**71) What is the purpose of the contempt of the divine word?**

When it was once said how God's word and His servants were despised in the world, both among the nobility and also among the burghers and peasants, then said D. Martinus said: "Let this contempt be our consolation, admonition and reminder to give thanks to our Lord God for this great gift and grace, that we may be those who love His Word, gladly hear it, learn it, and delight in the Holy Scriptures. For it is a great punishment and terrible judgment and wrath of God that a man is so hostile to God and His holy Word that he will not hear it, and in addition neither honors nor respects the servants of the Word, but dishonors and despises them.

**The people with whom the Scriptures have to do.**

(Contained in Cap. S, § 25.)

**73. the sacred scriptural custom.**

The Holy Scriptures, especially in the New Testament, have the custom of turning a peculiar saying into a common one.

As when I say, Let Moses be put to death, I make of a single and particular Moses a common Moses, which extends to all things, and a common example, which applies to all the laws that try to catch and bind the consciences. The same saying is found in the 69th Psalm, v. 26, where David says, "Let his dwelling place be desolate," because it is a special saying, speaking of the synagogue and Judaism. And St. Peter, Apost. 1, 20, this saying from Judah the betrayer, who is a forerunner of the synagogue, which took Christ Jesus; as if Peter wanted to say: Therefore the synagogue with its rulers and great men shall perish for a thousand devils 1).

**The word of God appears to reason as a vain lie.**

When Luther was asked by someone about the word of faith, that it was contrary to reason and common experience, and that the church in the world was most plagued and challenged by the devil; yet the Lord Christ says, John 16:33: "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world"; is there nothing else in the church but sorrow, cross and persecution? The doctor answered and said, "Do you not know that everything in the Scriptures is a lie according to reason? But we are to believe that God wants to prove His power and strength in weakness, and let His wisdom be seen even in the highest foolishness: but blessed is he who believes it.

**That the Jews have better teachers and scribes of the Scriptures than we Gentiles.**

When M. Luther read the Psalter at one time, he was very surprised that David had such a spirit, and said: Dear God, what high people these were! This David was a husband, a king, a man of war, and a preacher: he dealt with worldly matters, with which he had to do, and yet he wrote such a beautiful book. Thus the New Testament of

1) Stangwald has instead: "for a thousand devils" "in reason."

written by men who were Jews, for the apostles were Jews. Thus, God wanted to indicate that we should worship God's Word, hold it dear and honorable, dear and valuable. We Gentiles have no book that rules and reigns in the Church, except that St. Augustine alone is a doctor and teacher in the Gentile Church before the others; therefore we Gentiles are not at all like the Jews. Therefore St. Paul also makes a fine distinction between Sarah and Hagar, and the two sons, Isaac and Ishmael: Hagar was also a woman, but not equal to Sarah. Therefore, it is a great presumption, hopefulness, and bravado on the part of the pope that he, as a man, has been allowed to set himself against the Scriptures without Scripture, and to exalt himself above them.

**Luther's complaint about the quantity of books and his admonition that the Bible should be read carefully.**

D. Luther once complained about the quantity of books, that there was neither an end nor a measure to writing, and everyone wanted to make books, and said: "Some did it out of ambition, so that they would also be famous and get a name from it. But some did it for the sake of pleasure and profit, and thus promoted such evil. Thus, through so many commentaries and books, the dear Bible is buried and scorched, that one does not even pay attention to the text. Since in all good arts and faculties those are the very best who are well read and well grounded in the text 1). For in law, a good jurist is one who is well practiced and well known in the text; but now they also soon turn to the scribes and commentaries. When I was young, I became accustomed to the Bible, read it often, and became familiar with the text: there I became so well acquainted with it that I knew where every saying stood and was to be found when it was spoken of; thus I became a good textualis. Only then did I read the scribes. But in the end I had to put them all out of sight and put them away, because in my conscience I could not be satisfied with them, and so I had to

again with the Bible; for it is much, much better to see with one's own eyes than with foreign eyes. Therefore I would also wish that all my books were buried nine cubits into the earth, for the sake of the evil example, that otherwise every one would follow me with many books to write, so that one would be famous. No, Christ did not die for our vain glory, that we might have fame and honor; but he died that his name alone might be hallowed.

**The first is the first of the two fables of Aesop and the second is the first of the two fables of Aesop.**

I think that some of the beautiful fables have come from there: When the cruel tyrant. When the cruel tyrant Julianus, a Mameluk and disowned Christian, seriously forbade in the Empire to teach, preach and confess the Holy Scriptures and God's Word publicly, there were two pious bishops (as church history says) who became schoolmasters and taught the young boys in the schools.

**78. No one is offended by the simple speech of the Scriptures.**

(This § is from the preface to A. T. Walch's old edition, vol. XI V, 2, § 3.)

**Why the same thing is repeated so often in the Scriptures.**

(Cordatus No. 1605.)

Why Moses and the prophets in constant repetition [tautologia] always bring up the same thing again, one complains about it; but the whole fifth book of Moses is no more than: "I am the LORD, your God, who brought you out" 2c. But the Holy Spirit has seen the ungodliness of people who touch the Bible only with their fingertips and forget the treasure buried in it. We have seen in our time how graciously God has delivered us from the tyrants, from the pope, from the zealots, Zwingli, Oecolampad. These cases should comfort us over and over again, but we have already completely forgotten all of them.

1) Cf. § 6 of this Cap.

**80. By God's word one should remain alone and hold fast.**

(The beginning of this § is transferred to Cap. 3, § 23, where it belongs. The following is in Kummer p. 378 [Lauterbach p. 87] and follows after Cap. 3, § 23.)

Such visible and physical things we see daily and cannot understand them and are forced to say: "I believe in God the Father" 2c. Nor do we fools want to master God in the article of reincarnation and salvation, and much disputing about infant baptism and the secret powers of the sacraments, so we poor fools do not know where the great Junker Fart in the belly comes from. So it is said that when GOD speaks A Word, the whole world should tremble, believe and obey. Away with the exceedingly godless Papists, who dare to prefer the fabricated prestige of their church to the Word of GOD. For this Papist argument is the highest and most intolerable blasphemy, so that they spit God in the face. Great indeed is the patience of God who endures this. But it has always been so. For the God of Bethel was held in high esteem by the people of God, but the God that Jeremiah preached was of no value at all. It costs our Lord God so much to keep his power and mercy with a few. He must smite many kings before a few people learn to fear him, and he must make many harlots and knaves blessed before a few sinners learn to believe him. Therefore the prophets and apostles do not labor in vain, that we may abide in the word of God. For without this word we are lost. If we do not wrap ourselves in this God who has become flesh and has been put into words, then we will soon be devoured by the devil.

**The word of God is to be heard, not pondered according to God's majesty.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, 8 9, paras. 2-4.)

**82. a different.**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 12, 1538, p. 131.)

A Hungarian presented Luther with strange, ludicrous and unnecessary questions, which he had written down. Luther said: Ah! that

We remain with the revealed will of God, because God has revealed everything to us in Christ, whom we should listen to: He knows how to solve all these "arguments". Yes, God wants to give us everything in Christ, only we should humble ourselves in true obedience. But we don't want to, and apart from Him we are fools, and we deal with the question why God does it this way, lets it happen this way, and we also want to be a little bit in the game.

**83. a different.**

(Contained in Cap. 4, § 16.)

**That God's word was preached much more powerfully in the time of the apostles, and ours now, and was spread farther than in the time of Christ.**

(Contained in Cap. 12, § 26.)-

**85. contempt of the divine word.**

(Cordatus No. 256 and No. 257.)

The things of God are so evil that I can no longer advise them. For nothing of all that he does with us, even in the most merciful way, remains uncorrupted for him. This can be clearly seen in the words of God. As often as he gives it to the world again, it is despised, mocked, persecuted and eradicated from the world, as much as there is in it. If he does not give it, we are condemned. But if he has given it, we condemn it, and we condemn it by deed and by denial. For if we believe, we do not; if we disbelieve, we deny. Since this is how his word is in this world, what, I ask, happens to all his works, even to himself?

It will happen again, as it did before, that all those who now advise the world for its salvation will run away into the deserts, because of the exceedingly great ingratitude, which always turns the best into the worst.

**86) The essence of a thing is to be separated from its custom, and alone**

**Staying with God's Word.**

(Contained in Cap. 22, § 34 and again in another redaction Cap. 37, § 71.)

**The Word of God performs great miracles, but everyone wants to master it.**

The teaching of the Gospel has done great wonders, even in our times: it has cast down and disgraced the monastic vows and the abominable idolatry of the corner masses, which nevertheless have a great reputation and appearance. Oh, if only we would also thank God for this and remember back in what horrible darknesses we had been in the priesthood, from which God has thus graciously redeemed us, without any merit on our part, through His Word, which we so shamefully despise, and thereby provoke God to anger, so that He must punish us. But now everyone wants to be a master of the Scriptures, and everyone thinks that he understands them very well, and has even studied them; just as St. Jerome, in his preface to the Bible, complains that there has not been an old fool and a foolish hag, nor a washed-out sophist, who has not presumed to be a master of theology, and has torn them apart.

All other arts and crafts have their preceptors and masters, from whom one must learn them, and also order and laws, according to which one must judge and keep; only the holy Scriptures and God's Word must be subject to every one's pride, arrogance, will and presumption, and be mastered, twisted and interpreted as each one understands and wants it according to his own head; hence also come so many cults, sects and aversions; God forbid them.

**Without God's word, the ceremonies are filth and dung.**

Let us pray diligently for God's word, that God's name alone may be hallowed; for if the doctrine is not reformed, all reforming is in vain with life: I throw in all ceremonies without God's word. Although the papists have never said or taught anything about righteous ceremonies. Whoever wants to have a right church, he must adhere to the word by which everything is preserved.

**The word of God is not learned without challenge.**

D. Luther once said: "I did not learn my theology all at once, but I had to search deeper and deeper for it. My temptations have brought me to this, for one can never understand the Holy Scriptures apart from practice and temptations. This is what the fanatics and the mobs lack, that they do not have the right opponent, namely the devil, who teaches them well. So St. Paul also had a devil who beat him with his fists, and thus drove him with his temptations to study diligently in the Holy Scriptures. So I have had the pope, the universities, and all the scholars, and through them the devil on my neck: they have chased me into the Bible, so that I have read it diligently, and thus finally attained their right understanding. If we otherwise do not have such a devil, then we are only speculative theologians who handle their thoughts badly and speculate with their reason alone that it should be this way and that way; as the monks in the monasteries also did.

After all, you can't learn other good arts or crafts without practice. What kind of a physician or doctor would he be if he stayed and ran in schools all by himself? He must, indeed, bring the art into use and begin to practice it, and the more he acts with nature, the more he sees and experiences that he does not yet have the art rightly and perfectly. So must a lawyer and every craftsman and artist do: what should not such be in the holy Scriptures, since our Lord God has a mighty adversary?

It is also a great grace of God that one has a certain text of the Bible before him, from which he can say: This is right, I know that for sure. People think they know everything soon after they have heard a sermon. Zwinglius also thought that he knew it well, but that it was a bad art. But I know that I can't yet do the Lord's Prayer properly, as a learned, old doctor I usually am.

I am, or should be. No one can be learned without practice and experience. That is why the peasant said: "Armor is good who knows how to use it properly. So the holy scripture is certainly enough in itself, but God grant that I may also catch and make the right use of it; for if Satan disputes with me, as if God were also gracious to me, I must not make this statement against him, that he who loves God with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his strength, 2c. will possess God's kingdom. For the devil will soon reproach me, and come up to me and say, "You do not love God," as my conscience convinces me. But I must take hold of the saying, and use it against the devil, that Jesus Christ died for me, for through Him I have a gracious Father, who has reconciled me to Him, and as St. Paul says in 1 Cor. 1:30, "He was given to me by God for wisdom, for righteousness, for sanctification, and for redemption.

**90. that the ingratitude against God's word will make our churches great.**

**Do harm.**

D. Luther said: Our church will not suffer such great distress and danger from the tyrants and their persecution as from our own, and from our great security, wit and carelessness. For even though the pope will try all sorts of things against us and will subject himself to them, and will give and give much to his patrons, in the opinion and hope that if this sect of ours (which is what he thinks it is) and doctrine were suppressed, he would get back everything that he has lost so far: But this will not happen, whether God wills it or not, the word of God would perish in the German land, and then God would not stay away long with the last day, and thus, as the last, break into this terrible night, and push the bottom out of the barrel. Otherwise, the tyrants, fanatics and heretics will only drive us into the Bible to read it more diligently and to sharpen our prayers more earnestly.

**91) The bet HLTt's for that the teaching of the divine word soon must perish.**

D. Luther said at Eisleben that omnes sapientes mundi thought that the teaching of the Gospel, because it had begun suddenly, would not last long, but would fall again of its own accord. That is why the present bishop of Magdeburg, Hans Albrecht, has the saying: One must command much of the time. He hoped that the papacy in the German land would again start: he is rightly instructed in Rome, therefore he does not ask anything about our doctrine. The children of the world do not say otherwise: When the thick cloud has passed, it will probably smell differently.

**Preaching God's word annoys the world.**

(Contained in Cap. 4, § 62.)

**93) How to stand against the despisers of the divine word and the sacraments.**

Dear sirs (said D. Martinus to the parish priests and the clergy, and those who were with them), let us wait on the church with preaching, pure doctrine and sacraments. Whoever will not go to the sacrament, 1) nor learn the catechism, you shall not go to him in his sickness, when he is to die; but let him lie down like a sow: neither take care of him, nor let him be buried in the churchyard, to the horror and disgust of others.

**94. How God spoke to the fathers.**

D. Martinus was asked: How God would have spoken with the fathers, when John says, Joh. 1, 18.: "No one has ever seen God"; and contrary to this the patriarch Jacob would say, Gen. 32, 30.: "I have seen the Lord face to face"? To this the Doctor replied: "God spoke to the fathers through visions and appearances, so they saw God's face, and not God Himself; as we have God's face and see Him through Word, Sacrament,

1) Cf. Cap. 19, § 15; Cap. 21, § 18.



-the churches key, in the parents and authorities order. These are God's faces and larvae. For "face" in Scripture means God's appearance, presence and mercy; as David says: "Lord, do not cast me out of your presence. And on the other hand, "to see God's behind and back" means to see God's wrath. According to the grammatica, this means God's face and back. But spiritually, the ancient teachers interpreted God's back from Christ's humanity. So Moses wanted to see God's face, that is, His glory, so that the people would believe him; therefore Moses, as a common person in public office, desired to see God's face, that is, His omnipotence, wisdom and goodness: which three do not distinguish nor separate the person, but are assigned and given to the persons, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit. But God seems weak, foolish and evil in our eyes. This is called seeing God's back and seeing Him from behind; as Paul speaks of the weakness of the crucified God, of the foolish and foolish word.

#### **95. how the world wants to abolish and settle the division in religious matters.**

(The first paragraph of this § is omitted because taken from the writing: Wider den Meuchler zu Dresden. Walch, old edition vol. XVI, 2069, § 164)

Item, it said D. M. Luther that Mr. Conrad Hoffmann would have said to the bishop of Mainz, Albrecht, Cardinal, three and twenty years ago, that he should control and ward off the religious dispute in time, so that a large incendium would not arise from it. Then the bishop of Mainz said: It is a monk trade, they will probably tolerate it themselves. But he would have known it (said Doctor Luther) since that time.

2) At that time, Doctor Luther also told that in Rome the Pope's fool had once been with some cardinals, who had been beaten.

how one would like to do with the Lutherans, so that they could be eradicated? But they had said that the Lutherans cite the Holy Scriptures and St. Paul so violently against them and attract them in their books and writings; this would be in their way, so that they could not suppress the Lutherans. Then the fool said to them that he knew good counsel to get rid of Paul and that his teaching would not be against them. The pope would have the power to elevate saints; St. Paul should also be elevated and placed among the saints from among the apostles, so that his dicta would no longer be apostolic.

#### **That the divine Word and the Christian Church may be preserved from the raging of the world.**

Count Albrecht of Mansfeld's chancellor, Georg Lauterbeck, returned from the day in Frankfurt in 1546 and told Luther over the table in Eisleben how Emperor Carl and the Pope were taking such swift proceedings and actions against Bishop Hermann of Cologne and were planning to expel him from the lands and people. Luther then said: "They have lost the matter, they cannot do anything to us with the Word of God and the Holy Scriptures, therefore they want to fight against us with wisdom, force, cunning, practices, deceit, violence and weapons. They themselves give us the testimony that the wisdom, truth and Word of God are with us. But here the papists say, "How shall we do to him that we oppress Christ and his gospel? How shall we do to him that we suppress Christ and his gospel? Let us use deceit, violence and cunning to hinder its progress. And it comes to pass, as the other Psalm v. 2 says, "The kings of the land rise up, and the lords take counsel with one another." What do they want to do? "Against the Lord and his anointed." They want to make this other psalm true. But it follows soon after: "He who dwells in heaven, laugh ye." God still thinks he wants to remain well before the angry young men, and the devil thanks them that they should take me, a poor man, into their rods. I have now been in the council for six and a half thousand years, ruled and made all the laws. Dear nobles, don't get so angry, run away.

1) The same narrative, according to Lauterbach, is found in Cap. 27, § 54.

2) This narrative somewhat modified also Cap. 27, § 102, in the last paragraph.

from the wall, do not crush your head. "Be ye wise, ye kings and judges of the earth." Receive the Lord Christ, or the devil shall smite you: "that ye perish not in the way." I believe that God wants to overthrow the Pope, so that the last day will come. This is a right hopeful psalm against the same fellows. It starts out silly, but ends proudly: "So that you will not perish on the way. There will be a fire, therefore "good to all who trust in him." It is a proud, high psalm. He says: Behold, what you lords do, "he who dwells in heaven," he takes care of our affairs, and then grabs the great lords between the spurs and rides them to water. It will not help yet.

And Doctor Martin Luther said that in the face of the world's great, weak practices we have no other consolation than that our God is called "not a God who is far away, but a God who is near," Jer. 23:23, and after that a God of mercy. The same sees all these practices: he does not forget them, for he has a great memory. But what does our Lord God say about this? He thinks that he is a poor disciple, and thinks, "How will my son and I fare? The angels are all terrified, and

think: Where do we go from here? Where do we want to stay? But I assume that God will say: This plan or practice does not please me; then nothing must come of it. For even if they intend this and that, and even if all four winds and four elements are against us, we must still hold fast to God: if he will not have us alive, let him have us dead; but we know otherwise, for the dead will not praise you, O Lord.

I have angered the pope very much with the evil pictures. Oh how the sow will raise her rump in the air. But even if they kill me, they will first eat the dirt that the priest, who rides on the sow, has in his hand. I have put a golden bowl in the hand of the priest, and he shall first credence it. I have a great advantage, my lord is called Shefflemini, who says, "I will raise you up at the last day." And so he will say, Doctor Martine, Doctor Jonah, Mr. Michael Cöli, 1) come forth; and will call us all by our names, as the Lord Christ says in John, Cap. 10, 8: "He calls them by name." Be fearless.

1) Cf. 48, § 39. His signature under the Schmalkaldic Articles. Walch, old edition, vol. XVI, 2389.

## The 2nd chapter.

### On GOD's works.

1. That reason cannot understand nor comprehend God's works.
2. God hides His gifts so that one does not become aware of them.
- No one understands God's works.
- 4 God's wonders, which the world is full of, the blind reason does not see or recognize.
- God is incomprehensible, and yet is felt.
- The wonders of God are seen in the smallest and least creatures.
- God is outside and above, yet in the creatures.
8. 9. 10. Some questions.
- God is faithful and true.
12. God's things have even a small beginning.
- (13) Abundance of temporal goods hinders faith.
14. God deserves only vain ingratitude with His benefits.
15. that the wood is a great gift from God.

16. that God has almost lost all his titles and names.
- That God might become rich.
18. God's power in our weakness.
19. as God does with us, it is not good.
20. knowledge of nature.
- How God deals with the right saints.
- What God wants from us humans.
- God is not angry.
24. god yat put forgiveness of sins in all his creatures.
25. god's mte if you could trust him.
26. God's mercy.
- God is patient.
28. God holds us far too well.
29. two regiments on earth.
30. God made everything for the sake of man.

<p>God's creatures need the wicked the most.  32. God's and the devil's lawyering.  God, not money, sustains the world.  34. do not ponder the secret counsels of god.  God feeds the church.  God is the avenger and executioner.  37. praise of the creatures.  (38) Only with God should one seek counsel in trouble and call upon Him.  God's things go on slowly and weakly.  40. The greatest wrath of God is when He is silent and does not speak to us.  God is incomprehensible in His majesty.  42. what most displeases God.  The greatest wrath of God.  44. God's way when he wants to ruin a country.  45. One should not flee from God.  God punishes, and no one can escape from Him.  47. 48. If God does not hold over us, it is done with us.  49. 50. 51. God's bodily gifts are held in low esteem.  52. how god remains master.  God feeds all animals.  God can do all crafts.  55. God is very annoyed that people do not want to think of Him as a God.  56. I am your God, what it is; and from the abuse of God's name.  5-7. God wants to be praised in all languages.  58. God can be trusted less than people.  59. put God on the spot.  God nullifies human councils and plots.  61. To prove God wrong is something He does not like.  God knows how to deal with His adversaries and ours much differently than we think.  God is much kinder to us than a father is to his child.  66. God is a God of the lowly.  How God shows Himself in challenge.  God has a small number of people on earth.  69. creatures of God, as they are to the wicked.  God is very pleased with the customs of all creatures.  71. God has put great gifts into small, despised things.  The Lord is to be known from the creatures.  73. you should not talk God into it.  God's wrath is greatest when He is silent.  God punishes the authorities through the subjects.  How God breaks and humbles human hope.  Why God created the wicked.  78. god's imprudence.  Satan with all his members, the wicked, resists God.  Why God does all good by means.  Man soon gets tired of a thing.  God feeds all people and creatures in the whole world.  Our Lord God must be wrong, he does what he wants.  God in His majesty is incomprehensible to human reason.  Why God has decreed that the wicked shall prosper and the righteous shall suffer in the world.  Why God decrees that His people be persecuted by the devil and the world.</p>	<p>God is not a God of the dead, but of the living.  God needs evil for good.  God does not let him lack anywhere.  90. thanksgiving is god's dearest service.  God is pleased that we need His creatures.  God fills the belly of the wicked, but gives the kingdom of heaven to the godly.  How God shares with the world.  94. Because God gives all goods for free, people do not respect them.  God's love also for the wicked.  God watches the tyrants for a long time.  God consumes the punishment for a time.  98. signs, so go before the punishment.  99. how god respects great lords.  100. 101. Our Lord's Map.  That from your best comes the best.  God praises His mercy on us sinners with His benefits.  God's works are wonderful.  God spends great expense on the food and nourishment of birds; therefore, He will also feed, nourish and sustain mankind.  God's wrath will soon be atoned for.  107. merciful punishment of God.  108. severe and terrifying wrath of God.  Our Lord God's servant.  God's and the devil's punishments are unequal.  God cannot defend His divinity before us humans.  God is the beginning of all righteousness, the means and the end.  Two kinds of sacrifices pleasing to God.  114. 115. Wrong prudence of the epicureans who judge God's regiment.  Serve God and the emperor.  The first birth was sanctified to God.  118. obedience of god and the devil.  119. forgiveness of sins.  How it would have gone if Adam had not sinned.  God mocks Satan.  The world does not respect God's goods.  123. God's supreme wrath and mercy.  What is most pleasing to God.  God hardens whom He wills.  The one who can humble himself before God from the heart has won.  To know God rightly is the highest art.  128. gOd receives discipline.  God is lenient with His outward and temporal gifts.  130. god's way.  God has set a goal for the adversaries to rage.  God preaches to him himself.  134. God's food and sustenance that goes into the world.  135. goodness of god.  136. signs when God is gracious or ungracious.  137. God is a God of the living.  God has restored all estates through His word.  139. God will destroy a country for the sake of sin.  God's blessings are upon all creatures.  How God will judge.</p>
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The first time you see God's goodness, you will know it.  
 The Magnificat contains all the works of God.  
 144. God does not want us to understand everything.  
 A blessed time has God given us now, who only recognized it.  
 Since a man should be God only a little time, our evil would be waited.  
 147. serving god.  
 God is not a cause of evil.  
 Man does not do God's will.  
 God's fickleness dismays the people.  
 Where and how to find and know God with certainty.  
 God does and gives everything for free.  
 For the sake of our hardness, God must be hard and God must be far away.

154, 155 How difficult it is to believe what God says.  
 God cares for us.  
 What this is: God is nothing, and yet everything.  
 In what God's consolation and man's consolation stand.  
 When people listen to help, God's help comes to those who believe in Him.  
 Our Lord God deals with Christians in a wonderful way.  
 You only have to believe in God's works.  
 162. of god's unfathomable majesty.  
 Bor God is not to be feared.  
 God's works are wonderful.  
 God will wake up one day.  
 166. of God's punishment against the wicked; item heretics and tyrants.

### 1. that reason cannot understand nor comprehend God's works.

(The first paragraph, Cordatus No. 295.)

All the works of God are inexpressible, no one can think them out, they can only be believed, they cannot be thought out; which one then understands a little, if one once carefully considers what the straw is good for.

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 827.)

Believing in God the Creator is impossible, because if we believed that he was, we would also know that he is so powerful that he could destroy the world with one word, as easy as it is for the potter to break down the clay. But if we believed that he was the creator, we would not oppose him with our wisdom, power 2c. In short, in his majesty no one can recognize God. That is why he rightly condescended to become man, yes, to sin, to death, to weakness itself, and made himself small enough. But who can believe even this? We believe that the emperor is more powerful than God, that Erasmus is wiser than him, that a monk is more just.

Otherwise, D. Luther said at another time: "All the works of God are public in the day, and yet incomprehensible and inscrutable. For who can say how God created the smallest thing and the least creature, but how he gave a flea or a louse eyes and legs; or how in man an eye sees; or how it happens that a woman has milk in her breasts, and carries a child in her womb, how and by whom it is cared for. At

In the last days we will see it, and all of them will be as beautiful as Adam and Eve were before the fall, yes, ten times more beautiful; as such things are now before God, as if they had all been made ready. In sum, in all creatures, even the smallest, even in their members, God's omnipotence and great miracles appear and are seen publicly. For what man, however mighty, wise and holy, can make a fig tree or another fig out of a fig? Or from a cherry stone another, or, but create a cherry tree? Or even know how God creates, grows and sustains everything?

And indeed, in all good arts and creatures one finds and sees imprinted the holy divine Trinity; as, God the Father's omnipotence, God the Son's wisdom, and God the Holy Spirit's goodness. But because we cannot rightly comprehend or understand 1) how it is that the eyeball sees; item, how distinct and distinctly audible words are heard and spoken when the tongue is moved and ruled in the mouth, which are, after all, natural things that we see and deal with every day: how then should we be able to comprehend and investigate the secret counsel of the divine majesty with our reason?

### 2. God bends His gifts so that they are not properly perceived.

(Cordatus No. 41.)

By fehr small deficiencies God covers His gifts that they become stinky before men.

1) Cf. § 9 of this Cap.

The theology, for example, is hidden from the young people by the fact that the theologians do not have fat sinecures (just as they are also kept from marriage), 1) not so much by great evils.

#### **No one understands God's work.**

No man can think out and rightly understand what God has done, and still does without ceasing: therefore, even if we sweat blood, and should write only three lines, as St. John wrote, we could not do it. Why do we allow ourselves to think and wonder at our wisdom? Ah, it is vain folly. If we should advise, 2) if there were neither man nor woman, how it should be created, and the like; there would be no one at home, and all our art would fail us. What then is my wisdom compared to God's wisdom? Yes, I will gladly be a fool, let myself be caught and give myself over 3).

#### **4 The wonders of God, of which the world is full, are not known to blind reason.**

Reason can neither understand nor comprehend how it is that a man, who has flesh and blood, hands, bones 2c., senses and intellect 2c., has such a bad origin, namely from human seed. 4) Item, that from one kernel that grows a great tree, from one grain of wheat that rots and perishes in the earth, twenty or thirty grains come. Therefore the world is full of God's wondrous works, which happen without ceasing. But because they are so many and so innumerable, and because they are so utterly common, says St. Augustine, they are not respected, indeed, they are not remembered.

Christ once with five loaves exempted five thousand men, woman and children,

and when they were all satisfied, twelve baskets remained and were taken up. If such a miraculous work were to happen now, all the world would be astonished; as they also did and said, John 6:14, "This is truly the prophet who is to come into the world. But the fact that God performs great miracles every day without ceasing is not seen and respected by carnal hearts; indeed, they do not even think about it, let alone marvel at it and thank Him for it. God, the Lord, gives water from the rocks, bread from the sand, wine, beer, butter, cheese, from the earth all kinds of plants and fruits, gold, silver, ore 2c. But because he gives all this without ceasing superfluously, no one considers it a miracle.

In the beginning he made Adam from a lump of earth, Eve from a rib, blessed them and said: "Be fruitful and multiply", Gen. 1, 28. This word is and remains strong until the end of the world. And even though many people die every day, others are always born, as Moses said in his Psalm: "You let people die and pass away like a river, and say, 'Come again, children of men,'" Ps. 90:3.

These and other things that God creates daily, the blind, godless world does not regard as God's miraculous works, but thinks that everything happens approximately. But the godly, wherever they turn their eyes, looking at heaven or earth, air or water, 2c., they see all God's wondrous works, at which they are astonished and cannot sufficiently marvel: they see their air and joy in it, praise and glorify the Creator, and also know that he is well pleased with them.

The children of the world, however, who walk in darkness, see none of these things, as has been said, much less do they know about matters of faith. What is it that they can perceive and discern what is good and what is evil in the things that are subject to reason, even doing the outward works of the law to some extent? But the articles of faith, that three persons are one God, that the true Son of God became man, that there are two natures in Christ, divine and human, 2c., are much too high for them, indeed, they resent them, and consider them a poem.

1) These brackets are set by us for better understanding. Here, too, the text of Cordat does not require any change.

2) Cf. cap. 3, § 23.

3) In Aurifaber: "gegriepen", i.e. grasped, overcome.

4) Cf. cap. 3, § 23.

or fable. For as little does it rhyme if someone were to say: Man and stone are One Person; just as little does it rhyme with reason that God became man, or that divine and human nature, united in Christ, is One Person.

But this is what we Christians have to study all our lives. I also think about this diligently, but I do not understand it. St. Paul understood a good part of it, even though he did not grasp it at all; nevertheless, he brings it out, Col. 2, 9, and says: "In Christ dwells all the fullness of the Godhead in the flesh"; item Cap. 2, 3: "In Him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." This is to say: Whoever does not find God in Christ, 1) will never find Him; he may seek Him wherever he pleases; much less understand what His will and nature are. But in him we recognize everything, the whole Godhead and humanity; that is, we see in him at the same time the highest power or might, and the highest weakness, life and death, righteousness and sin, God's grace and wrath. Ah! what shall we say, that God became man? it is a very high and heavy article above and against all reason; but no one, or ever so few people take it seriously.

#### **God is incomprehensible and yet is felt.**

God cannot be comprehended, but He can be felt, for He can be seen and noticed everywhere, and He shows Himself to be a benevolent Creator, who does and gives us all the good things that the sun and moon, the heavens and the earth, and all the fruits that grow from the earth, bear witness to. But the fault that we do not recognize God in such His works and innumerable good deeds is not in the Creator that He wanted such things to be hidden from our eyes. No, the fault is not in him, but in us; for human nature is so corrupted and poisoned by original sin that we cannot respect it, nor recognize and understand it.

1) Cf. cap. 2, § 157.

#### **The miracles of God are seen in the smallest and least creatures.**

(Cordatus No. 302.)

The greatest miracles of God are seen even in the smallest things: as, in a ripe pear, which half a year before it ripened, sat in the extreme tips of the roots, which are yet very far from the branches on which it now hangs.

#### **God is beside and above, yet in all creatures.**

Since heaven is His chair, Isa. 66, 1., He will reach far, far above the heavens; and since the earth is His footstool or footstool, He must also be in the whole world; as the following words also testify, since God speaks, v. 1. 2.: "What is the place where I shall rest? I look upon the wretched, and them that are of a broken spirit, and fear my word." As if he should say: These are the ones with whom I have my dwelling and rest. But now these are scattered to and fro in all the world: and if he fills all things, as St. Paul says Eph. 4:10, then he must be present everywhere. Therefore, whoever wants to be wise before God, let him learn his word and fear him; for "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom", Sir. 1, 16; but let him fear so that he also "hopes in his goodness", Psalm 147, 11.

Otherwise, on another occasion, D. M. Luther said in answer to a question: "Is God outside, above, and yet in all creatures, even the least, as in little grasses and leaves on trees? And he said: God is not bound to any place, nor is He excluded from any. He is in all places, even in the least creature, as in a leaf of a tree or in a blade of grass, and yet He is nowhere. Nowhere, understand tangibly and decidedly; but in all places he is, for he creates, works and sustains all things. But how is he in all creatures? Substantially, or by his almighty power? He is in both ways in every creature: for, as I said, he creates, he works, and he sustains everything. Other creatures work according to their quality, but God is present and essential.

But when one said, "I do not understand this," D. Martinus answered, "Do you also believe that Christ was God on the cross and in the Virgin Mary's body? To believe both is impossible for reason. But I believe it, because the Scripture says so. If then God is essential and present in the virgin's body, He is also in every creature, for it is the same way of speaking. Then said another, So is he also in the devil? Yes, said D. Martinus, also in hell essentially, as St. Paul testifies 2 Thess. 1, 9.: "The ungodly shall suffer torment, eternal destruction from the presence of the Lord"; and Ps. 139, 8.: "If I bed myself in hell, behold, thou art there also."

### 8. another question.

(Cordatus No. 818-822.)

If it is asked why all men are not saved in Christ, since through Adam all are condemned, I answer by this proof [per instantiam]: Let not God be angry, as that basic be-

He loves all people in the highest way, for whom he gave his son to death, of whom he said: "You shall hear him". That our Lord God has turned more to love than to hate, we see in the death of His Son. The devil deceived Adam and Eve, but God sent His Son into the world. With these words one must answer those who ask why God allowed the first parents to fall.

We are not to consider that we have committed sins, but the goodness of God, according to which He sent His Son into the world, even the great multitude of those who have sinned.

we are not to look at. And if God said to all: This is how I want it, this is how I command 1) 2c., what is it to you? But the devil comes here with his "why" and wants to search out all the secrets of God, which no man would suffer from another man, and God should tolerate it? So he also wants to be the master alone.

It is not my place to judge Turks, Tartars and the ungodly, but I believe the general judgment 2) of Scripture, which says [Marc. 16, 16.]: "He who believes and is baptized will be saved"; this word of Scripture certainly condemns them. But if our Lord God wants to make something different out of it, I do not care. I do not judge him. We are to believe the rule that is set, and God (if he wants) may make exceptions.

Even if God acts strangely, we should still believe that he is a pious man, because according to his goodness he gives people much more goods than people can "think about". And what he does, he does not do without a cause, and if he had to answer everyone's questions, he would be the poorest God.

We should look at God's word and avoid the why in it. We should know His word, not investigate His will, which is often hidden, that is, weigh wind and fire on a scale. With this work the investigators of his majesty toil.

### 9. another question. 3)

One of them asked: Why does God do so much that one can neither find the cause, nor indicate it, nor understand it? Ah! says D. Martinus, if we do not know or understand everything that God does, there is no power in it, nor does he want us to know what he intends. As he said to Petro, Joh. 13, 36: "What I do, you do not know, but you will know it later" (namely on that joyful day). Only then will we realize how faithful and friendly it is

2) It will probably read: 8sä eornniuni sententias oroäo them. - Bindseil I, 79 has correctly oommuni, but sententia.

3) Cf. § 1 of this chapter at the end. - Similar thoughts in Lauterbach, Aug. 2, 1538, p. 106. - When someone wanted to investigate the high judgments of God, without the Scriptures, which seem to contradict the knowledge of reason, he answered: "This is forbidden to us" Can we not even fully understand natural things, such as the visual power of the watery pupil in the eyes, the origin of the articulated sound in the vibration of the tongue 2c.; can we not learn this, how much less the counsel of the divine Majesty!

1) The saying of the tyrants, Juvenal VI, 223: 81c volo, they jul>60, sit pro nrlonk voluntss.

God has meant for us, even if there have been misfortunes, fears and hardships. However, we should certainly take care of him that he will not let us perish, neither in body nor soul, but act with us in such a way that everything, whether good or bad, must serve us for the best.

We fools cannot give a thorough account of how speech is formed in our mouths, how it happens that the voice of one man is clearly heard by so many thousands, and how we can see with our eyes so far and from afar all kinds of colors, and how we can clearly grasp and distinguish what we see before us, except for nothing: item, how bread, food and drink, which we enjoy every day, is transformed in our bodies, so in a short time, into flesh and blood, urine and dung. If we (I say) cannot show thorough cause in these little things, which happen daily with and in us: how are we then so presumptuous and senseless to flutter about the clouds apart from ourselves, to speculate about divine majesty, being and will, which is far too high, incomprehensible and inscrutable for our blind mad reason?

St. Hilarius adds a fine word: "We are content," he says, "that we do not know how it is with our body, and yet we want to express the divinity. But this we do not do, for there are vain men of the soul who fall and break their necks. Therefore, I faithfully advise that we listen to what God tells us through His Word and act according to it, otherwise all effort and work will be in vain and we will be lost.

#### 10. another question.

One asked: Where was God before the heavens were created? St. Augustine answered: He was in himself. When he inquired further, D. Martinus said: He has built hell for the idle and foolish spirits. Now that he has created all creatures, he continued, he is everywhere and yet nowhere: for I cannot grasp him nor take hold of him without the Word, through my thoughts; but there he can certainly be found, where he has bound himself. The

Jews found him in Jerusalem at the mercy seat, Ex. 25, 17, we in word and faith, in baptism and sacrament; but in majesty he is nowhere to be found. And it was a great grace in the Old Testament that God bound Himself to a certain place where He could be found, namely in the place where the mercy seat was, against which they prayed; first at Shiloh and Shechem, then at Gideon, and finally at Jerusalem in the temple.

In time, the Greeks and other pagans imitated this and built temples to their idols in certain places, as at Ephesus to Diana, at Delphi to Apollo 2c. For where our Lord God builds a church, the devil builds a chapel after it. They also took this from the Jews, that as the Holy of Holies was dark and had no light, so they also made dark and gloomy the places where the devil answered, as at Delphi and elsewhere. Thus the devil is always our Lord God's monkey. The fact that the Holy of Holies had to be dark means that Christ's kingdom can only be found and understood through the Word and faith, and by no other means.

#### 11. God is faithful and true. 1)

That God is faithful and true, he has shown not only in that he has made his promise to us in Christ, through whom we have forgiveness of sins and redemption from eternal death; but he has also presented to us in Scripture many examples of grace and consolation in great saints who were highly enlightened and graced by God, and yet fell into great grave sin. Adam, by his fall and disobedience, bequeathed both sin and death to all his descendants. Aaron brought a great sin upon Israel, that God would destroy them, Deut. 9, 14. David also fell heavily, 2 Sam. 11; Job, Cap. 3, 1., and Jeremiah, Cap. 20, 14, cursed the day in which they were born. Jonah was angry

1) It almost seems as if this § is only another relation, combined from Cap. 9, § 61 and Cap. 24, § 91.



very much and was angry that Nineveh did not perish, lon. 4, 1. ff. Peter denied, Matth. 26, 70. ff., Paul persecuted Christ 2c., Apost. 9, 4.

These and such innumerable examples are set forth in the holy Scriptures: not that we should be sure and sin on God's mercy; but that when we feel God's wrath and judgment coming upon sinners, we should not despair, but well imagine such comforting examples, and certainly conclude that, as God has had mercy on them, so he will also be merciful to us and will not impute sin to us, out of pure goodness and mercy, shown in Christ 2c. Also, in such examples of great saints who have fallen so hardly, one sees how an evil, cunning, envious, powerful spirit the devil, this world's prince and god, is, that he has been able to bring down (and still does) such high people who have been gifted with the Holy Spirit. 1) Which is nowhere more noticeable than when carnal men, whose hearts are only attached to the temporal, fall into gross sin, such as murder, adultery, theft. 2) Yet such high and pious people, who committed such great sin, fell by God's counsel and decree, so that they would not become proud, nor exaggerate their gifts, but fear. Since David had sinned, killed Uriam, taken his wife, and given the enemies of the Lord cause to blaspheme, he could not boast that he had ruled well and done much good, but said, "I have sinned against the Lord," 2 Sam. 12:13, and prayed with tears the psalm: Miserere mei, Deus, Ps. 51. And Job confesses and says, "I have spoken unwise; therefore accuse me, and repent," 2c. Job 39, 34. 35.

### 12. God's things have even a small beginning.

When God intends to do something great, He sees to it through a man, and then gives helpers who begin such work by God's command, and also lead it out, and fight their enemies (though not without their help).

He overcame great obstacles and resistance. When he wanted to deliver the people of Israel from the long and difficult imprisonment in Egypt and lead them to the promised land, he first called Moses, then he gave him Aaron, his brother, as a helper: they went to Pharaoh and told him by command of the LORD God of the Ebers that he should let Israel go 2c. But Pharaoh at first opposed it severely, and afflicted the people more than before; nevertheless at last he was compelled by so many plagues to let Israel go, yea, the Egyptians pressed and drove them out of the land in haste. But when Pharaoh was sorry that he had let Israel go, and pursued after them with horses, chariots, and horsemen, and all his host, the LORD commanded Moses to stretch forth his hand, wherein he had the rod, over the sea: and the waters were parted; and when the Egyptians pursued after Israel into the midst of the sea, the LORD fought for Israel, and drowned Pharaoh with all his might in the Red sea, and delivered his people out of the hand of Egypt 2c, Exodus 5 to chapter 14.

So in the days of Eli the priest, when Israel was in a very bad way, and the Philistines pressed hard against them and smote them, so that in one day thirty thousand men of Israel were slain, and they took the ark of God and led them into their own land, and Eli fell back from his seat in great grief, and his neck was broken in two, and it seemed as if Israel were at an end; then God raised up Samuel the prophet, and by him restored Israel, that the Philistines were smitten 2c., 1 Sam. 3. 4. 5.

After this, when Saul was so hard pressed by the Philistines that he despaired of great fear and stabbed himself to death, and when three sons and many people died with Saul, everyone thought, "Now it is done for Israel. 31 Shortly after that, when David was chosen and confirmed king by all Israel, the aureum saeculum, the golden age, began. For David, the chosen man of God, not only delivered Israel from the hands of the enemy, but also subdued and brought to obedience all the kings and nations who stood against him; he helped the kingdom so that it stood in full bloom, supreme power and glory in his time and in Solomon's time. For this he awakened

1) Cf. cap. 24, § 91.

2) So Stangwald instead of: fall alone.

God gave him helpers, many high people, priests and prophets, also other godly, wise, experienced heroes and rulers, whom he could use in spiritual and worldly matters; as he then ordered, appointed and arranged both, priesthood and kingdom, so well that they remained in their state for a long time afterwards.

So when Judah was led captive to Babylon, God chose the prophets, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, to comfort them in their misery and imprisonment. They also promised them not only the return to the land of Judah, as happened in the first year of Cory king of Persia, 2c. but also that Christ would surely come in his time.

From this it can be seen that God has never abandoned His people, not even the wretched world (which knows no thanks to Him), even though He lets them be severely punished and tormented for a long time because of their sin. Just as He graciously visited us at this last time and delivered us from the long, heavy, horrible prison of the sorry papacy. May God grant us grace to recognize this and thank Him for it, otherwise things will get worse.

### **(13) Abundance of temporal goods hinders faith.**

(Cordatus No. 661.)

Our Lord God could become rich, if he could only send himself into it. For He would become rich if He only denied us His creatures, soon the sun, soon the air, soon the water, then we would all give out money. But, since we believe that these gifts are commonplace, people consider them to be nothing and want to think that God is right. In spite of him, that he would not give us the sun every day. Thus the greatness of God's benefits is obscured.

### **14. God earns only vain ingratitude with his benefits.**

God gives sun and moon, stars and elements, fire and water, air and earth, and all creatures, body and soul, and all kinds of food of fruits, grains, corns, wine

and everything that is useful and necessary to us to preserve this temporal life. 1) And on top of that he gives us his dear word, yes, himself. But what does he earn with it? Nothing else, but that for it he will be disgraced and blasphemed, yes, his dear son will be miserably mocked, ridiculed and hanged on the gallows, and his servants will be tormented, chased, persecuted and killed. This is the thanksgiving that he has created, redeemed, sanctified, nourished and preserved us by grace. The world is such a herb, fruit and pious child. O woe unto her!

### **15. that the wood is a great gift from God.**

" (Cordatus No. 859.)

I am surprised where our Lord takes so much wood, firewood, timber, carpenter's wood, wooden shoe wood, cooper's wood, and although the wood has a lot of use in the world, nobody pays attention to it.

### **16. that God has almost lost all his titles and names.**

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 245.)

God has already lost all his titles, for it seems as if he has become powerless against the mighty wicked of this world and helpless against the wise. And as often as the Christians get into an evil situation, there is immediately the challenge that torments us, that we believe that God has forgotten his mercy, as if he had become a companion of the wicked, who is nevertheless good by nature. For he seems to be well-disposed and benevolent toward the wicked. Thus we believe that he is wicked. But all this is because everything that is God's in this life is very hidden, as it is written [1 Cor. 1:18 ff.] Matt. 6:4, 6, 18. For His power is regarded as weakness, His wisdom as foolishness, and His goodness as wickedness.

At another time, Luther spoke of how God was held and regarded by the world, saying: "God alone is a sinner, and no one else; all men are sinners.

1) Cf. § 134 of this Cap.

The people, on the other hand, are just and everything. But the Father is powerless and impotent; for men are mighty and powerful, as the tyrants whom God cannot resist. The Son alone is a fool, for men are wise and prudent, as heretics, whom the Son cannot answer. But the Holy Spirit is ungodly, for men are God-fearing: just as the false brethren are, and the Holy Spirit cannot do them enough for their sin. So God's power becomes strong in weakness, which becomes weak in our strength and power. Therefore, let us gladly be weak in ourselves, so that we may become strong in God.

### **That God might become rich.**

(Cordatus No. 617.)

Our God does not want to be rich; he could have it better if he wanted to. Namely, if he came to Ferdinand, to Duke George, to the pope, he would first say: You shall give me ten thousand florins, or you will die in this hour 2c. All would say: Yes, dear Lord, gladly, if only I can live. Now, because he does not act in this way, they are also not grateful to him for his good deeds. If he gave us his gifts more sparingly, we would be more grateful than if he deprived people of their limbs, one of a foot, another of a hand, 2c., and gave them back to one after some years, but not to another. Then they would undoubtedly give thanks to God, and those would ask Him to whom He did not want to give them back. But God is nonsensical, that he pours out everything at once, as he does now, since he lets his word flood over us like a whole sea, gives the liberal arts, the languages; the best books are bought at the lowest price. But woe to our sloth! For God will close His hand again and make us worship the preachers of lies again, since we are now neglecting His true servants.

### **18. God's power in our weakness.**

(Contained in Cap. 22, § 44.)

### **19. as God does with us, it is not good. 1)**

How should God do it with us? We can't bear good days, we can't stand bad ones. If he gives us riches, we are proud and hopeful that no one can get along with us, and we only want to be carried on our hands and worshipped as gods. But if he gives us poverty, we despair, become impatient and grumble against him. Therefore nothing is better than to be soon led to the dance with the shovels. Therefore he was right who said: You do not want to suffer misfortune in and from the world, and you do not want to separate from it. How then shall God deal with you? What shall He do who gave His only Son for you? Why are you afraid to go out of the world to him who loved you and died for you? Do you think that the devil or the world will do for you and for your sake what God has done for you? Oh no, not by a long shot.

### **20. knowledge of nature.**

(Dresden manuscript, sheet t 6d. Lauterbach p. 200.)

Adam did not need a book, because he had the book of nature: and all the archfathers, Christ and the apostles quote much from this book, as of the pain of women in childbirth, Joh. 16, 21. and of the community of the members of the human body (1 Cor. 12, 12.). This similitude in Paul seems to me to be very sweet: They are different members, but of one body, so that no member can do without the other. One serves the other; if the eyes do not see, how should the feet be pounded? if the hands do not grasp, how should one eat? if the feet do not walk, where should the hands take? But the stomach, the lazy belly, lies only in the body and lets itself be fattened, like a sow: if now the hands did not want to give him, then they would

1) Similar thoughts Cordatus No. 1018: The human heart can bear neither good nor evil. If we have money and goods, there is no peace; if there is poverty, there is no peace. In the middle lies the right [virtus], which is to be content with one's fate.

cannot grasp anything. - These teach the law and mutual love among people, like that image of the Greeks of the lame and the blind, who benefited each other through mutual services. But this is more beautiful because the forgiveness of sins is also depicted in it. One foot often kicks another, a tooth bites a tongue, one often pokes an eye with a finger: there must be forgiveness of sins, or one does not remain one.

#### **How God deals with the right saints.**

God is wondrous in His saints, and acts miraculously with them, against all human wisdom and reason, so that the godly and Christians may learn to cling to invisible things and come to life again through mortification. For the Word of God is a light that shines in a dark place, as all examples of faith show. Esau was cursed, and yet he was happy and well; he was lord of the land, and priest of the church: but Jacob was a fugitive, and dwelt in misery in another land.

(Here 19 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 2, § 85, the first two paragraphs).

#### **What God wants from us humans.**

(Cordatus No. 1496.)

God is a good Lord, who would suffer people to think of Him as their God alone, as He demands in the first commandment, desiring no prize, no money, only that He may be our God, and because of this One He gives everything and gives to all.

#### **God is not angry.**

(Abridged from Cap. 2, § 86, therefore omitted.)

#### **24. God has put forgiveness of sins in all His creatures.**

(Transferirt to Cap. 6, § 2, where it belongs.)

#### **25. God's goodness, if you could trust Him.**

(Cordatus No. 1562.)

To the little birds that nested in his garden and always fled when we passed by, he said, "Oh, little bird, don't flinch; I wish you well with all my heart, if you will believe me. For so shall we believe God, that he wills us well with all our hearts; for he will not slay us, who gave his Son for me.

#### **26. God's mercy.**

God's goodness and mercy are not to be searched out, nor is it to be justified, that He does not impute to us such great, horrible sin, that we have crucified His only begotten Son, whom He sent, but covers it up and destroys it.

(Here 9 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 2, § 56, last paragraph.)

#### **God is patient.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 95.)

#### **28. God holds us far too well.**

If our Lord God can grant me that I have crucified and martyred Him for twenty years by taking masses, then He can also grant me that I occasionally have a good drink in His honor: God grant, let the world interpret it as it will.

#### **29. two regiments from earth.**

(Cordatus No. 292 and 293.)

They are three kinds of effects: of the devil, of nature and of God.

God alone is the one who is ridiculed by all and ridicules all. We have an example of this [Gen. 19, 14], when God wanted to save Lot through the angel. And in the Proverbs of Solomon 1, [26.]: "You laugh at me, so I will also laugh at you in your accident."

1) In the manuscript it says: Hxernplurn Kadern us Kot per cocaine volentern murnZurn servare, which is quite incomprehensible. But it can hardly mean anything other than what we have given, and Cordatus may have intended: sveurn], per anZelurn, volentern eurn servare.

### 30. God made everything for the sake of man.

God's power is great, who feeds the whole world, and it is a hard article for us to say and confess: "I believe in God the Father. He has created everything enough for us, all the seas are our cellars, all the forests are our hunting grounds, the earth is full of silver and gold and innumerable fruits, all created for our sake, and the earth is our granary and larder.

### God's creatures need (or rather abuse) the wicked most of all.

Our Lord God's goods are enjoyed most by the wicked. For the tyrants have the greatest power - land and people in the world; the usurers the money; the farmers eggs, butter, grain, barley, oats, apples, pears 2c. But the Christians must suffer, be persecuted, sit in towers where they have neither sun nor moon, be cast out into misery, be chased away and tormented. But it must certainly change one day, so it cannot last forever. Let us only be patient and remain steadfast in the pure doctrine, hold firmly to it, and therefore not fall away from it.

### 32. God's and the devil's lawyering.

Our Lord God and the devil have two different practices, which do not agree, but are even contrary to each other. Our Lord God's words first frighten, then straighten and comfort again. And this is so that the flesh, or the old man, may be killed, and the spirit, or the new man, may live. So also the good angels first frighten, then they comfort again those who are frightened, as Luc. 1, 30. when Mary was frightened at the angel's speech, he comforted her and said: "Do not be afraid, Mary" 2c., and Cap. 2, 10. He said to the shepherds who were greatly afraid, "Fear not, behold, I proclaim great joy to you."

But the devil turns it around, to God's displeasure, needs even a perverse way,

1) The first lines similar to Cordatus No. 311: God has his decalogue (the holy ten commandments and Satan also has his, but which is consistently opposed to God.

makes people safe and bold at first, so that they do wrong and sin without all fear, dread and terror; and not only persist in sins, but have joy and air in them, and think they are doing well. At last, however, when evil comes, or when there is a long way to go, it grieves and terrifies without measure; it causes a man either to die of great sorrow, or, because of an evil conscience, to kill himself at last, and to be left without all consolation in God's sight. Grace despairs.

### God, not money, sustains the world.

(The first paragraph is contained in Cap. 76, § 28. The second paragraph is transferred to the same place).

### 34. God's secret counsels are not to be known, nor are they to be pondered.

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 8, the last two paragraphs.)

### God feeds the church.

God creates and gives abundance to his church, feeds it; who else would preach the gospel and Christ? And if all princes and lords were enemies of God's word, the church could not last a day. But God also has some among the princes who honor Him and give shelter to the servants of the Word. Likewise, He also has some in the courts of godless princes, kings, bishops, etc., who serve and worship Him and prevent many plots and counsels of the wicked against the Gospel.

### God is the avenger and executioner.

God punishes either Himself, or secretly, through poverty, a wicked wife, disobedient, ill-bred children, and other many and various ways: why then do you desire vengeance?

(Here 8 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 12, § 46.)

### 37. praise of the creatures.

(Cordatus No. 1530.)

God praises His creature because He says [Ps. 104:15], "That wine may gladden the heart of man, and bread may strengthen the heart of man."

**(38) Only with God should one seek counsel and call upon Him in times of need.**

(Lauterbach, April 5, 1538, p. 58.)

One brought a confused and almost impossible matter and asked Luther to promote it. Luther replied: I like to serve everyone in possible things. But the majesty of the Gospel is immeasurably great, which can help all things. If God would, we would seek it from God. But, alas, we rather seek counsel with men and Satan. And said of some men's wickedness, which asked counsel of the diviners, and blasphemed God; who fell into the punishment of the authorities.

**39. God's things go on slowly and weakly.**

(Lauterbach, November 17, 1538, p. 174. Follows Cap. 13, § 37.)

Afterwards he read in the book of Campanus, which he had written with his own hand and which had been found in Münster, titled: "Against the Lutherans and all the world after the time of the apostles." When Bucer wondered about his whimsical, atrocious errors, Luther said: "Those most shameful evil-doers pursue all their things strictly, since God's cause is so weak. I have now twenty years always built and fought with God's word, has nevertheless trouble. Therefore Habakkuk, Cap. 4, 15: "Your horses walk in the mud of great waters, and the chariots are helped." There are bumps everywhere, the mud clings to the wheels; but they still go through, even though they are weak.

**40. God's wrath is the greatest when He is silent and does not speak to us.**

There is no greater wrath than when God is silent and does not speak to us, but lets us go and do as we please in our mind and being. As it is now with the Jews, that our Lord God is so harshly angry with them, and for fifteen hundred years does not let himself be remembered with a single word, nor a single moment.

As he threatened them in Ps. 81:9-13, saying, "Hear, my people, I will testify among you; Israel, you shall hear me, that there is no other God among you, and that you worship no strange god. I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. Open your mouth wide and let me fill it. But my people will not obey my voice, and Israel will not obey me. So I have left them in the stupor of their hearts, to walk after their counsel." They cried out and prayed with great earnestness and fervor, as their prayer books show. So if I could pray as they pray, I would give two hundred florins worth of books for it. I am surprised that God does not hear them. It is a great, unspeakable wrath. When they cry out now, our Lord God answers thus: When I preached and cried out, no one would hear; so now I do not hear either. You have despised my sermon of punishment; so now I will not hear you again. Prov. 1, 24. ff.

Oh, dear God! rather punish with pestilence, Frenchmen and whatever other evil diseases there may be on earth, so that the warrior curses, before you remain silent. God says: I have stretched out my hand and cried out: Come here and listen 2c., you say: We will not do it. I send unto you my servants the prophets, Isaiam, Jeremiam 2c., saying, Hear ye them 2c. Yea, say they, we will smite them to death 2c. There ye have my son: Ei, we will crucify him 2c.

(56 lines omitted here because contained in Cap. 74, § 24.)

**God is incomprehensible in His majesty.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, sec. 84, subsec. 5.)

**42. what most displeases God.**

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 19, sub. I. center.)

**The greatest wrath of God.**

(Contained in Cap-1, § 70.)

**44. god's way when he wants to ruin a country. 1)**

(Cordatus No. 1370.)

When God wants to destroy kingdoms, He first takes away wise people, that is, He makes them blind, then He also takes away power.

**45. One should not flee from God.**

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 1382.)

It must come to pass that God will not make us fear Him. For he who fears flees; but he who flees from God, to whom will he take refuge?

2) We should indeed recognize sin and confess that we justly deserve his wrath, punishment and disgrace; but in times of need we should have recourse to him and seek help from him in the name of Christ, his dear Son, for otherwise he will lose his honor if we do not consider him to be our God in our hearts and make him a liar. Therefore we should not be afraid of him, but flee to him and call upon him in all our troubles; for the Scriptures say that he is present with us, and hears us even before we begin to cry out.

**God punishes and no one can escape from Him.**

(Cordatus No. 159.)

It cannot be denied how godless the world is, which can be especially noticed from the fact that God has not only increased the punishments, but also ordered such heaps of punishers. For first he punishes himself. Then all parents and landlords, all authorities, schoolmasters, all executioners and many others, so that one can hardly enumerate all punishers correctly. But if you add the devil with his army, the number of punishers is infinite. But if you want to summarize briefly how little the world cares about even the most severe punishments of God, then only consider this, that people abuse all His punishments for daily curses,

which one wishes upon the other, not only in anger, but also in jest, saying: That thunder may smite thee; that the French may pass thee, and the like.

(Here 5 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 2, § 106.)

**47. If God does not hold over us, it is done with us.**

We are nothing with all our gifts, no matter how great they may be, if God does not always hold over us: if he relies on us, then our wisdom, art, understanding 2c. is nothing. If he does not always sustain us, even the highest knowledge and the best theology that we may attain and have will be of no help to us. For when the hour of temptation comes, it is in a flash and very soon that the devil snatches us away by his cunning, yes, even the sayings, so that we should comfort ourselves, and sets before our eyes only the sayings of doom, with great innumerable heaps.

Therefore, let us learn well and realize that where our Lord God withdraws His hand from us, we may very soon fall and go to the ground. As happened to St. Peter soon after the first concilio at Antioch, when St. Paul confronted him and publicly chastised him for his hypocrisy, so that he angered the weak Gentiles, Gal. 2:11 ff. For this reason, no one should boast and boast about his righteousness, piety, wisdom and other gifts that he has, but humble himself and pray with the apostles, saying, "Dear Lord, strengthen and increase our faith," Luc. 17:5.

**48. a different.**

D. Staupitz, the Augustinian vicarius in Germania, used to say rightly and well: "It would be unfortunate and dangerous for us to rely on our own strength, even if we were holy and the most learned and understood things in the best and most certain way. For it may well happen that even in what we know and understand to the very best of our ability, we may nevertheless fall short and err, not only for our own sake but also for that of others.

1) For this, cf. chap. 2, § 98.

2) For the following, see § 86 and § 126 of this Cap.

even to the great, noticeable harm of other people. Therefore, it is necessary for us to study the Holy Scriptures and God's Word with the utmost diligence and humility, and to pray with all seriousness so that we do not lose the truth of the Gospel.

#### 49. God's bodily gifts are held in low esteem.

The greater God's gifts (I am speaking now of the bodily ones) and miracles, the less one respects them. The greatest and noblest treasure we have received from God is that a human being can speak, see, hear, etc.: But how many are those who consider this a special gift from God, who consider it great, and who do not want to thank God for it? On the other hand, the world thinks much and much of wealth, honor, power and other things that are even less (for how delicious can it be that is perishable?), and cannot wonder enough about it; yet a blind man (who is otherwise by reason) would gladly do without all this, that he might only see.

But the fact that these divine gifts are held in such low esteem makes them so mean that God also gives them to unreasonable, useless animals, which see and hear as well, and in part better, than we humans do. But what shall I say? Christ made the blind see, cast out devils, raised the dead 2c., nor did he have to hear from the godless hypocrites, who claimed to be God's people, that he was a Samaritan, that he had the devil, Joh. 8, 49. Ah! the world is of the devil, as it goes and stands; how then shall it recognize God's gifts and benefits?

#### 50. a different.

(Contained in Cap. 3, § 16, second half.)

#### 51. a different.

(Lauterbach, Sept. 10, 1538, p. 128.)

When Luther saw cows 2c. walking in the field, he said, "There go our preachers, the milk carriers, the butter carriers, the cheese carriers, who preach to us daily the faith against God as our Father.

#### 52. how god remains master.

(Cordatus No. 182.)

Do you want to know how God remains the regent and master of people? The old he lames, and the young he blinds. So he remains master.

#### God feeds all animals.

(An excerpt from Cap. 2, Z105.) '

#### God can do all crafts.

(Cordatus No. 307 and 308.)

God can do all the arts, and in the best way, because with his tailoring he makes a deer a skirt, which he uses for nine hundred years in the most useful way. As a cobbler, he gives it the claws, which last even longer. He is also the best cook, who cooks everything with the warmth of the sun.

God gave this world with all its treasures to people whom He knew would sin. What treasures do you think He will now give to those justified by faith, whom He knows will remain righteous for eternity?

#### 55. God is very angry that people do not want to think of Him as a God.

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 401.)

God is devilishly displeased that one does not want to think of Him as God, for He continually speaks in the prophets: Am I not God? Is there another right God than I? Do I not have the power to help?

If God taught me like the pope in the prophet Jeremiah, I would have to die, but the pope asked nothing about it, despised it and laughed at it.

#### 56. I am your God, what it is, and from the abuse of God's name.

(Cordatus No. 418. 419 and 420.)

When I first read these words: I am the LORD your God, they once seemed to me ridiculous and quite futile words, and I thought: Ei, who does not want this? But now I see what these words mean. And this is wonderful, that all people know this pre-



Carlstadt, Zwingli, the Pope, and yet do not feel it in their hearts. The Rotten prove this. If we did not misuse God's name, everything would go happily for us on earth, because everything goes badly for those who misuse it.

We just want to be idolaters, as it was in the time of Ezekiel, so God was forced to say [Ezek. 20, 39.]: If you want to worship idols, worship them in the name of all devils. But it is according to this: I am the LORD your God, it is written: Whoever uses the name of God uselessly will be punished.

We are very great sinners because, in sum, we do not believe. We must complain to God about this, and He Himself knows that we are His image, however we may be. But that we are sinners, and very great ones at that, we know by the fact that we often make Him a liar through unbelief and do not trust Him, since He says most truly: I am the Lord, your God.

#### **God wants to be praised in all languages.**

(Contained in Cap. 34, § 6.)

#### **58. God can be trusted less than people. 1)**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 506.)

Fie on you for the devil and our flesh, that we cannot sincerely trust God, who promises and gives so great things. I Martin Luther trust my wife and each of you more than Christ, although I know for certain that none of you would allow him to be crucified for me 2c.

He asked some: Do you also believe that God is our King, Lord and Father? It is a lie. If it is true, the tyrants will stand evil. Item: If the holy scripture is God's word, then the rulers will come right.

#### **59. put God on the spot.**

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 439.)

Jeremiah said, "Is it right for the pious to be afflicted and the wicked to be afflicted?"

1) Cf. cap 7, § 113.

live in the buzz? Is this to be a God of judgment? [Jer. 12, 1. and Isa. 30, 18.]

Our Lord God does as we do, he pretends to make it rain and does not; we pretend to become pious and do not.

#### **God nullifies human councils and plots.**

(Cordatus No. 471.)

I can't govern myself and want to govern the world? I have also well prescribed God's articles and wanted to govern, but the pious God has let me go in his ass and my master has become nothing.

#### **61. To prove God wrong, He does not like that.**

(Cordatus No. 470.)

Gross missteps and outward sins are easily forgiven by God, but to resist the [Holy] Spirit and make God a liar, God will resist.

#### **62. God knows well how to do it, much differently than we think, with his and**

**our adversaries.**

God knows the counsels and suggestions of all hearts, and knows well how to make it work out for the best. Therefore, it is good that Zwingel, Carlstadt and such like groups and enthusiasts have been put to death, for we would not have preserved L.S. and other our neighbors. O, what a triumph should have been! O, how they would have locked themselves! Therefore God knows well how he should do to him.

#### **God is much kinder to us than a father is to his child.**

God must certainly be much friendlier to me and talk to me than my Käthe is to her Martinichen. Now my Käthe or I cannot gouge out an eye or tear off the head of my child with our will; therefore also

1) Cap. 9, § 19 seems to be only a broader version of the thoughts contained in this §.

God, yes, much less. For He has a kinder and gentler heart towards His faithful than a father and mother have towards their child, as God Himself says in the prophet Isaiah, Cap. 49:15, where he says: "Can a woman forget her child, and not have mercy on the son of her womb? Even if she forgets him, I will not forget you" 2c. But God must have patience with us. Well, he has put it there, yes, sent his only begotten Son into the flesh and let him become man, so that we should take care of the best for him. I think that Paul himself was an enemy to him, that he could not believe and love Christ as he would have liked.

#### 64. a different.

When I think of the great majesty and mercy of God, I myself am frightened that God has lowered Himself so high.

#### 65. a different one.

I think that God has as much to create and to do, that he makes a thing void again, 1) as that he creates and makes it. This is what D. Martinus said when the dung was thought of, and he continued: "I am surprised that the world has not long since been filled up to the heavens.

#### 66. God is a God of the lowly.

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 39.)

#### 67) How God shows Himself in temptation. (Contained in Cap. 26, § 39.)

#### God has a small group on earth.

(Cordatus No. 550.)

The fact that God hardly makes the tenth part of the people blessed is meant in the tenth of Moses. For the world is very wicked, and who would have believed that there would be so great ingratitude toward the gospel among our people?

#### 69. creatures of God, as they are to the wicked.

(Cordatus No. 23.)

All creatures are both revealed and hidden to the wicked. They look at all creatures like a donkey looks at the rosemary that is poured out for him to eat. He thinks he is eating hay. But it [the creature] is also apparent to them, because they see it; but hidden, because they do not perceive the Creator in the creature.

#### God is very pleased with the customs of all creatures.

Our Lord God is pleased for us to eat, drink and be merry, therefore he has also created so many things that we should need them; only that we recognize and consider him to be a God and give thanks to him. For he would not have us say that he had not given us enough, and could not feed and satisfy our poor maggot sack.

#### 71. God has put great gifts into small, despised things.

(Cordatus No. 102.)

I am surprised that God has put such good and high medicine in the dirt. For pig dung, especially when taken warm from the pig in the hand, staunches the blood, horse dung helps against side stitches, 3) human dung heals all wounds.

#### God can be known from the creatures.

(Cordatus No. 94.)

Animals were created so that we might learn from them to recognize living beings 4) and be afraid of them. Therefore Christ says

2) ut, as Cordatus has, not "ut si", as Dr. Wrampelmeyer conjicirt.

3) xlsurssin.

4) Luinmlia. Aurifaber has: To know and fear GOtt. This thought is also correct, but would not fit to the following. at Cordatus is correct.

1) Aurifaber "rightly", whereas Stangwald "wrongly",

[Matth. 10, 16:] Be wise as serpents" 2c. Or did he not indicate a great thing to us, that the cuckoo devours its parents, the warblers, which I once saw when I looked out of the window? But this means that the false teachers oppress the righteous ones.

### 73. you should not talk God into it.

(Cordatus No. 99. 100. 101.)

I have often resented God's way; but now I do not talk him into it.

Even though the wicked lead a very happy life, I do not envy them this, for it happens to them no differently than it does to the pig that is thrown into the pen and soon after that is slaughtered. Here belongs what Isaiah 1) says: "Fatten, fatten for the sacrifice" 2c.

I am very hostile to the mercenaries and would rather live under the Turks or Tartars than under their protection. For even if they killed me, I would know by whom I had been murdered, namely by Turks, Christ's enemies. But who are they?

### God's wrath is greatest when He is silent.

(Cordatus No. 107. 108.)

Such great monstrosities of things and doctrines announce to the world not a small, but rather a very great upheaval. Evil things, if they are small, move me the most, but very big ones (like the scolding of Campanus against the Holy Spirit) not at all. With these I think: Let go, because this is too high for you.

If I could, I would punish Christ's enemies most cruelly by far and take vengeance on them by remaining silent, and God Himself has no greater wrath than when He remains silent.

(Here 14 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 2, § 40.)

1) Perhaps Ezekiel, Cap. 39, 17. 19. since such a passage is not found in Isaiah.

### God punishes the authorities through the subjects.

(Cordatus No. 147.)

Princes and rulers of this world are called and are gods of the earth [Ps. 82, 1. 6.]. Therefore they are of the devil. The mob, however, is the devil because God sometimes does through it what He would otherwise do through the devil to punish the wicked, just as, when fear and reverence for the authorities is taken away from the hearts of the subjects, the mob becomes rebellious. Thus God used the mob, 2) to keep Christ alive longer, as the evangelists often say [Matth. 21, 46.]: "But they were afraid of the people."

### How God breaks and humbles human hope.

(Cordatus No. 239. 3)

Human hope is so great that God, in order to humble it, uses everything that is repugnant to man in creatures (even in man himself). The number of these things is so great that you cannot possibly count them. Or (if you can), count the mosquitoes and fleas, the mice and the poisonous worms! For this purpose he also uses all the wickedness of the devil. Yes, even God Himself, as often as He shows Himself to us otherwise than as a Father, does all this, or allows it to happen, so that He may break our hope and make us humble.

### Why did God create the wicked?

(Contained in Cap. 3, § 32.)

### 78. god's imprudence.

(Cordatus No. 244.)

God seems to have acted carelessly when he commanded that the world be governed by the word of truth, especially because he clothed the truth with the weak word of the cross. And the world does not want the truth, but its opposite,

2) ^1)N8N8 68t ifi here is not to be translated as "abused" as was done in the old "table" speeches, but it is used here, Npe also elsewhere, in the sense of usn8 sst.

3) Cf. Cordatus No. 1614.

the lies. But this seems to be still more carelessly acted, that he offers this truth to such people, who still do not want to receive it of their own free will. For the world does not obey voluntarily, but hardly at last, forced by the greatest violence, and is kept from crime and ruled right only by the greatest harshness. But it absolutely abhors the cross and would rather have Satan's pleasures than Christ's cross. Therefore, the one who rules the world well is the devil, who alone understands this well and rules the world as it is worth, but he takes his governor to help him, that is the pope. There has never been a more respectable kingdom, nor a kingdom of which the world would be more worthy, than that of the pope.

**Satan with all his members, the wicked, resists God.**

(Cordatus No. 242.)

Just as the devil is always contrary to our Lord God in all things, in word and in deed, so also all the wicked, who are certainly possessed by the devil, if not physically, then spiritually, set themselves against God.

**Why God does all good by means.**

God could well feed us without all our labor and means, but he will open his hand that it may be seen that he is a rich Lord; and yet all is a marvelous work of God, that we must say we have it all from him. For we see that some waters have fish where none have been planted; thus, in the little book that flows through my garden, there are fine pike, little pike, and when they are put into another water, they become great pike.

(Here 6 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 49, § 9, para. 4.)

**Man soon gets tired of a thing.**

When young fowls or chicks, which had only crawled out, were brought to M. L., he said, "How has our Lord God so highly honored flesh and blood, and yet it is not respected at all, he has fed them, and they have not been fed.

blessed. Pythagoras, the pagan philosopher, said that the movement of the stars makes a very lovely center and harmony, agreeing with each other; but people are now tired and weary of it through constant habit. It is the same with us: we have such beautiful creatures, but no one respects them, for they are quite mean. Philip once asked me to give him a seal from the Bible, but one that he would not tire of. You can't give a man something that he could love forever, so that he wouldn't get full and tired, because the devil wanted it. As you can see, sometimes whores and boys remain one and undivided, but husbands and wives can be divorced. So whores, stealing and all kinds of sin and disgrace, one can always do, but otherwise the good can not always love. The devil destroys the works of God, and Christ destroys the works of the devil: these are two abominable things, the seed of the woman and the serpent.

**God feeds all men and creatures in the whole world.**

How much do you think there are people who buy bread? I consider that a farmer waits the least time of the grain 2c.; otherwise he perishes with his wood, barley, brew 2c. Item, the third part of the fields hardly bears grain, nor are we fed.

My father once said to me: He did not believe that so many sheaves would grow as there were men on earth: but I believe that more sheaves grow; but I do not believe that so many almond grains grow as there are men. But one almond yields scarcely a bushel; a man cannot live on it all the year, and yet all are fed; indeed, there is still grain left when the year is over. This is a strange thing, in which we should feel God's grace and blessing.

**Our Lord God must be wrong, he does what he wants and how he wants.**

That God should pass such a harsh, severe judgment on Adam, because he had been deceived by the

The man who had eaten the tree offered to him and had disobeyed God, namely, that the field should be cursed for his sake, and that for his sake the whole human race should be subjected to all kinds of tribulations, fears, hardships, diseases, plagues, and at last death should be sent upon it: this seems to be too severe and hard to the wise mind (if it regards the work, namely the biting of the apple, as a bad, small thing); it opens its mouth and says, or thinks, "Oh, is it a great thing and a sin for a man to eat an apple? Is it then a great thing and sin that one eats of an apple? Just as it is now said of such sins as God has expressly forbidden in His Word, especially of drunkenness and gluttony, and others: What harm is it that one is merry and drinks with good fellows? Therefore, according to her blindness, she concludes from this that God has done too much to him, that he is too strict and is trying too hard.

Again, she is offended and angry that Christ lets go of pious, honorable, holy people (as she thinks), does not want to know them, leads them harshly, yes, rejects them and calls them evildoers, although some have been proven wise in his name, cast out devils and performed miracles, Matth. 7, 22, who hear his word and believe in him, forgives their sins, covers them up, does not want to impute them, as great and many as they are, makes them pious, righteous and holy, children of God and heirs of eternal life and blessedness, out of pure grace, without all their merit, good works and worthiness; that also seems too much, even unjust.

Who can be Scheidemann here, who can rhyme the two things together, which are as much against each other as fire and water, namely the strictest and most severe law, which God exercises against the innocent (as reason knows), and the all too great kindness and gentleness, which he shows to sinners, does not impute their iniquity to them, but accepts it with grace 2c.? Human reason with its wisdom becomes a fool, therefore it is said: "Unless you turn around and become like children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven", Matth. 18, 3.

**God in His majesty is incomprehensible to human reason; therefore, one should be satisfied with the provision and not be troubled by it. 1)**

Human reason and nature cannot comprehend God in His majesty, therefore we should not seek nor inquire further into what is God's will, nature and essence, except as He has commanded us. He has given us His word, in which He has abundantly revealed what we should know about Him, what we should think about Him, what we should believe, and what we should do with Him: we should judge ourselves by it, so that we cannot err. But he who has thoughts of God's will, nature and being apart from the Word, and wants to reason it out with human reason and wisdom, causes him much vain trouble and labor, and falls far short; for "the world," says St. Paul, "through its wisdom does not know God in His wisdom," 1 Cor. 1:21.

Nor will they ever learn or know what God's mind is toward them, who worry in vain whether they are endowed or chosen. Those who fall into these thoughts have a fire in their heart that they cannot quench, so that their conscience is not satisfied, and they must finally despair.

Whoever then wants to escape this misfortune and eternal danger, must keep to the Word, and he will find that our dear God has made and laid a strong, firm foundation, on which we may safely and securely stand, namely Jesus Christ our Lord, 1 Cor. 3:11, through whom alone, in vain, by no other means, we must enter the kingdom of heaven; for He, and no one else, "is the way, the truth and the life," John 14:6.

If we are to know God rightly and truly in his divine nature and how he is disposed towards us, it must be through his word. And for this very reason God the Father sent His only begotten Son into the world to become man, to dwell among us in the likeness of all things, yet without sin, and to make the Father's heart and will known to us.

1) For this section, see Cap. 26, U 68. 69. 74. 75. 76.

as the Father has ordained and appointed him to be our teacher, when he cries from heaven: "This is my beloved Son, ... whom you shall hear," Matth. 17, 5. As if he wanted to say: "It is in vain and for nothing that men undertake to search for my divine majesty; human reason and wisdom cannot grasp me, I am far too high and great for them. Now, I will make myself small enough for her to grasp and take hold of me: I will give her my only begotten Son, and so give him that he shall become a sacrifice, yes, a sin and a curse for her, and in this he shall render obedience to me until death, yes, death on the cross. After this I will preach it in all the world, and those who believe in it will be saved. This is what St. Paul means when he says 1 Cor. 1, 21: "Because the world through its wisdom did not recognize God in His wisdom, it pleased God through foolish preaching to save those who believe in it.

This means that the divine majesty is small and understandable, so that no one should or can complain that he does not know how he should relate to God. But the world is blind and deaf, which neither sees nor hears what God speaks and does through His Son; therefore He will also demand it of them, Deut. 18, 19.

There is no better way to seek, find and understand the grave challenge of eternal providence or election, which grieves many people, than in the wounds of Christ, 1) of whom the Father said and commanded us: "Him you shall hear", Matth. 17, 5. The Father in his divine majesty is too high and great for us that we cannot grasp him, therefore he shows us the right way so that we can surely come to him, namely Christ, and says: "If you believe in him and cling to him, you will find out who I am and what my nature and will are. But this is not done by the wise, the mighty, the learned, the saints, and the greatest multitude in all the world. That is why God is and remains unknown to them, no matter how much they think about him, argue and talk about him.

that apart from Christ, God will be unknown and ungraspable.

Do you want to know why so few are saved and so many are condemned? This is the reason that the world does not want to listen, ask nothing about it, even despise that he, the Father, testifies about him: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," Matth. 3, 17. As if he should say: With him alone you shall find what and who I am and what I want, otherwise you will find it neither in heaven nor on earth. If ye therefore believe on the Son, whom I have sent unto you for a Saviour, I will be a Father; and what this Son saith and promiseeth, it shall surely be true and amen; I will not suffer him to be a liar. 2 Cor. 1, 19. 20.

From this it certainly follows that all who subject themselves to and strive to come to God by any other means than through Christ (as Jews, pagans, Turks, papists, false saints, heretics, 2c.) walk in abominable darkness and error. And do not help them that they lead an honorable, strict life outwardly, pretend great devotion, do and suffer much, love and honor God; as they boast. For since they do not want to hear Christ, nor believe in him, without whom no one knows God, no one receives forgiveness of sins and grace, no one comes to the Father, they remain forever in doubt and unbelief, do not know how they are with God, and must finally die and perish in their sins. For "he who does not honor the Son does not honor the Father who sent Him", Joh. 5, 23. "And he who denies the Son does not have the Father either", 1 Joh. 2, 23. "He who does not believe the Son will not see life, but the wrath of God remains upon him", Joh. 3, 36.

**Why God has decreed that the wicked shall prosper and the righteous shall be iniquitous in the world.**

(Cordatus No. 875.)

I do not understand the argument myself, that the peelers have such good days and the pious have such bad days. But God does like a good householder, who chastises the son and not the servant, to whom he does not give the inheritance.

but to the son. And the dearer children are, the greater ruth; it [the child] nevertheless remains in the house. But the servant, though he do too much [evil], yet the Lord remembereth, he shall not do it long in my house. But the Baptist had to die so shamefully that one may lament. This is how it is on earth, but it will get better, and Judas also had good days for a while, but he died badly.

(The conclusion of this § is contained in § 59 of this Cap.)

### **Why God decrees that His people be persecuted by the devil and the world.**

(Cordatus No. 1372. 1373. 1374.)

God is never angry or we would be lost, He does not strike, only that He allows it and turns a blind eye, as a father allows his child to be struck by another, and yet even by this admission He only wants to entice us to come to God.

In the book of Judges [Cap. 10, 14, 15.] the angel says very beautifully: So often I have beaten you and you have not improved, - I believe this happened under Gideon. Whoever surrenders to the man and trusts that he will help, he will certainly help him. The only thing wrong is that we cannot surrender to him. Since the people say, "Do with us as you will," he has always delivered them. Just as David, when he counted the people, was not beaten, because he humbly asked God for chastisement and bowed under the punishment [2 Sam. 24:16, 17]. For to have mercy on the afflicted is his deity, for who else would come to him, praise him and call upon him? For in hell no one confesses him [Ps. 6, 6].

The devil can murder and make sad, but God is a God of life and of comfort for the afflicted. Whoever does not know this, does not know God. God is not the devil, but simply God. Indeed, "GOtt" is a double-meaning word. For in one way it is said: GOtt of death, of sin 2c. In the other way is also: GOtt of the good. He who does not distinguish here is very mistaken, for ambiguity is the mother of error.

### **God is not a God of the dead, but of the living.**

This saying allegorizes and draws on Christ, Matthew 22:32, and proves powerfully from it the resurrection of the dead. For if there is no hope of resurrection, nor of another and better life after this short and miserable life, why does God claim to be our God, to give us everything that is useful and beneficial, and finally to save us from all distress, both physical and spiritual? What is the use of hearing his word and believing in him? What good are we if we sigh and cry out to him in anguish and distress, patiently await his comfort and salvation, praise his grace and good deeds displayed in Christ, and thank him for them? Why do we daily stand in danger, let ourselves be persecuted, killed for the sake of Christ's word, which we teach to hold as our greatest treasure and to confess before the wicked world?

But because the eternal, merciful God speaks and acts through His Word and Sacraments with us humans alone (all other creatures excluded), not about bodily things or this temporal, transitory life (which He abundantly provided with all necessities in the beginning), but where we are to dwell when we depart, and gives us his Son to be our Saviour, who hath redeemed us from sin and death, and hath purchased for us eternal righteousness, life and blessedness, that we should believe on him, and be baptized at his command 2c. It is certain that we will not die like unreasonable animals, but if we have fallen asleep in Christ, we will be raised to eternal life through Him on the last day, but the wicked to judgment, eternal shame and disgrace, John 5:29, Dan 12:2.

### **God needs evil for good.**

God only needs everything very well, whereas man and the devil shamefully misuse everything good. God drives to the state of marriage through secret suffering and lust, 1 Cor. 7; for if one man did not have love, lust and desire for another, who would want to be free? But that after that forbidden air is controlled

that the man does not attach himself to a stranger, but rejoices in his wife and delights in her love; so also the woman. Through ambition God drives many things, so that they strive for good and honor, have a great reputation in the world, are raised to high status before others, to regents, councils, etc.; who would otherwise let himself be used for this? But ambition must not leave the circle of its command and rule, but remain within it, not seeking that which is not its own, nor doing harm to its subjects and neighbors; for there must be an inclination and desire for it. Through avarice God forces many to consider how they will feed themselves; otherwise, without such a desire to have something of one's own, who would want to work and let it sour him to get food? Yes, all possessions and goods would decay and dissolve, only that avarice would also be kept in its circle. Through fear, trembling and doubting, God drives many to faith, so that they keep God's promise, comforting themselves in Christ, who reconciled sinners to God, so that they, justified by faith, have peace with God, Rom. 5, 1. Except for pride and envy, which are and remain evil, devilish vices. But God also uses them for good, but in a contrary way, not in those who are tainted and blinded by them, but in those who are persecuted by the arrogant and the envious. For thus God works His saints for their good, through the devil and his members. On the other hand, the wicked Satan abuses God and all that is good: chastity and celibacy, for hypocrisy; humility, for spiritual hope; love, for mobs and riots; goods, for splendor and idleness.

#### **God does not lack him anywhere.**

God gives us all kinds of abundant things to enjoy, first of all so that no one may complain that he has not provided enough for us to maintain this life. But that there is sometimes a lack, especially at this last time, is not his fault, but the fault of the unholy miser, who snatch up everything for themselves, buy all kinds of goods, increase their pleasures, and take away the good things.

Translate and complain to my husband; keep silent about the shameful usurers who suck the people dry.

On the other hand, that God may rightly and justly inflict punishment in His time on those who not only do not recognize Him nor are obedient to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but are also not grateful to Him for the bodily benefits that He gives them abundantly to enjoy (not for splendor, abundance, pride 2c.), yes, misuse them most shamefully against God and to the harm and destruction of their neighbor.

But now God desires nothing else from us for all his benefits, bodily and spiritual, but a Deo gratias, that we recognize him as our God and Father, obey his word, serve him in faith, call upon him in all our distress, and do not doubt that he will hear us for Christ's sake.

#### **90. Giving thanks is God's dearest service.**

God likes it, it is also the dearest, most pleasant service for him, that he is praised. But he is not praised, he is loved first. He is not loved, unless he is gentle and does good. But he does good when he is gracious. He is merciful when he forgives sin. Who then are they that love him? The small group of believers who recognize such grace and know that they have forgiveness of sins through Christ. The children of the world are not concerned with this, they serve their idol, the wretched and shameful Mammon, but he will finally reward them badly.

#### **God is pleased that we need His creatures.**

(Here § lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 2, § 70.)

When grapes, nuts, and peaches 2c. were placed on the table after the meal, and everyone ate them with pleasure, he said, "What does our Lord God above in heaven say about our sitting here like this and eating his goods? Well, he created it so that we should use it; he does not demand anything else of us, except that we recognize that these are his goods and enjoy them with thanksgiving.



**God fills the belly of the wicked, but gives the kingdom of heaven to the godly.**

We do not believe that our Lord God will give more and better than to the rich wicked in the world, to whom he gives delicious good wine (he said this, since he once had a good pure drink of wine), yes, money, property, honor, power and everything they only desire and want to have, only superfluously. But the best good (which they also do not desire) he denies them, namely, himself. But whoever does not have God, even if he has whatever else he wants, he is poorer and more miserable before God than Lazarus, who lay at the rich man's door and died of hunger because of him, Luc. 16, 19. ff. But it will happen to them, as it did to the rich man, that they will be eternally destitute, so that they will not be able to drink even the smallest drop of water.

But if the rich, mild God frequently showers His worst enemies and blasphemers with all kinds of temporal goods, and also gives some great ones, and many of them, dominions and kingdoms, we can easily deduce from this what He will give us, His children (who must suffer for His sake), indeed, what He has already given us. But he has given us his only begotten Son, and with him he has given all things, so that through him we are God's children, heirs also of his eternal heavenly goods, and joint heirs with Christ according to hope, Rom. 8:16, 17, 32.

**How God shares with the world.**

Our Lord God has divided unequally with the world, that is, he has given to the world all creatures on earth, in the water and in the air, and subjected them to it, so that it should rule over fish in the sea, over birds under the sky and over all animals that are on earth, Ps. 115:16. But he has kept heaven for him, so that he is Lord over life and death: if he wanted to sell the two, he would soon bring back to himself all the goods and treasures that he has given to the world.

**94. Because God gives all goods for free, people do not pay attention to them.**

(Composed of Cap. 2, §13 and Z14.)

**95. God's love even against the evil one.**

God is gracious and merciful, as the Scriptures praise Him, because He can love the wicked; indeed, to the blind, hardened world that is in trouble, He has sent His Son as Savior. I could not do it, and yet I am a knave myself.

**God watches the tyrants for a long time.**

God is patient and of great kindness that He can be so silent and watch the Pope and the Turks, His worst enemies, for so many hundred years and let them go unpunished. Little knows the cause of such cruel and severe punishment, for no one believes that God so terribly punishes the blindness of the damned world, which does not want to accept the truth or cannot suffer long to be saved, but blasphemes and persecutes it: "Therefore God also sends you strong errors, so that they believe the lies," 2 Thess. 2, 11.

In the apostles' time and long after, the gospel had its full course in Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Asia, Graecia, 2c., and other kingdoms now held by the Turkish tyrant. But as the people grew weary of it, and many heresies arose, the blasphemous Mahomet came with his Koran. From that time on, they abandoned Christ and worshiped the devil Mahomet. The same happened under the papacy. After our time the punishment will also go over Germany and others, because of the horrible ingratitude and contempt of the dear blessed Word, which is preached to them purely and abundantly. And after this bright light will come a dreadful, terrible darkness. May Christ comfort and help his little army and put an end to their misery through his glorious future. Amen.

**God forgives the punishment for a time.**

Our Lord God sees very well how the dogs throw, piss, spit and make all corners full of filth. Item, how the drunkards throw out jugs, glasses to windows, break bowls, plates, glasses, windows, stove, and so on.

break 2c. But when he begins to visit, he is cruelly angry and punishes without end or measure. This is what he said about the wild, impolite, sour behavior and life that great lords, kings, princes, the nobility, but especially the pope, cardinals, bishops, canons, and the entire corrupt house, with all their fornication and other abominable sins, are unashamedly committing at this last time, without all fear and timidity.

The infant Jesus, he said (pointing with his hand to the painting on the wall), sleeps on the arm of the Mother Mary: will he wake up one day, he will truly ask us what we have done and how we have done it?

#### 98. signs, so go before the punishment.

When God wants to punish or even destroy a kingdom, country or people, 1) He first takes away pious, godly teachers and preachers; item, wise, godly rulers and councilors, reasonable and experienced warriors, and other honest people, Isa. 3, 2. ff. Then the mob becomes secure and cheerful, drives all courageous will, asks nothing more about pure divine teaching, yes, despises it and falls into blindness, respects neither punishment, discipline nor respectability, commits all kinds of sins and shame, from which follows a wild, desolate, devilish nature; as we, unfortunately, now see and experience that may not last long. Therefore, I fear that the axe has already been laid at the root of the tree, so that it will soon be cut down. May the good Lord take us away with grace, so that we do not have to experience or see the misery.

#### 99. How God respects great lords.

God regards the great potentates, kings, princes 2c. in the same way as the children of a card game: because they play, they have the card hands in their hands; afterwards, when they get tired of the game, they throw them into a corner under the bench, or into the garbage. God does the same with potentates and great lords: because they are in power, he considers them good; as soon as they have over-

1) Cf. cap. 2, § 44.

he "pushes her off the chair", as Mary sings Luc. 1, 52, and leaves her lying there, ut regem Daniae.

(The following approach Cordatus No. 848.)

The King of Denmark 2) has been captured, his wife has died, his son has died at Regensburg. These are certainly great deeds of God, and yet no one takes them to heart.

#### 100. Our Lord's Map.

God has a beautiful, glorious and very strong card game of vain powerful, great lords, as emperors, kings, princes 2c., read together; beats one with the other. Of which I could tell many examples that have happened in our time alone 2c.

The Pope has now been considered the supreme head of Christianity for several hundred years: if he has only waved a finger, emperors, kings, princes 2c. have had to fear, humble and stoop before him: has thus been a lord over all kings on earth, yes, an earthly god. Now our Lord God comes and strikes with the dew (Luther), the pope, the great king, so that he lies there. This is our Lord God's regiment, as Mary sings in the Magnificat: Deposuit potentes: "He sets the mighty ones from the throne", Luc. 1, 52.

#### Another speech from God's map.

If I were rich, I would have a golden chess and silver carls made for me, as a reminder: for God's chess and card are great, mighty princes, kings, emperors, 2c., since he always stabs one through the other, or beats, that is, lifts up and overthrows. N. is the four bells, the pope the six bells, the Turk the eight bells, the emperor is the king in the game. Finally, our Lord God comes, divides the game, beats the Pope with the Luther, who is his dew. But he is not dead yet; Christ has begun to kill him with the spirit of his mouth, so that

2) Christian II was imprisoned in 1532; his wife, Isabella of Spain, sister of Emperor Carl V, had died in 1525. His son John died in 1532, the year to which this speech probably belongs. (Wr.)

He is now quite dead in the hearts of believers in Christ. I hope that "he will make an end of himself by the appearance of his joyful future. Amen". 2 Thess. 2, 8.

Ezekiel and Apocalypsis speak of it, as if the Turk should be consumed by fire from heaven; which is a dark prophecy. It can also happen by a spiritual fire, which executes and consumes the Antichrist, the pope. For when God gives the Word, He also gives the Spirit of grace and prayer at the same time. When this is strong in the hearts of the faithful, the world is defeated, the devil is overcome and judged, who cannot stand the Word, yes, is in his eyes like thick smoke and dark mist. Now, be it as it may, it cannot be long before both Pope and Turk with their followers are cast into the abyss of hell. Amen.

#### 102) That from the best comes the fear. 1)

Of this once said D. M. Luther over the table and said: From Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the patriarchs and holy fathers, come the Jews who have crucified Christ; from the apostles come Judas the betrayer; from Alexandria, where there was a famous noble school and had many pious, Christian, learned men, come Arius and Origen; from the Roman church, which has given many holy martyrs, comes the blasphemous Antichrist, the Pope of Rome; from the hermits in Arabia comes Mahomet; from Constantinople, the noble city where many noble emperors held court, comes the wretched Turk; from wives come adulteresses; from virgins whores; from brothers, sons, friends become the worst enemies; from angels come devils; from kings tyrants; from the gospel and divine truth come devilish lies; from the church heretics. The food becomes filth, which is thrown out by the natural course; delicious wine and other drink becomes urine; blood in the body becomes pus; Luther becomes coiner and rebel,

1) On the idea, cf. cap. 41, § 2.

Anabaptists and Sacramentarians. What wonder is it that evil things are among us, coming and going out from us? It must be a very evil thing that cannot stay with such good; and it must be very good that can suffer such evil things.

#### God praises His mercy on us sinners with His benefits.

(Composed of Cap. 49, § 9 and Cap. 2, §§ 80 u. 30.)

#### God's works are wonderful.

(This § to the last paragraph [Lauterbach, p. 87, note] in Kummer p. 377.)

The creatures of God are inscrutable, yet in truth they are signs 2) of God to the pious. The sun rises daily, the rain moistens, serves the grateful and the ungrateful. As Christ has finely amplified Matth. 6, so all fruit grows out of the trees; as it were, flesh comes out of the wood. For what are trees but wood? If you boil them or roast them, they are wood, but they are flesh; the sweetest fruits that smell like flesh come out of them. So I saw in Italy the most fruitful oil trees standing on the hardest rocks. There I learned to understand the Psalm (78, 15.): "He satiated them out of the rock with water," b) Thus God blesses our Saxon land, which after all is only broken stone, according to the Gospel (Matth. 4, 3.): "Say that these stones become bread." But these miracles, because they happen frequently and daily, are held in low esteem, as Augustine says.

That is why (said D. M. Luther) one of Wittenberg once said: Ländiken, Ländiken, you are a Sändiken, if I work thick, you are light, if I work thick, you are simple, if I work thick, I do not find. 4) Nevertheless, God gives us good wine and delicious grain from these stones. But because this miracle happens daily, we despise it.

(Here 5 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 2, § 1.)

2) Laeramsirta.

3) According to the Vulgate. In the manuscript is erroneously mslls. The passage dealing with honey is Deut. 32, 13.

4) Thus Stangwald. Spoiled at Aurifaber and Walch.

**God spends a great deal of money on the birds' food and nourishment, so He wills it.**

**also feed, nourish and sustain people.**

(Cordatus No. 192. 1766.)

No one is able to measure the treasures that God spends on feeding the birds alone, and very uselessly at that. I believe, however, that it is more precious to God to maintain the sparrows for a year than the annual income of the king of France. What shall we say of the others, which are larger and more voracious?

Although the sparrows are the worst birds, they still have the best days of the year and do the most damage. In winter they lie in the barns and grain floors, in spring they eat the seed, in summer the best grain from the ears, in autumn they are in the vineyards, worthy of persecution. These are all human sins. But when they come into the churches, they hinder GOD and the hearers from saying. [This is devilish sin.]

**God's wrath will soon be atoned for.**

(Cordatus No. 860.)

If God is angry with one, the matter is well advised, because He is merciful; but whoever, when challenged, is angry with God, the matter cannot be helped. [Hab. 4, 2.]

#### **107. merciful punishment of God.**

If God is angry with us, fights for us, hands us over into the hands of our enemies, so that he can punish our sin and iniquity through them, lets pestilence, evil times and other plagues come upon us, but still speaks to us through his word, then it is certainly a sign of his grace toward us. "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth," Ebr. 12:6.

#### **108. severe and terrifying wrath of God.**

But if people become sure, hear the word, but let it go in one ear and out the other, they can wash much of it, and yet no improvement of life nor fruit of faith follows, as we, lei

who, seeing now that everyone wants to be Christian and evangelical, and yet there is no measure to the care of the belly, the grievous avarice, usury, and other sins, and God prevails through pious, faithful servants and preachers 2c., it is a sure sign that God will soon take away the word and pure doctrine and leave the people in their heart of hearts to walk according to their counsel, and, as Christ foretold the Jews in Matt. 21:43, "the kingdom of God will be taken from them and given to others who bear its fruit. Then follows the destruction, that kingdoms, countries and people are devastated and destroyed 2c.

Therefore, I am afraid and anxious that Germany will also be afflicted and horribly punished in a short time because of the great ingratitude (on our side), contempt and blasphemy of the dear word (on the enemy's side), which God lets shine so clearly and abundantly in these dangerous last times. He can bear patience for a long time when people are wicked; but when they despise and persecute His word, patience is out and the final punishment is in place; as happened with the Jews, Greeks, Romans 2c.

#### **Our Lord God's servant.**

D. M. Luther said: God wants repentant sinners (who fear God's wrath, devil, death and hell, and believe in Christ) to be servants: therefore David says in the 34th Psalm, v. 19: "The Lord is near to those who are brokenhearted. And helpeth them that are of a broken spirit." And in Isaiah, Cap. 66, 1. 2. it is said, "Where shall my spirit rest, and where shall I dwell? With them that are bruised in heart, and fear my words." This is what the poor thief on the cross did; St. Peter, who denied Christ; Mary Magdalene, who was possessed by devils; St. Paul, the persecutor; all of whom were sorry for their sins and wanted to have forgiveness of sins from Christ and to be God's servants. The great prelates, proud saints, rich noblemen, ox drivers and house builders do not do it, 1 Cor. 1:26, nor would it be good, because no poor person could come before them,

even so it would not be to God's praise and glory, but they would ascribe the glory and prize to themselves, saying: It is we.

Nevertheless, there are also some great kings, princes and lords who call upon God and serve Him with all their heart: although they are rich and mighty and rule over lands and people, they are still spiritually poor, Matth. 5, 3, that is, they recognize themselves with right earnestness for poor sinners and pray with David, the great holy king: *Miserere mei, Deus*. Item Ps. 143, 2: "Lord, do not judge your servant"; Ps. 39, 12: "All men are nothing"; item: "God, be merciful to me according to your goodness" 2c., Ps. 51, 3.

#### **God's and the devil's punishments find unequal. 1)**

God punishes with moderation, not in anger and wrath; he chastises as a father chastises his son; he wounds so that he may heal, 1 Sam. 2:6. In sum, he does everything for our correction, salvation, life and happiness, precisely so that we may learn to fear him, recognize his goodness and faithfulness, trust him and call upon him in all our needs. Just as a pious child, chastened by its father, begins to mend its ways, fearing and loving its father more than before, because it knows that he means well by it. The devil, however, where God has cast him, afflicts, terrifies, wounds and punishes, not as a father does his child, but as an executioner does a highwayman, thinking that he will drive the one he accuses into despair, murder him with great suffering and destroy him eternally; he leads into hell and does not come out again; all his doings are directed to that end: Only dead, only dead.

#### **God cannot defend His divinity before us humans.**

God cannot maintain with us men that He alone is God; for all men by nature stand and seek after the Godhead, as Adam and Eve did in Paradise, deceived by the serpent 2c., much less can He

He alone receives that He alone is wise and blessed, yet alone He hardly receives that He is immortal.

Aristotle, the pagan, disputes thus (2nd metaphor): Whoever sees the misery and misery in the world from outside, not in himself, sees much that makes him sad and distressed, and therefore cannot be blessed; but God is blessed, therefore it follows that he sees nothing outside of Him. With this, he first denies the immortality of souls; then, that if God does not take care of us, he will not take care of us 2c. But what kind of God is this? He is only not my God.

No sin plagues us so much as the shameful lust and desire, so that we may seek after the Godhead. The evil lust and inclination of the flesh is indeed also a fierce evil, by which people are hardly challenged; but it is only child's play compared to the spiritual evil of whoredom, which far surpasses the fleshly evil.

#### **God is the beginning of all righteousness, the means and the end.**

All righteousness comes originally from God. First of all, he speaks to us through his word, offers us his grace, forgiveness of sins through Christ: as he spoke to Adam and Eve, deceived by the serpent, after the fall in paradise, consoled them after imposing a merciful punishment on them, and promised Christ, who was to crush the serpent's head.

So he did with Abraham, commanded him to go out of his fatherland 2c., promised him that he would make him a great nation 2c., Gen. 12, 1. 2., be his shield and great reward, Gen. 15, 1. Further he promised him and his descendants, Isaac, Jacob 2c., that through their seed (Christ) all nations on earth would be blessed, Gen. 22, 18. He also called for Moses, Ex. 3, 7. ff, and David through Samuel, 1 Sam. 16, 11. ff. Mary also, when she became the mother of God's Son, did nothing else but listen to the angel, accepted his word with faith and said: "Behold, I am the handmaid of the Lord, let it be done to me according to your words", Luc. 1, 38.

Thus, God always begins by laying the first stone, that is, the word of promise and grace must precede it. This annoys the papists and all the works saints when they hear this, and prevents them from accepting it, but persecutes it; for they do not know and do not understand that the grace by which God justifies us in Christ is the forgiveness of sins, and even though there is still sin left, God does not want to impute it to us for the sake of faith in Christ. Alas! To know Christ is the highest treasure, of which the world knows nothing, even despises Him. It is like John wrote in Cap. 1, 5: "The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not understood it."

### Two kinds of sacrifices pleasing to God.

Scripture indicates two sacrifices that are pleasing and acceptable to God: The first is called a sacrifice of thanksgiving or praise, when one purely teaches, preaches, hears, accepts with faith, confesses, and does everything that serves to spread God's word, and for the unspeakable benefits that are presented to us through it and given to us in Christ, thanks, praises, and glorifies God from the heart. Psalm 50:14 speaks of this: "Offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to God"; item v. 23: "He who offers thanksgiving praises me. And Psalm 118, 1.: "Give thanks to the Lord, for he is kind, and his goodness endures forever." And Psalm 103:1: "Praise the LORD, O my soul, and what is within me, his holy name. Praise the LORD, my soul, and forget not what good he hath done thee."

The other is when a troubled, afflicted heart takes refuge in God in all kinds of trials and distress, calls upon Him in right faith, seeks help from Him and waits with patience, Ps. 118:5: "In anguish I called upon the Lord, and the Lord heard me and comforted me." Ps. 34, 19.: "The LORD is near to them that are of a broken heart, and helpeth them that are of a bruised spirit." Ps. 51, 19.: "The sacrifices that please GOD are a troubled spirit; a troubled and bruised heart You, GOD, will not despise." Ps. 50, 15.: "Call upon me in distress, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt praise me."

**The perverse wisdom of the epicureans of this age, of whom there are many, and more and more every day, who judge God's regiment.**

When an Epicurean has thoughts of God and sees that things are so unequal and evil in the world that the pious suffer hardship and are oppressed, while wicked wretches have everything superfluous and soar high, he cannot conclude otherwise than that God cannot forbid and prevent this disorderly and desolate being in the world, then he is a poor, weak God; not powerful, much less omnipotent, as he is praised. But if he does not want to change, prevent or forbid it, then he is an unkind, even unjust God, who takes pleasure and joy in it when things go bad. But if he does not know how things are in the world, he is an inconsiderate, unwise, even foolish God.

So lead to school and master the blind condemned race God, their Lord and Creator, deprives and robs him of his divine power, justice and wisdom.

### 115. another, the same as the previous one.

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 49.)

### Serve God and the emperor. 1)

When one said, "He who serves God and the emperor has little profit," Luther said earnestly, "This is from hell and from the devil's behind, and is blasphemous speech, which goes directly against the first and other tablets. Against the first, where God commands: "You shall love God, your Lord, with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your might", Deut. 6, 5, "and serve Him alone", Matth. 4, 10. Against the other: "Let every man be subject to the authority that has power over him", Rom. 13, 1.

1) The thoughts in this § quite different from Cordatus No. 167: Someone said at the Diet of Augsburg: "I do not care much about the faith, but I know two lords who give evil pay, Christ and the emperor. This was polite, clever and theologically spoken. [The meaning: Whoever serves God and his order, the authorities, must be prepared for the cross.]

And Christ says Matth. 22, 21: "Pray to God what is God's, and to Caesar what is Caesar's."

### The first birth was sanctified to God.

In the Old Testament, all firstborns were sacred to God, both of men and of cattle. The firstborn son had an advantage over the other brothers, and was their lord as the chief in sacrifice and kingdom, that is, in spiritual and temporal government; for he had the right to priesthood and dominion. Now many examples are given in the Scriptures, showing how God rejected the firstborn sons and chose others in their place. As, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, Reuben, Eliab 2c. were firstborn sons: from them God took their right and gave it to their brothers who were younger than they, as, Abel, Isaac, Judah, David 2c., and that therefore: they became proud and presumptuous over the firstborn and despised their brothers who were more pious and godly than they. God did not like this and therefore deprived them of their honor, so that they could not boast of their firstborn before Him, even though they had a great reputation before the world, land and people; as the Scriptures report.

But the spiritual promise, that Christ should come from their seed, they have forgotten through their pride, that they might not boast of their firstborn according to the flesh. Our Lord God wants to be unpunished, to let us go our way in no way: whoever does not walk in his way goes astray and is a lost sheep.

### 118) Obedience of God and the devil. 1)

The obedience that is rendered to God and pleases Him is the obedience of faith, Rom. 3:28, that one hears and teaches His word, believes it, abides by it and proves it with fruits of faith, that is, with good works that God has commanded. But obedience to the devil is superstition, so that a person departs from the true faith, follows devil's lies and the teachings of men, and does many and great works.

of his own choice and devotion, without and against God's command, and tortures himself with it. Hence the common saying: Hell is more sour to the devil's martyrs than heaven is to God's martyrs.

### 119. forgiveness of sins.

God knew well that we would not do everything, nor could we, therefore He gave us remissionem peccatorum.

### 120. How it would have gone if Adam had not sinned.

(Contained in Cap. 49, § 7.)

### God mocks Satan.

God irritates and mocks Satan in that he puts a poor weak man, who is earth and dust, but has the first fruits of the spirit, before the hopeful, cunning, powerful and evil spirit, against whom he can do nothing.

2) Thus it is recorded in history that a powerful, mighty king in Persia was killed by a

2) The beginning of the second paragraph in another redaction in Kummer's second part x. 258 d, (year 1542) (Lauterbach, p. 201): [Desgl. Cordatus No. 1484. See Appendix No. II.]

Drought. When there was a great drought, so that the seeds and plants dried up before they were ripe, the Lord Doctor asked that the Lord, for the sake of His mercy, would give rain 2c. While he was still speaking in this way, locusts (drueilli, /3/wi^ot) came flying into the garden in droves, and he said, "God is angry, because he also wants to take away the rest through vermin, as Joel 1, (v. 4.) says: The caterpillars will eat the rest 2c. At last he sighed and said; Oh Lord, behold our prayer, for thy promises' sake. We have asked him, our heater sighs, but the peasants' avarice hinders it, after they have become so licentious through the gospel, that they do what they desire, and are not frightened, neither by hell nor purgatory, but say: I believe, I will be blessed, and become the most shameful mammon servants; he wants these godless people to perish by hunger. But GOD does have means to feed His own, although He denies the rain to the ungodly. For GOD has various means to sustain and to destroy. For at that time of drought many locusts came, and he said that with such an army GOt could smite the Turk. For one reads in church history that a very large army of the Persians was chased away with gnats before Nineveh\*).

1) Another relation of Cap. 24, § 123.

\*) Cf. Cap. is, § 41: "Nasili" (Nineveh?); also because of the time indication.

The strange army sent by God, namely by flies and gnats, was defeated with all its might at the city of Edessa. Thus our Lord God desires to conquer and triumph, not by might, but by weakness: gnats shall smite the great king, and chase the mighty, ravenous beast. So also, a weak man shall defy, resist and overcome the prince and God of the world by faith.

#### **The world does not respect God's goods.**

God deceives the world and makes it foolish, because he does so much good even to the worst of the wicked, gives rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, out of the earth grain, wine and all kinds of fruit, yes, also gold and silver and other metals, out of the sea rmd water all kinds of fish, fills their hearts also with delicious food and drink and makes them happy. The world does not think otherwise, because their goods are the right goods, their joy is the right joy.

Therefore let us cling to the word, hold fast to it, and judge ourselves according to the same, which teaches us that all things, with which the world is about, glories, and comes in with, are temporal, defiled, and worldly, and have no continuance, but perish with all their nature, goods, joy, pleasure 2c., And also shew what are the true and lasting goods and joy 2c., namely, the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which are a better and more precious treasure than many thousand pieces of gold or silver.

So I hear, we cannot use this world's goods, joy 2c. without sin? I do not say that, because God created it for us to use and enjoy it, according to this rule of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7, 29, 30, 31: "Dear brothers, the time is short. Further, this is the opinion: that they have wives, as if they had none; and that they weep, as if they meant none; and that they rejoice, as if they rejoiced not; and that they buy, as if they possessed none; and that they have need of this world, that they abuse it not, for the things of this world perish."

#### **123. God's supreme wrath and mercy.**

False teachers and idolatrous spirits are punishments of sins and God's greatest wrath and disfavor, as Hosea Cap. 9, 7. says: "The prophets are fools, and the idolatrous spirits are mad because of your great iniquity and because of hostile idolatry." Just as godly teachers are a glorious testimony to God's grace and mercy. Therefore St. Paul Eph. 4, 8, 11. calls the apostles, evangelists, prophets, shepherds and teachers gifts of the Lord Christ, sitting at the right hand of God the Father, and Micah compares the teaching of the Gospel to a fruitful rain.

#### **What is most pleasing to God.**

(Cordatus No. 1386. 1387.)

I believe that it pleases God very much when His praise is preached over him [Christ] whom the whole world blasphemes.

That the Sheflemini [Christ] has enemies, we must learn. 1)

#### **God hardens whom He wills.**

One asked D. Martinum whether the word "harden" is to be understood actually, as it reads, or figuratively and falsely? Then he answered and said: Proprie, actually, one should understand it, but not really; because God works and does no evil, but by his omnipotence he works everything in everything, and as he finds a man, so he works in him. Like Pharaoh, who was evil by nature, that was not God's fault, but his own, when he continued to be evil and to do evil. But he is hardened because God, with His Spirit and grace, does not prevent his wicked ways, but lets him continue and have his way. But why God does not hinder or prevent him, we do not have to ask, because the little word "why" has deceived and killed many souls. It is too high for us to investigate.

Therefore God says: "Why I am doing this, you shall not know; see you on your word,

1) Cf. cap. 7, § 21.



believe in Christ and pray, I will do it this way. When God is asked at the last day and judgment, "Why did He let Adam fall?" He will answer and say, "So that My goodness to the human race might be seen and known in giving My Son as the Savior of the world.

**The one who can humble himself before God from the heart has won. .**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 86 and § 45.)

**Knowing God rightly is the highest art.**

God writes Himself and lets it be said of Him everywhere in the Scriptures that He is a God of life, peace and joy for the sake of Christ. Therefore I am an enemy to myself, that I cannot believe it. This means that I do not really know God, nor do I know how he is disposed toward us. Now if I could distinguish between God and the devil, I would be highly learned.

**128. gOd receives discipline.**

It must be God's business and work, where discipline, especially in wars, and a good regiment are maintained, otherwise it is strange, wild and evil; as one, unfortunately, now sees and experiences too much.

**God is lenient with His outward and temporal gifts. 1)**

Our Lord God casts worldly virtues, arts, reason, wisdom, 2c. into the rappus, like bread and wine, and often gives them more abundantly to the godless than to the godly; as H[archduke] G[eorg] has many more beautiful, worldly virtues, and is more skillful in governing than many a pious ruler.

**130. god's way.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 44 and § 98.)

**God has set a goal for the adversaries to rage.**

(Cordatus No. 1368.)

Let the adversaries rage only because he who has set the boundaries of the sea, though he has

1) Cf. cap. 27, § 152, the last paragraph.

but does not allow it to cross its shores, but restrains the waters, not with an iron shore but with a sandy shore. [Ps. 104, 9.)

**132. a different.**

The other psalm is one of the finest and best psalms; I am fond of it, that it thus throws itself into the princes, kings, councilors, and so strikes freshly among them. If it is true that this psalm says, then that is a great lie. And he said further, If I were our Lord God, and had commanded my son (as he commanded his son) to rule, and they were disobedient to him as they are now, I would throw the world into a lump.

Mary, the poor child maid of Nazareth, also wants to rumble with the kings, since she says: "He puts the mighty ones down" 2c., Luc. 1, 52. She was a fine maiden, must have had a good voice. I should not sing like that. Yes, say the tyrants, "let us break their bonds," 2c., Ps. 2, 3. What that is, experience teaches us now; for one drowns, hangs, scorches, burns, beheads, strangles 2c., chases away, stabs and plows 2c. And they do it all in defiance of God. "He that sitteth in heaven above, laugheth and mocketh," Ps. 2:4, but it is not laughter to the papists, but great earnestness.

If only our Lord God would allow me a little space and time, so that I could interpret another psalm or two, I would make myself so useless; like Samson, I would take them with me. Judg. 16, 30.

Ask, he says, that the last day will come soon, the world can never be helped: I have tried everything to the best and utmost, but it will not happen anywhere. It will be time for God to close his heaven; he has let it smell too well, we have only become bolder and prouder through it.

**God preaches to him himself.**

Our Lord God has spoken His word to Himself, especially in the Lord's Prayer, when Christ says: O! help that God's name may one day be hallowed.

**134. God's expenses and food that go into the world.**

(Cordatus No. 710. 711 and No. 715.)

Every man must have 31 guilders, one year to help the other. Our Lord God gives away one day more than the emperor is able to.

God has given the world everything, leaves, grass, money, gold, stones, mountains, land, people, all goods, and has reserved nothing for Himself but death and life.

No one can estimate how much God needs to give the world its food every single day. I know that to feed the world every day stands a kingdom. How many days have there been since the world began? And we do not want to trust him.

**135. goodness of god.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 89.)

**136. signs when God is gracious or ungracious.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 107 and 108.)

**137. God is a God of the living.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 87.)

**God has restored all estates through His word.**

When it was thought how blessed a time it would be now, because the gospel would be righteously restored and taught, D. Martinus said: God wanted to restore everything before the last day to its first state, for which it was created and ordered, as the gospel, the marriage state, the authority 2c.

**139. God will destroy a country for the sake of sin.**

I believe that God has cursed the Promised Land because of the wickedness of the Jews; for He washes away all the fatness of a land so that it remains barren and sandy, 1) makes their land become salt pits, as the prophet says, since it is nothing or ever very

wears little. Thus God is wont to strip a land of all adornment, that he may have gifted and graced it before others, that it may become bare and desolate. The old lord of Stolberg, after he had come back from the holy land, which he had seen quite well, is said to have said: Is this the promised land? I would take the golden floodplain for it. For even the holy land is no longer as fertile as it was before.

**God's blessings are upon all creatures.**

God has blessed the creatures along with us humans who have mouths and need food that grows from the earth, but he has not blessed those who come from the earth themselves. For we eat in like manner that which the swine and other unwise beasts eat, only that we put it boiled into the dish and dress it, but the swine bites it from the root.

**How God will judge.**

God's judgment is happening now through the gospel, but on the last day it will be revealed and made public. Then He will come with thunder and lightning, and in a moment He will send all of us to meet Him, 1 Thess. 4:17, so that we will have to stand before Him and publicly hear the judgment, Matth. 25:34, 41. This is called judging the living and the dead.

**The first time you see God's goodness, you will know it.**

The worldly authority is a sign of divine grace, that God is merciful, and has neither desire nor pleasure in slaughtering and strangling, otherwise he would let it all go among themselves without regiment, also among the Turks and other nations, like the wild, cruel, unreasonable animals, pigs, bears, wolves, lions 2c. Then they would destroy themselves and devour one another,' according to the saying, 'He who is strong and able puts another in his sack.

**The Magnificat contains all the works of God.**

All the works of God are comprehended in the Magnificat. When a thing comes up high, then

1) Cf. cap. 3, § 11.

it is nothing; and again, when it is at its lowest and most despised, it comes forth again and rises up. So at the time of Samuel, 1 Sam. 6, when the ark and the ark of God were taken away, people wept that it was now over with Israel and the service, but they were nevertheless preserved.

**God does not want us to understand everything.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 9.)

**A blessed time has God given us now, who only recognized it!**

O God, said D. M., how I have now experienced such a noble time, Luc. 10, 23, so much revelation of good arts, especially of the pure teaching of the dear Gospel. And truly, as Christ says about the time of the last day, everything shall be in bloom, and after that the last day shall come out of it: all arts shall bloom, and everything shall stand on high. When this happens, Christ says, summer will not be far away. Luc. 21, 28.

**Since a man should be God only a little while, our evil would be waited.**

(Cordatus No. 712.)

I did not want to take a hundred thousand guilders, that the Fugger should be a moment GOtt.

**147. serving god.**

If one does not serve God alone, then one certainly serves the devil: Cause, you cannot serve God, you have only his word and command. If his word and command are not there, you do not serve God, but your own will. So then our Lord God says: "Whom you serve, let him also reward you; which teüfel has called you? I command you to serve your father and mother, your authorities and your neighbor; you will put up with that, and do what I have not commanded. Am I supposed to put up with that? Oh no, nothing will come of it. For God the

To do is to do what God has commanded in His Word, each in his own state; not what seems good to you, out of your own self-chosen devotion.

So the pope and his crowd are all idolaters and servants of the devil, with all their being and life; for he asks nothing of God's word, yes, he condemns and persecutes the word and directs all his ghosts to lead away from the pure faith in Christ. He pretends to great holiness under the appearance of outward worship, which he has arranged with caps and plates, with fasting, eating fish, reading mass, and what is more like that, but in reality it is all the devil's doctrine.

And when someone asked: What is the reason why the pope and his followers hold so stiffly to such doctrines of the devil? Martin answered: "The gospel tells us that the devil has shown them the kingdom of the world and promised it to them, as he did to Christ, Matth. 4, 8. This makes him mock our preaching and worship, because we are beggars in it and have to suffer a lot. But he lifts up his worship to heaven, for there he has money and goods, honor and authority, and is a great lord who can be emperor and king. Then one sees how the devil has so powerfully occupied them with this temptation, has driven them to forsake the word of God, has imposed and introduced self-inflicted holiness; yet God has preserved some under such devilish specter.

**148. god is not a cause of evil**

(Cordatus No. 88.)

Origen was much troubled by the question of whether God was the author of evil; but we deny that God is the author of evil, for He is the author of evil, for he is the author of creatures, but God's creatures are badly good. But when we speak in this way, the expression "author" or "cause" must be well observed, for in fact God is not the cause of evil, even though He gives the wicked a hardened mind, according to this, "I have left them in the stupor of their hearts." [Ps. 81, 12, 13.]

**Man does not do God's will.**

(Cordatus No. 145.)

God constantly makes visible things out of invisible things and wants us to do the same, but we reverse the order because nature wants to do the opposite in everything. For if I am poor, I should in faith see abundance in all things. But we would rather have abundance, and then, according to our will, either flee poverty 1) or permit it.

**150. God's rocking power dismays the people.**

(Cordatus No. 258.)

It does not little affect the hearts that God is so changeable 2). For to Adam he gave promises and ceremonies, which he then changed with the rainbow 3) and the box of Noah. To Abraham he gave circumcision. To Moses miraculous signs; to his people the law. He abolished all of them through the Gospel, which he gave to Christ. The Turks were offended by this changeability of God and said that their law would only last for a while, but would then be changed.

**Where and how to find and know God with certainty.**

(This § is transposed and abridged from the Great Interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 1. Walch, old edition, Vol. VIII, §§60 and 59.)

**God does and gives everything for free.**

God created us without our doing, by grace, without our merit, feeds and sustains us also, and gives us heaven freely out of pure grace, for Christ's sake, who believe in Him.

**For the sake of our hardness, God must be hard and God.**

(Contained in Cap. 22, § 86.)

1) Instead of ünZers in the original would probably like to read.

2) i.e. variable.

3) Instead of aroa areu is to be read.

**How difficult it is to believe what God says.**

Alas! said D. Martinus, I believed everything the pope and the monks said, but what Christ says now, who does not lie, I cannot believe. That is a miserable and annoying thing. Well, we want it and must save it until that day.

**155. a different.**

(Cordatus No. 1516.)

Is it not a plague that I am afraid of the man who raised me out of baptism, when no Philip nor Pomeranian loves me so much as Christ, who died for me?

**God cares for us.**

(Cordatus No. 1800.)

Since God spends so much on feeding useless birds, who would despair that he will be sustained by God?

**What this is, God is nothing, and yet everything.**

The pagan Plato disputes about God, that God is nothing, and yet is everything: which Eck and the Sophists followed, and yet understood nothing of it; as their words indicate, which no one could understand. But so it is to be understood and spoken of: God is incomprehensible and invisible; but what can be understood and seen, that is not God. And this can be said in another way: God is either visible or invisible. He is visible in His word and work; but where His word and work are not, there one should not want Him, for He cannot be found elsewhere than as He has revealed Himself. But they want to seize God with their speculation, and nothing comes of it; seize the wretched devil for it, who also wants to be God.

But I admonish and warn everyone to let speculation stand, and do not flutter too high; but remain here with the manger and swaddling clothes in which Christ lies, "in whom dwelleth all fullness.

of the Godhead bodily", as Paul says Col. 2, 9. There one cannot miss God, but certainly meets and finds Him. I would like this rule to be observed after my death.

**In what God's consolation and man's consolation stand.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, § 158.)

**When the help of men ceases, the help of God comes to those who believe in Him.**

If we do not see any way, means, counsel, or manner by which we can be helped out of misfortune, then we conclude according to reason: It is over with us. But if we believe, our salvation is enhanced. For, as the Medici say, *ubi desinit philosophia, ibi incipit medicina*: Where *philosophia* ceases, there *medicina* begins. So we also say: *Ubi desinit humanum auxilium, ibi divinum incipit, vel fides in verbum*: Where human help ceases, there God's help begins, or faith in God's word.

**Our Lord God deals with Christians in a wonderful way.**

Affliction comes before salvation, and after salvation joy. To be oppressed and weighed down is to be built up and yet to grow and increase. Our Lord God makes his will against the Christian very colorful and curly, so that almost no one can send himself into it. God's kingdom dwells in the people who are baptized and believe in Christ from the heart, proving it also with their lives: and the true Christians are God's kingdom; but not the mouthed and colored Christians. And even though Christians are tormented and killed here, their Lord lives in heaven, and for this reason they must also live.

The devil takes pleasure and is his work and greatest joy in suppressing God's work, in torturing and tormenting those who love God's word and hold fast to it; the others he leaves well alone. Because Christians are God's kingdom, they must also be tormented, martyred and oppressed.

A Christian must have evil days and suffer much; so our Adam, flesh and blood, will have good days and suffer nothing: how does this add up? Our flesh is given over to death and hell because it has followed the devil and has left God's commandment. Now if our flesh is to be redeemed from death and hell, and is to be again stripped and wrested from the devil, it must again keep God's commandment and join Him, which is no different than believing in Christ Jesus, that He is the Son of God and our Redeemer, and that we keep His word. The word of Christ is nothing else but bearing the cross, having love and hope in the cross, and believing that he will not leave us afflicted for eternity, and will save us and transfer us from this life to that eternal life; but having patience in love, and that one may give credit for his weakness to another, who also is in suffering and keeps it with Christ.

Therefore, whoever claims to be a listener and disciple of God's word, and wants to be a Christian and be saved, does not have to wait for a good day here; but all his faith, hope and love is directed towards God and his neighbor. So his whole life is nothing else but suffering, cross and persecution, and all kinds of adversity and misfortune every hour, yes, every moment, must be expected.

**The works of God must be believed alone.**

The holy scripture says: "Do not inquire into high things", Rom. 12, 16; for all the works of God are inscrutable, no one can conceive them; only one must believe them, with reason no one can 1) understand them nor fathom them.

**162: Von GÖttes unauforschlicher Majestät, aus D. M. Luther's Letter to M. Caspar**

**Aquilam, parish priest at Salfeld.**

(This § is Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 1129 ff, No.'670, §§ 2-5.)

**One should not be afraid of God.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 45.)

1) So Stangwaldt instead of "vermag".

### God's works are wonderful.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 23, 1538, p. 118.)

On August 23, a disputer asked: Where Balaam was from, if he lived in Syria at the water of Aram, as the text indicates? But how does the Scripture agree with this, which says that he was killed among the Midianites? [Luther] answered: Perhaps Balaam fled from Moses as a rebel (as they accused him), as if to say: Now the people will go to ruins; the rebellion is already beginning, and so he fled to the victorious Midianites. For Balaam saw the great plagues and confusion of the people of Israel, how God had afflicted them. Yes, God Himself also afflicted them, namely to harden the Gentiles, who always hoped for the downfall of Israel, as today the Papists rejoice in every confusion among us, and draw good hope from it. Thus, according to the judgment of all the Gentiles, the people of Israel were considered to be the most godless and rebellious sect, and I believe that Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, followed Moses and the Israelites in such great certainty that he thought that God stood for him and against Israel, as if the sea had opened for his sake; as if he wanted to say, as the text reads, "Now my soul will be satisfied" (Ex. 14:3). Now I have it for sure, that I shall seize it in the sea, and so he perishes in the greatest safety, and those in their weakness come away victorious. So God is strange in his regiment. That which is against him seems to be for him, and that which is for him seems to be against him. Sometimes he seems strong, sometimes weak, so that neither Satan nor all wisdom can judge him. Christ has often appeared very strong to the devil in miracles, but then also weak in suffering, and has even made the devil mad. Therefore, faith, not the wisdom of the flesh, belongs to the miraculous works of God. Thus Oecolampad is blinded by the argument: "Flesh is of no use" (Joh. 6, 63.). So the body of Christ is not there. And Zwingli: "He sits at the right hand of the Father" (Eph. 1, 20.). So he is not in the bread. These have been their brazen walls, on which they stood, and, ver

blinded by looking at everything through a colored glass, they have judged stiffly and firmly in their opinion.

### God will wake up one day.

It seems that our God is a sleepy, dumb, deaf and blind God, as the Psalter calls him in many places; but he will wake up one day and speak to his enemies in his wrath, Ps. 2, 5. Then beware, for it is written: I will awake from sleep, and rise, and smite mine enemies. This was said by Luther when Pace said that the Elector of Brandenburg had removed the chasuble from the Bishop of Strasbourg during mass and kissed the crucifix when it was placed in the grave.

### 166. Bon God's punishment against the wicked, item, heretics and tyrants.

D. Luther said in 1532 that when he was still in the monastery in Erfurt, he had once spoken to Doctor Staupitz: My dear Doctor, our Lord God deals so cruelly with people, who can serve Him when He lashes out like this? As we can still see in our adversaries, of whom he has punished and cleared away many terrible things, who in our time have rebelled against the teachings of the Gospel. To this Doctor Staupitz answered me at that time and said: "Dear, learn to look at God differently: if he did not do so, how could he otherwise dampen the hard heads? He must control the tall trees so that they do not grow into the sky. God strikes ad sanitatem, ut nos, qui alioqui opprimeremur, liberet et redimat. These examples taught me afterwards in 1530 at Coburg that I had rightly understood the appendix or addition to the ten commandments, since God says: "I am a zealous God, who punishes iniquity" 2c. Non est tam crudele in illos tyrannos supplicium, quam necessaria pro nobis Christianis defensio. Sic Zwinglium nunc periisse dicunt, cujus error si praevaluisset, periisse- mus nos cum Ecclesia nostra. But the fifth and fiftieth Psalm says v. 24: Viri sanguinum et dolosi non dimidiabunt dies suos."

## Chapter 3.

### Of The Creation.

1. the creation is briefly described by Moses.
- In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.
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11. from paradise.
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- God's creation of a human being is a miraculous work.
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- God's creation in the creatures is marvelous.
26. from comets.
27. 28. From the sun.
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- What kind of man Adam was.
31. Adam's moderation.
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- A man does not understand God's creature and work.
34. why we live in houses.
35. from agriculture.
36. from Adam's apple bite.
- (37) Speech separates a man from all other animals.
38. Adam's misery on earth.
39. weakness and misery of human nature.
40. 41. Of the regiment of the maggot sack of human body.
42. A question why people do not accept the knowledge planted in the heart as easily as that in the mind.
43. difference of the animals.
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45. from Adam's case.
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48. On the miserable state of human life.
49. of the short life of people.
50. 51. 52. human life a poor life.
53. of the human skin under the eyes.
54. 55. Of children and the same life.
56. We must become like children before our Lord God.
57. 58. 59. Of the little children.
- The parents' love for the children.
61. Cain, Adam's favorite child.
62. grandparents love their children's children the most.
- The parents' and authorities' violence is different.
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- The first is the question of whether a son should betray his father's wrongdoing.
66. The custom of the goods is the most important.
- The children shall suffer the infirmities of their parents.
68. Whether a father may disinherit his disobedient child.
69. why the first parents ate only fruits.
70. the parents curse.
- The disobedient children are punished by God.
72. hanging on and letting the children have their way corrupts them.
73. 74. No father shall, at his life, give his goods to his children.
- The children's unequal nature and nature.
76. from Weibern.
77. women should not be eloquent.
78. that which is evil to women.
79. long hair is a woman's ornament.
80. breast milk and female breasts.
81. Of men and women.
- What men and women are made for.
- What women are created for.
- The greatest people are wrong.
85. children stand best with GOD.
- Women should not be in charge.
87. Children are God's gift.
- Man is made of dung.
89. of the increase of fish.
90. the youth bursts forth.
- If Adam had not sinned, there would have been no need for bread.
- The first of these is a book by the author.
93. thoughts of all the wicked.
- The first is the question of whether languages, the fine arts, and other natural gifts are useful for theology.
- Whether the light of reason also serves theology.
- God gives many goods to the wicked here, but much more to the godly.
- We do not recognize God's creatures.

### 1. the creation is briefly described by Moses.

(Cordatus No. 1292. 1287.)

High mysteries make vain error, therefore Moses wanted to describe the creation 1) only with few and very simple words, but the purchase of the cave in Hebron and the sacrifices and Jewish customs he described with very many words, so that they did not cause heresy.

The story which so carefully describes the purchase of the cave by Abraham is described in such a way, so that it testified his faith in the promise given to him about the possession of the land of Canaan, and the unbelievers to a testimony also after the expulsion of his own from the holy land, because he knew that the devil would do something against his descendants; because he does not grant us a morsel of bread, and if we get it, he wants to take it from us again. He ridicules all, with the exception of him of whom Paul says [Gal. 6, 7.ft "He is not mocked."

### In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.

(Cordatus No. 1559.)

Before a man learns the first word in Moses: In the beginning God created 2c., he is dead, and even if he lives a thousand years, he will hardly learn it. But this Creator has been forgotten so highly that God also had to send his Son into the world, so that he would remind them of the Father 2c.

### 3. so the heavens and the earth were completed with all their host, Gen. 2, 1.

All creatures are God's army. I have gladly kept the little word Exercitus, army, as it is written in the Ebraic, in defiance of the devil, who strives with all his might in various ways to hinder all creatures in their works, for which God has created them. The sun, moon and stars shine by day and by night. The sea gives all kinds of fishes, other waters and streams also, and keep their certain course for and without

1) Here orsalurani stands in the sense of ersationsm.

all obstacles. The earth bears and gives all kinds of grain, herbs, grain, barley 2c., wine, fruit, grass, herbs 2c. for the preservation and use of both man and beast. The trees bear all kinds of fruit, all animals give their use. 2) And who can tell it all? The devil likes to prevent all this, but God resists him. Therefore he is also called in the Scriptures the Lord of hosts, because he creates and sustains, that every creature may accomplish that for which he created and ordained it. Sometimes, however, God decrees that a time of unfruitfulness will come, that grain and all kinds of fruit will turn out badly, and that corruption will follow, as a punishment for the wicked, ungrateful world, which does not recognize that all kinds of fruit, vegetables and everything we enjoy are gifts from God.

### 4. God's process in creation and His works.

Our Lord God's way is to keep this custom, so that His power and might may be accomplished and made strong through and in weakness. Thus he first made the world, a desolate empty lump (chaos) that was dark and shapeless; then he gave form and shape to every creature in a fine order, visible and glorious. He did not create man soon, nor first, but the earth before. So he first hid and concealed in the earth the shrub, which need not be a tree at first. He could create everything immediately with only one word, but he does not want to do it, he likes this way, that he makes something out of nothing. Thus, our cause with the Gospel was also weak in the beginning, but, praise God, it has increased and grown more and more, so that more and more have come to it; but it will fall again because of the great ingratitude and contempt.

### Why Moses did not remember the angels' creation.

Moses writes nothing about the creation of the angels, first of all because he describes only the creation of the visible world and creatures that are in it. Secondly, he did not want to give us cause for speculation.

2) Cf. cap. 49, § 9, para. 4.



He does not speak of unnecessary things. Nevertheless, he remembers the angels in the history of Abraham and Lot, Genesis 18 and 19:1, just as the Scriptures speak of the angels from time to time.

Therefore, God was right not to have written many things, otherwise we would have taken to the wind and despised learning and contemplating what we have now expressed in Scripture and which serves us for salvation, and would have been under obligation to investigate and fathom that which is too high above us and us, that we would not have been corrected.

#### 6. of wonderful creatures and works of God.

At Eisleben over the table was said to D. Luther said, when pike was served in a bowl the 12th Februarii to the meal, that there are no pike in Hispania. Luther replied that the pike was a water wolf, which feeds on the fish in the water, and rules in the water.

Count Hans Heinrich von Schwarzburg told Luther that in Bohemia a lord had a water that should give very good baked fish, and if one dug earth or sod out of the same water or pond and put it into another water, fish would grow out of the same earth. Thereupon spoke 1). Luther: This is the nature of the water, so the lawn has drunk into itself. And said D. Luther: The first chapter of the first book of Moses does not say: God has put fish into the water; but God says: Water, stir up; then fish became from the rain.

God has planted two great wondrous plantings: first, God made Adam from a lump of earth, then He made woman from a man's rib. Is this not a strange planting? Sic nos ex gutta seminis ex muliere nascimur; that is a wonderful thing. Then Count Hans Heinrich von Schwarzburg said that he had heard from his father how a sea miracle had once been brought to a pope in Rome, which had been seen half as well as a man. When it was caught, it would not have wanted to eat or drink: therefore, as one said,

it would die, the pope wanted to look at it again, and after that he had such a miracle of the sea thrown into the water again, so that it would not die. When the priest looked at it, he said: Dear God, how wonderful you are among the creatures on earth! Then the beast began to speak and said, "Much more wonderful in the water. Then said D. Luther said, "This was the devil, for he dwells in the waters and great forests. More sea miracles have been seen, and they are certainly devils. And such a miracle of the sea was then thrown into the Tiber near Rome.

Then the noble lord Volrat, count and lord of Mansfeld, said above the table that there were fishermen fishing in Denmark who had seen two large fish in the sea next to each other, so the fishermen got together and undertook to catch the two fish. But one of them got through the net, and when he saw that the other fish had been caught, he raised a great hue and cry in the sea, and made such a disturbance that many boats went down with the fishermen. But they had caught one of them and brought it ashore, but it soon died and became stinking, so that it was not brought before the king of Denmark. And the king would have had it painted, and would not have seen the same sea miracle otherwise than as a monk; for it would have had a plate, and like a cap, and the like.

Furthermore, Count Volrat said that von Hutten had written to his father, Count Albrecht, from the Gold Islands that they had caught a sea wonder in their voyage on the sea, which looked like a bishop, for it had a jnfulen, a bishop's hat and all episcopal regalia. He and his companions would have been willing to give such a sea wonder to the prince of the same country as a pledge, but they would have thrown it into the water again. When it came to the sea, it walked on the water with its crosier, finally made the cross over it and disappeared into the water.

M. Luther said: "The devil asked in the Gospel of Christ, Matth. 8, 31, that he wanted to

not let him go into abyssum, into the depth of the sea. For when the devils are cast out, they must not remain on earth, but they must go from the people into the sea.

Count Volrat also said that once a sea miracle had been caught from a ship on the sea, which had been a woman. When it was kept on the ship, a ship's servant took her as his wife and fathered a child with her. After three years, when they returned by ship to the place where the sea miracle was first caught, the same woman jumped out of the ship and took the child with her, which had drowned, but she had disappeared before their eyes. Then the doctor said, "The devil can change in a woman's form, but also in a man's.

#### 7. question from the creation.

One of them asked: How Moses could have written about the creation and other things, as at what times the archfathers, Adam, Seth, Enoch 2c. would have lived and died before and after the flood, if the creation had happened more than two thousand years before his time, and the archfathers had also fallen asleep long before? he answered: I think that many things were written before Moses. Adam will have briefly written and recorded the history of the creation, of his fall, of the promise of the woman's seed 2c., so the other fathers afterwards, especially Noah, what happened at each time. After that Moses will have taken it and put it in a proper order, taken from it and added to it what and how God commanded him; especially the history of the creation, item, of the seed that was to crush the serpent's head, he will have taken without any doubt from the teaching and preaching of the archfathers, which always one has inherited on the other. For I certainly believe that the preaching of the woman's seed, promised to Adam and Eve, for which they had a heartfelt longing and desire, was more powerful before the flood than the preaching of Christ at the last dangerous time.

There will also have been heretics. If Cain had not fallen so horribly, had not become a murderer of his own brother, he would have seduced the greater part of the people and caused vain heresy; therefore God decreed that he should put Abel to death. This is also the end of all heretics, that they finally take up the sword and become murderers; as can be seen in the Arians and the Pabstics, and in our time in the Coiners, Anabaptists, Zwingel 2c. First, they begin their deeds with a pretense of godliness, color and adorn their lies with Scripture, thereby doing great harm, seducing many people, until finally, when their lies are exposed and punished, they put them to the sword. They are not always lacking in will, but only in opportunity; for Satan cannot hide in his limbs, he must let it be known that he is a liar and a murderer 2c. I think that Cain's death, especially among those who were related to him, caused a great cry and terror, so that they lamented: Behold, Lamech slew Cain our father.

#### 8. legends of the patriarchs before the flood, how they should be described and distinguished.

A world would be given if it were possible to have the legends of the patriarchs who lived before the flood; there one would see how they lived, preached, and what they suffered. Our Lord God will have thought: I will keep their legends with the flood, for those who come after will not respect it, much less understand it: I will keep it until they come together again in that life. Then the dear arch-fathers after the flood, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, item, the prophets, apostles, their descendants and other holy people (whom the devil does not leave unchallenged in this life) will give them far preference and say: I lived a short time, to be counted against the time of the dear patriarchs before the flood, preached a few years and spread God's word, suffered my cross and tribulation over it.

But what is that compared to the great, protracted, unspeakable toil and labor, anguish, torment and plague of our dear fathers before the flood, which they suffered and endured, some for seven hundred years, some for eight hundred and even longer, from the devil and the wicked world?

#### **Cain was not who Adam thought he was.**

Adam failed Cain. 1) He thought that because he was the firstborn son, he should precede Abel by far, be his lord and supreme in the spiritual and worldly regiment. But it did not turn out that way, because God did it differently, rejected Cain and gave the right of the first birth to Abel, Gen. 4, 4. 5.: "God graciously looked upon Abel and his sacrifice, but Cain and his sacrifice He did not graciously look upon." Cain was very angry at this and disguised his gestures. Eve, the dear holy mother, had a particularly good hope for Cain, was sure, as she made herself believe, that he would be the seed of the woman who would crush the serpent's head, according to the promise made to Adam and her. Therefore, when she gave birth to him, she happily said, "I have the man, the Lord," Genesis 4:1, as if to say, "This man will restore us to the sorrow into which the serpent has led us, for he is the Lord himself, true God, also a natural man born of me.

But the dear mother was deceived, did not yet realize her misery, did not know that from flesh nothing else could be born but flesh; that through flesh and blood sin and death could not be overcome and taken away. They were also mistaken about the time when this blessed seed, conceived by the Holy Spirit, was to be born from Mary of virgins into the world. How the dear arch-fathers did not know the time, although the promise was made clearer and clearer by the revelation of the Holy Spirit. As we now also know that the last day will come, but on what day or hour we do not know.

#### **We cannot thoroughly understand God's creation.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 7, 1538, p. 110.)

On August 7, he said: "I have lain down heavily in this illness, so that I gave my life to God; but in this time of weakness many things have come to my mind. Oh, how I have thought what eternal life is, what joy it has. I am already sure of the life that is given to us through Christ, and it is already ours because we believe, but one day it will be revealed. Here we are not to know how the creation of the new world is, since we cannot even fully know the first creation of the world and the creatures. If I had been with God before the creation of the world, I would not have been able to give him this advice, that he should have made such a great work of spheres out of nothing, and that he should have attached to it a clasp, the sun, which in the fastest course illuminates the whole earth; likewise, that he should create man and woman in this way.

(The following, Lauterbach, May 26, 1538, p. 87.)

He has done all this [for] us without our counsel or hesitation, so we must also give Him glory with respect to the life to come and the new creation, and let Him alone remain the Creator.

#### **11. from paradise.**

(Cordatus No. 1096.)

I believe that the whole world is paradise, but that Moses described it according to the four rivers which Adam saw and by which he dwelt, and it is called a garden of pleasure [paradisus] [because] it grew everywhere so lovely. Now Adam was in Arabia and Syria after sin, but the earth had ceased to be a paradise. Thus Sodom ceased to be a paradise; - similarly Samaria and Judea, which were once very fertile, but are now sandy lands; 2) - GOD hath

it 1) [Sodom] turned into a salt desert by its curse, not wanting the blessing.

#### Children are God's special blessing and creature.

When Jonah had hung a beautiful branch of cherries over the table in remembrance of creation, and praised the glorious blessing of God in such fruits, D. M. Luther said: "Why do you not consider this more in your children than in your body's fruits, which surpass and are more beautiful and also more glorious creatures of God than all trees? M. Luther: "Why do you not consider this more in your children than in the fruits of your body, which surpass and are more beautiful and also more glorious creatures of God than the fruits of all trees? In them Mn sees God's omnipotence, wisdom and art, who has made them from nothing: has given them in one year body, life and all limbs so fine, fine and beautiful, and wants to nourish and sustain them. Nevertheless, we do not pay much attention to it, and may even become blind and stingy over such gifts from God; as commonly happens that people, when they have children, become more angry and stingy, scrape, scrape and scrape as much as they can, so that they may leave them much. They do not know that even before a child comes into the world and is born, its modest share, what and how much it will have and what it will become, is allotted and provided for it; as the Scriptures say and the common saying is: The more children, the more happiness. Oh, dear Lord God, how great is the blindness, ignorance and wickedness of a man who cannot realize this, but does the opposite in the very best and most glorious gifts of God: which he misuses for all sins and disgraces, according to all his pleasures and pleasures, and does not sing a Deo gratias to our Lord God for it.

1) It is not necessary to change esm into ens, as Mr. D. Wrampelmeyer suggests, because otherwise the following nolnit would also have to be changed into noluerund. The words from "similar" to "are" are to be taken as parentheses. KalsuZinem also fits Sodom, indeed better than Samaria and Judea. Cf. G. Jauss: Beschreibung des heiligen Ländes, p. 26.

2) So Stangwald instead of "sing".

#### 13. a different.

3) Luther was astonished beyond measure when he saw that the trees were so beautiful and full of fruit, and said: "If Adam had not fallen, we would have looked at all creatures in this way: every tree and stalk would have been better and more noble than if it had been gold or silver. For after the manner of things, if it be rightly considered, every green tree is much more glorious than if it were a tree of gold or silver.

(Here 25 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 7, §6.)

#### 14. another one from the abuse of god creatures.

(Cordatus No. 1761. 1762. 1763.)

The constant recurrence makes things small, strange things are respected.

Avarice and ambition make that we have no pleasure in things.

The wicked do not see the glory of God, yes, even the present creature they cannot recognize, because since God constantly showers the wicked and all people with the greatness and quantity of His creatures, so that by His goodness He attracts to Himself those who are lost by nature, they, on the other hand, only become worse through such great goodness and constant perseverance. What can God do about it, because to hell? If one were to bring an egg from Kalekut and a hen, we would be astonished to death and see. Therefore belongs [Matth. 6, 26. 28.]: "Look at the birds and the lilies of the field." A fish in the water beats with its tail, namely the male, and casts forth seed; there is the female with it, and receives at once a hundred thousand fish, and all philosophers cannot give the reason of such things, which Moses alone [Gen. 1, 3. ff.] put forward, "He said, and it came to pass," [Gen. 1, 28.], "Grow and multiply." So it goes on.

3) This § probably spurious, formed as entrance to the section omitted here, which was spoken on Christmas Day 1538. On this day there were probably golden and silver fruits on the trees, by which these thoughts of Aurifaber are caused.

### 15. bom swath D. Martini Luther's thoughts.

(Cordatus No. 1398. 1399.)

I am convinced that Schwaden Manna is heavenly bread. It is so disgusting [i.e. delicate] that if you nibble it with one finger, it spoils.

Swaths are collected early in a sieve and it falls from heaven, does not grow on earth. Prudentius calls it thawing bread, and all physicians call it manna, as it is called in the text [Ex. 16, 13. 14? One shakes the shoots [Reusze], so it falls off, and cooks it, as one wants, like the Coriander [is] and white like the Thau. They call it what is prepared, as if one said: I find you there, you are right for me. It is spoiled by the mere touching of it and by the noonday sun, that is, the word of God does not suffer any addition.

### 16. of fruits and fruit.

When Martinus had a turnip full of juice in his hand and ate from it, he said: "The dear fathers must have been healthy people, who lived and ate from the fruits and roots that grew from the earth, and had food and drink from them. I believe that Adam would not have wished him a partridge; but at fruits and at fruit he has had more pleasure, have tasted him much better, than everything roasted and boiled. When I read that the holy fathers lived on roots, I thought they ate the roots of trees.

(From here to the end of the § in Lauterbach, May 12, 1538, p. 79.)

The greatness and diversity of God's gifts overwhelms us, and through the frequency everything becomes small; even the greatest is considered nothing, the very small is valued. It happens to our Lord God, as it happens to parents, whose children consider the daily food to be of no value, but apples, pears, and nuts are held in high esteem.

### 17. fruit respect the children more than money.

1) Anno 36 the 6th of September the doctor's little children stood before the table, watched with

1) Similar to Cordatus No. 662 in the first paragraph. - When I asked my son what he would give me for food for a year, he said

When the doctor saw this, he said, "Whoever wants to see a picture of someone who rejoices in hope, has here quite a conterfei. Oh, that we could look upon the last day so joyfully in hope! Then he said about the power of peaches, that it was such a delicious fruit, close to the juice of wine. There are large grapes in Persia and Welsh, there must be also large peaches, that these are in our countries like the sloes against it.

Who can rightly recognize the nature, kind and power of the creatures? Adam and Eve will have had such fruit, yes, much better; ours are mere wooden apples compared to it, as all creatures 2) are compared to it. What do you think of the serpent, which will have jested with Eve as the most beautiful creature? It was eaten out of the womb in the most friendly way; for the scripture says in Genesis 3:1 that "the serpent was more cunning than all the other animals on earth"; therefore it will have been the most friendly and the most blissful before others; as still today its little crown and three-edged tongues indicate. But after the curse she has lost her feet and her beautiful body, and must crawl and eat earth.

At the same time, the serpent was the most beautiful animal to Adam above all others, by which the devil was supposed to decorate his art, as he likes to decorate himself at all times; for what is to tempt to sin must be beautiful. A bad, simple farmer and an unlearned man, or an ugly maid, water or a rude sack will not provoke and move anyone to heresy, avarice, fornication, drunkenness or court, but rather a fine, smooth tongue, roses, 3) florins and good thalers, beautiful matzos and sweet wine, beautiful velvet 2c. Thus Satan tempts and induces a man to sin by the purest and most beautiful creatures.

replied the child, "Father, you do not buy food and drink; only apples and pears cost a lot of money. Thus men despise the daily gifts of God; but which are really small, they esteem highly 2c.

2) After "creatures" we have omitted the words "and animals" with Stangwald. The meaning should be: all creatures are now bad and low compared to what they were in paradise.

3) So Stangwald instead of "rothe Nobel".

Oh, the quare, Why? was a horrible affect and thought in paradise; how sorry I am for Aphkija! which is a little word that only admonishes and drives. As soon as the serpent turned to Eve in a friendly manner and said: "Do you mean, how? yes? So that she indicated both with thoughts, words and gestures the highest desire and desire for it. As if the devil should say through the serpent and sneer, "You must indeed be great fools to believe," as if God should have thus forbidden you: "For God is not such a man as to ask so precisely whether you eat or not. For since it is a tree of knowledge of good and evil, how can God be so envious that He would not have you be wise and prudent? Aphkiah caused the misfortune that Adam and Eve, who before had the most beautiful and pure bodies, senses, understanding and will, without all evil desire, now became even deceived and the devil's larvae. Their eyes were able to see clearly for many miles, their ears could hear and hear softly; now our eyes have the star. At that time Adam went to his wife without all evil desire, lust and heat, and Eve soon conceived and gave birth without any pain, but now everything has been disguised and reversed.

Rather, look at the young children, whose bodies are still purer and cleaner, than those who still have something, although very little, of Adam's first kind. Eyes, ears and all limbs are more beautiful; dung does not stink so much from them as from the old, so that in youth all limbs are purer and stronger.

In this misery of ours, this is our comfort, that there is another, better and eternal life left. The greatest number die before they come to their senses; many die without children, that they become neither father nor mother: therefore our Lord God must have something great in mind, that it will be much different, namely the resurrection of the dead, since we believe that there will be a new heaven and a new earth, and we will live forever. Which is an abominable, difficult, even impossible article for reason to believe, as all other works of God are against reason. Reason are. Aristotle, the learned

Heide, since he writes about the nature of animals, can speak nothing of it.

Summa, God is incomprehensible in creatures, but he can be felt and touched in his word, although he does not do it as we would like, because he does not hold our geometry, measurement and arithmetic. In the face of man he has set the house of fire, the cloaca, in the midst. If I had been a master builder or his counselor, I would have made only one eye on the forehead, one ear on the side, and the nose on the other side. But God has done it differently, he can make the most beautiful bodies out of dust and dirt, and puts the most beautiful eyes in all animals.

#### 18. a different.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 15, 1538, p. 167.)

He then admired the loveliness and the fruit of the deer park at Lochau, where the deer stood, jumped around and watched the people, [and said:] There our Lord God also made his kitchen to preserve the courts of the princes. After that, in the evening, Luther saw a little bird sitting on the top of a tree to spend the night. He said: The bird already has its dinner and will stay here for the night, unconcerned about the morrow and about its home, rather, as David says (Ps. 91, 1.), it will sit "under the umbrella of the Most High". He sits contentedly on his little branch, letting God take care.

Oh, if Adam's fall had not spoiled everything, how glorious and divine a creature man would have been, how filled with great knowledge and wisdom he would have lived blissfully, free of all misfortune, and then he would have laid aside his earthly body by being transformed, without all the tastes of death. All creatures would have been very pleasant to him, in all things there would have been the sweetest change, as [God] even now in this very miserable life has pictured the resurrection of the dead in many creatures. When they were lost in the park and he saw knots tied in the trees, he said: "This is what the knot is for, that you may know which is the right way.

### 19. several questions.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 20, 1538, p. 175.)

After that he tasted his wines for the wedding. 1) One should, he said, give the guests a good drink, that they may be merry. For, as the Scripture says (Ps. 104:15), "Bread comforts the heart of man, but wine gladdens it."

After that, he asked the Englishman how wine could be brought into the cellar and should neither be crushed nor poured, and he answered: "You should crush must into it and then it will become wine. It is a physical, natural magic. Then he asked, "What are the most extensive waters in all regions? Namely snow, rain and dew. The water goes over the whole land, without borders, even in the mountains. For the highest mountains are covered with eternal snow, because they are in the middle region of the air, which is uninhabitable. Only the devil can dwell there, because he is the lord of the world, as Paul (Eph. 6, 12.) calls him.

### 20. spill wine or salt.

D. Mart. broke a very bright glass, full of wine on the table; then he said: This is gone, it is a weak vessel. He said, "It is a great superstition and superstition in the world that people would rather see wine spilled than salt. But it can still be helped, so that it is still acceptable: if you spill the wine or take it away, you can still live without it; but if you want to spill the bread and salt and take it away from the people, then it will take effort and work, then you will begin to see sour, then it will become bad at first.

### 21. children are God's blessing.

He had a rose in his hand, marveled greatly at it, as at a beautifully excellent work and creature of God, and said:

If a man were able to make a few roses, he should be given an empire. But one does not pay attention to the innumerable many gifts of God: because they are common and we deal with them daily, one does not ask much about them, thinking that it must be so, that it naturally happens by chance.

We see that God gives children to almost all people, fruits of the body, like parents: a farmer shall have three, four or more sons, like him, as if they were cut out of his eyes. All this is not respected, because it is common and happens for and for that reason. It is not a small thing, even among the pagans, that children are born looking and resembling their parents. As Virgilius the poet (Aeneid. 4.) wrote of the queen Dido that she wished she could beget a little Aeneas from Aenea, who would resemble him, look like the father, run around and play. And the Greeks, when they cursed, wished that one's children should not resemble him.

### 22. from the children's birth.

(Cordatus No. 704.)

Giving birth to a woman is very difficult, because the fruit has to go out through the bones, because the bones of the womb have to push each other with force, through which (as it seems) hardly an apple could come out. This is a great and immeasurable miracle of God.

### God's creation of a human being is a miraculous work.

(This § follows § 28 of this Cap. "Lauterbach p. 87], Kummer p. 378.)

Who can consider the size of the sun, which is far greater than the earth? If one looks at it early in the morning, it looks like a brewing vat, but it can rise in one hour no more than ten spans high and yet it runs in the fastest way in twelve hours from the beginning to the end, and if two hundred suns were lined up in a circle of animals like a paternoster, they would reach from the east to the west; therefore the size of the sun is inexpressible. Likewise, who would have called God

1) For this wedding Luther requested some game in the letter to John, Prince of Anhalt, on Nov. 22, 1538. - The bride and groom were: LInA. Ambrosius Berndt and Luther's sister daughter, Magdalena Kaufmann (Bkumhe Lene in Luther's letter to his son Johannes, June 19, 1530). - Cf. cap. 43, § 34 and § 35.

Has he ever given this advice, that he should join a man and a woman together? Then he gives a woman to the man, who has two breasts, and little warmth on them. Some drop of male seed is the origin of such a large human body, from which flesh, blood, legs, skin, hair 2c. is made, as Job says Cap. 10, 10: "Have you (God) not milked me like milk and curdled me like cheese? So God is very foolish in all his works. If I had advised him, I would have kept the creation of man in the earthen vessel, and set a great lamp in the midst of the earth for the sun, so that it would always have been day.

#### 24. from twins.

(Lauterbach, Dec. 1, 1538, p. 184.)

In the first of December it was written of Nuremberg how a woman there had given birth to four little children at once, two sons and two little daughters, and all of them remained alive. Luther said: "Giving birth is God's work, much more is this miraculous. But the monk children, those undeveloped lumps, do the greatest harm to women; for other fetuses help themselves, but those lumps are a very burdensome burden to the mother.

#### God's creation in creatures is wonderful.

The birth is very fine and well ordered by God in all creatures, as in man and woman: for no one can conceive the work of birth, nor consider how the fruit comes out in birth and grows in half a day; it stretches so that one notices it. And if one wanted to bring a chicken, which has crawled out of the shell this hour, back into the shell, it would be impossible.

Item, in marriage we all learn and experience that childbearing and childbearing is not in our power and arbitrariness, because the parents cannot see beforehand nor know whether they are fertile, nor whether they will have a son or a daughter. All this is done without our forethought or foreknowledge. My father and mother did not think that they should bring a doctor.

It is only God's creature, which we cannot think out or understand right now. I believe that in this life and in the life to come we will have nothing more to do but ponder and wonder about the Creator and the creatures. The pagan philosophers and all scholars cannot judge any further than that birth has its equal, and one animal begets and sustains another that is like it. Moses, however, explains and says who is the original cause and founder or master, how, why, and for what purpose all things were created.

#### 26. from the comet.

(Cordatus No. 911.)

A comet is also a wandering star [pla- netaris] and wanders around, is a hur-child among other stars and a proud star, occupies the whole sky, acts as [if] it were there alone, has the kind of heretics who also want to be considered alone for men on earth.

#### 27. from the sun.

D. M. Luther said that he had noticed and respected that the sun had now gone out for two days with joy and leaping, as the 19th Psalm, v. 6. 7. says: "It rejoices, like a hero, to run the way. She ariseth at one end of heaven, and runneth again to the same end, and nothing is hid from her heat." It is a beautiful work of God, which we nevertheless cannot look at, nor cling to with our eyes, but must turn our backs on it.

Oh, dear Lord God, if we had remained in paradise, we would have been able to look at the sun with bright eyes, without all hindrance and pain; but through Adam's fall, everything is ruined. Adam's fall is a horrible thing, which the world neither considers nor respects. We see people die every day, one after the other, and no one is sure of his life for a moment, and many a misfortune comes one after the other; nevertheless, we do not respect it, do not think that it will also come to us. Thus, God's wrath is held in low esteem, because it happens daily.



we get used to it and put it to the wind. If we had remained in paradise, we would not have needed either death or forgiveness of sins; we would not have died, but would have been transformed from this temporal life into eternal life, without all pain; we would have seen and praised only the unspeakable goodness and mercy of God.

### 28. a different.

(This § [Lauterbach p. 87.], in Kummer p. 378, immediately follows the first paragraph of Cap. 2, §104.)

The earthly works of the creation we cannot recognize completely, as we admit with the celestial bodies and things situated above us. Who could ever have advised God at the time of creation that he should burden the exceedingly great light of the sun with such a very rapid course that in every hour it covers in its uninterrupted course many hundreds of thousands of miles in the great circumference of the circle of animals? Consider the size of the earth, how great a distance it is on the earth from India to Spain, and yet it [the earth] is only the center of the circle and of the course of the sun, which travels through the outermost circles with unspeakable speed in its rapid, untiring course, as we see in a wagon wheel, whose axis turns slowly, but the outermost parts move very quickly. 1)

### 29. question.

If it was light before the sun, it follows that the sun does not make light. D. Martinus answered: "The light of the sun, before it was created, did not exist together as it is now, but was scattered, but God brought the same light together in one lump and made one light out of it, namely the sun as we see it now.

### 30. what kind of man Adam was.

(Cordatus No. 1030.)

Adam was a very simple man. I do not believe that he burned lights, and

1) This is followed by § 23 of this chapter.

[I believe that he did not know that a cow had unslit furs in its body, nor that he had slaughtered cattle. I wonder where he took the furs. But there is no doubt that he had a very beautiful body and that he saw the eighth grandson. Noah was very wise because he was afflicted by many trials.

### 31. Adam's moderation.

(Cordatus No. 1095.)

If Adam now returned and saw our expenditure of clothing, food, drink 2c., he would say he had never been in this world, for he drank water, ate the fruit of the trees, and put on a fur of skins. Our ancestors also lived very frugally, and Boaz says [Ruth 2, 14.] "Dip your bread in vinegar," likewise [Richt. 19, 5.j: "Savour thy heart beforehand with a morsel of bread." For they were populous regions, therefore the multitude of the people caused them to be thrifty.

### 32. question.

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 240.)

Because God knew that man would not remain in his original innocence, in which He had created him, why did He create man? To this question Paul answers: A great Lord must also have shit tiles in his house (Rom. 9, 21.). But if he uses some of his dishes in honor, he thereby increases the prestige of his house and praises his goodness.

2) There are many of them who think, when they have heard or read a sermon or two, that they can now do it all, that they have even eaten the Holy Spirit with feathers; which are satanic, fretful spirits: just as if one could learn the high, great secret of divine majesty, the heavenly golden art of God's counsel, since it is far lacking in common worldly arts and no one can fully study it. How then should one learn in such a depraved, miserable, weak

2) Similar thoughts Cap. 7, p 110 at the end; likewise Cap. 12, § 19.

How can we investigate and thoroughly comprehend the nature and blindness of the high divine Majesty's counsel and heart?

(From here to the end of § Cordatus No. 241.)

There are people who, after hearing God's word, would rather they had not learned as much as they have learned, because the servant who knows God's will and does not do it will receive more strokes [Luc. 12, 47. 1. These do not know Paul's saying [Rom. 2, 1.]: "Therefore, O man, you cannot excuse yourself, even if you did not know it."

#### **A man does not understand God's creature and work.**

We do not know how our Lord God arranges His building, we only see the framework of poles and crafted ropes; therefore, we do not respect God's will, but we ignore it and do not ask much about it. But when we see God's building and house in that life, we will be amazed and rejoice that we have endured trials.

(Here 5 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 61, § 9.)

#### **34. why we live in houses.**

We were created under heaven, but the reason we live in houses is because Adam fell, and because of sins; just as a sick person has jars of medicine from the pharmacy and needs plasters: that is, we must have chambers, rooms, houses, clothes, food and drink, beds and camps. Before Adam fell, we would have been like young journeymen jumping about naked and bare: there would have been no need of carpenters, masons, tailors, shoemakers, or houses.

#### **35. arable farming.**

To build the field is a divine work that God commanded, as in Genesis 1:28: "Build the earth and subdue it"; even if it bears thistles and thorns, don't mind it, your part shall still grow.

#### **36. adam's apple bite.**

(Cordatus No, 938.)

The bite of Adam into the apple was a heavy bite, of which also we can say [Ezk. 18, 2.]: "The fathers have eaten herbs, but the teeth of the children have become dull from it. That's why the Claus fool probably said: "The misfortune pours my mouth, that it has been so näschtig.

#### **(37) Speech separates a man from all animals.**

Of all the gifts of God, speech is the most beautiful and glorious, and by it alone man is distinguished from all other animals. Otherwise there are some animals that surpass man in other gifts: some with sight, some with hearing, some with smell, but none can speak. Although this is an indication that the word must be of a high kind and understanding.

#### **38. Adam's misery on earth.**

Adam, the father of us all, will have been the most miserable and afflicted man. 1) It must have been mighty lonely for him to see everything desolate in such a wide world. But when he gave birth to Cain, their first son, with his Eve, who was his only companion and dear spouse, there will have been great joy; likewise when Abel was born. But soon after that great tribulation, sorrow and heartache followed, when one brother slew another, and Adam lost one son, and had to put the other under ban and under guard, and cast him out of his sight. This must truly have been a great heartache to him, so that such a murder must have hurt him and grieved him more than his own fall, because through it he once again became a hermit with his dear Eve. After that, when he was a hundred and thirty years old, he begat Seth. That was hard and it hurt to see God's wrath for such a long time. Alas, he has been a sorrowful man, so that no one believes that he will experience it, although our suffering is child's play compared to his suffering and heartache. And if he were not so pious

1) Cf. Æ 45 of this chapter.

and strong nature by God's grace and effect, he and his Eve would soon have passed away and died of great heartache, but with the promise of faith in the woman's seed he was comforted.

### 39. weakness and misery of human nature.

D. Martin marveled and complained about the weakness, misery and wretchedness with which this poor flesh is weighed down and burdened, from which so much filth, dung, snot and sweat comes. If there were nothing but filth in all parts, and if the soul were not more beautiful than the body, a man would be a poor, miserable creature. Therefore the Greeks rightly say, *est quasi σῆμα*, id est, sepulchrum: man's body is like a corpse.

#### 40. of the regiment of the maggot sack of human body.

(Kuinmer x. 361 d. [Lauterbach, July 20, 1538, p. 99, note])

After the dysentery he was very troubled with hardness (*τεινασμός*) and spoke: I must let the Ars have his regiment, because God has his punishment also on these members. As we read in 1 Sam. 5, (v. 6.) of the plague of the Philistines when they had taken the ark of God. I mean, they were really afflicted in the butt, that they had to make for a guilt offering to our Lord God five golden eels and five golden mice. Thus God is mighty in all creatures, killing and making alive. For actually our sleep is a death, and death is a sleep. What is our death but a night sleep? 1) For just as through sleep all weakness disappears and the spiritual powers return, so that one looks fresh-minded in the morning, so on Judgment Day we will rise as if we had slept only one night, will be fresh and strong, and will only wipe our eyes. Then the worms, maggots and stink will fall away. Dear God, how wonderful you are in the formation of the limbs of the human body; how frail and exceedingly delicate they are, since they were first formed from a trope.

1) Cf. Gen. 49, 33; Walch, St. Louis Edition Vol. II, 2070, § 445.

The heart is the best part of a human being and its most essential part. The heart, the best part of a human being and its most essential part, is the most delicate. One still rushes to it as if it were a wall, three cubits thick. How we live so completely in the midst of death! Therefore it is a very heavy lament in Job (Cap. 14, 1.), in which he describes man: "Man, born of woman, lives a short time, and is full of restlessness."

#### 41. a different.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 3, 1538, p. 106.)

This year is a terrible, dangerous year, quite a spiteful year, bringing many very serious illnesses; perhaps naturally because of the comets and the conjunction of Saturn and Mars; but spiritually because of the endless sins of men. Well, it is nothing with this life; we do not want to attribute anything to it and believe in God, who gives eternal life. Give us one blessed hour, and we will have been here.

#### 42. question.

Why do men not so easily accept the doctrine and knowledge of outward respectability and discipline, which are naturally planted and written in the heart of all, such as: Honor thy parents; as those which stand alone in the mind, namely, that twice four are eighth? Answer: The fault is that our nature is completely corrupted and insane through original sin; our understanding and knowledge are so darkened that we do not see and recognize properly, much less do what is naturally innate in us.

#### 43. difference of the animals.

(Cordatus No. 1055.)

All wild animals live under the law, for they fear men and are afraid at the sight of them, and men are like dogs to wild animals. But the tamed animals, which have white flesh, are animals of grace, live with men and are apes of them. But man without doctrine is neither a wild beast under the law, nor a beast under grace.

### What a being and sense would have been in paradise.

There were [on February 26, 1538] 1) at D. Martin's M. Spalatinus and the pastor of Zwickau, M. Leonhard Beier. Leonhard Beier were at the table: there the doctor joked nicely with his son Martinichen, who wanted to defend his family honestly, dress them honestly and love them; he said: So we would have been in paradise, bad, simple, sincere, without all malice and hypocrisy, and would have been right serious, as this child speaks of God, and is certain of it.

That is why such natural jokes and jests are the very best for children, they are the sweetest little fools. Assumed jokes and jesting at the old do not have such grace, do not plead and do not please so well: because what is colored and composed, that denies favor, does not stick and makes less air than that which comes naturally from the heart. That is why the little children are the finest play birds, who speak and do everything simply, from the heart and naturally. Claus Narr was such a one, who hoarded in his boots, and when he was accused, he apologized [to the councilor Pfeffinger] 2) and said: The mice had done it.

#### 45. adam's case.

D. Martin said about the miserable and sad case of Adam, that he had fallen from the state of innocence into misery and unhappiness with all his descendants, as we see and experience: Oh, he has, he said, led a miserable miserable life for the nine hundred years, for in all dying men he has seen God's wrath.

#### 46. question.

(Contained in Cap. 3, § 7, at the beginning.)

#### 47 Adam's heartache after the fall.

Adam will have had a great unspeakable heartache and sorrow, after he had lost the righteousness in which he was created by God.

1) Thus the Hall manuscript. Bindseil I, 249.

2) Hall manuscript. Bindseil I, 250.

He must also have lost a lot of weight in his body because of great worry and fear in his heart. I believe that before, he would have been able to see over a thousand miles as far and as brightly as we can see half a mile now, and thus with the other senses as well. He will no doubt have said after the fall: Oh God, what has happened to me? I have become blind and deaf: where have I been? I have no doubt that this is what happened to him, and it happened that way. It is a terrible case. Before, he saw that all creatures were obedient to him, that he had also played with the snake. Our eyes and ears are almost dead, we do not see and hear well. We will not eat ham there, we must become more beautiful again than Adam was; but childbearing and childbearing will cease.

#### 48 On the miserable state of human life.

Doctor Martin Luther said in Eisleben in 1546: "Oh, how poor we are, we earn our living by sinning. For when we reach the seventh year, we do nothing but eat, drink, play and sleep: from the eighth year we go to school for about three or four hours a day. After that, from that time until the twenty-first year, we do all kinds of hard work, playing, running, going to the bar, and so on, and then we start to do some work. When we reach the age of fifty, we have worked hard and become children again, eat our bread with sins, and work so that we can give other people work to do. When we reach the age of twenty, we first begin to work, and work for ten years, after which we sleep the rest of the time. Half of our lives we sleep, so that hardly five years remain for work, or even three years. Vix decimam partem nostrae vitae we work: the ninth part of our life we eat, drink, sleep and walk idly. Fie on us, we do not give God the decimas. Ah! what do we want with our good works to please God?"

How can we earn our money or be proud of our good works? Job says Cap. 9, 2. 3.: Si Deus volet contendere mecum, non potero ei respondere. What have I done here today? I crapped for two hours, ate for three hours and then walked idly for four hours. Alas! Domine, ne intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, Ps. 143, 2.

#### 49. of the short life of people.

(This § is contained in the report of D. Just. Jonas and Mag. Cölius on Luther's demise. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 283-, ä 10.)

#### 50. human life a poor life.

(Cordatus No. 509.)

It is a very miserable life when someone is plagued by his dearest friends, like David by Absalon, Job by his wife 2c. Thus, the lovers are the most miserable martyrs that the devil leads on the fool's rope. In short, human life is a nonsense. For as long as we are children, we are plagued by childish infirmities; as youths, we are mad with love affairs, and after that, other and other infirmities break in, until, having become men, we become servants of mammon, servants of money.

#### 51. a different.

(Cordatus No. 858.)

We eat ourselves to death, drink ourselves to death, sleep ourselves to death, grasp ourselves to death, shit ourselves to death. This is what we are now experiencing with dysentery. Therefore, how good a reason do we have to be proud?

#### 52. a different one from human misery.

(Contained in Cap. 48, § 38.)

#### 53. of the human skin under the eyes.

(Cordatus No. 847.)

There is no more delicate skin on people than under the eyes, and yet none suffers more.

#### 54. of children and the same life.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 17, 1538, p. 114.)

On August 17, he heard the quarreling and bickering of his children, and when soon after he perceived

when they were reconciled again, he said: "Dear Lord God, how pleasing to you are the life and play of such children! Yes, all their sins are nothing but forgiveness of sins.

#### 55. a different.

He saw the simplicity of his children, and praised their innocence, that they were much more learned in faith than we old fools, for they believed most simply-mindedly, without all disputation and doubt, that God was merciful, and that after this life there was eternal life. How good it is for the children who die in such a time! Although it would be a great sorrow to my heart, because a piece of my body and a part of my mother's body would die, which natural love and affections do not cease even in godly and righteous Christians, so that they would not accept it or let themselves be moved, or would not go to their hearts, if it were to happen to them, their children or their mother.

The people of the world are not evil to the relatives whom they love, like the stubborn and hardened heads and sticks. For such movements and inclinations are works of divine creation, which God has naturally implanted in a human being, and are not evil in themselves. The children live finely simple, pure, without offence and hindrance of reason in faith; as Ambrose says: "There is a lack of reason, but not of faith.

#### 56. We must become like children before our Lord God.

(Lauterbach, Sept. 30, 1538. p. 137.)

Last September he saw his little children sitting at the table and said: Christ says Matth. 18, 3: "Unless you turn around and become like children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven". Where did you command that a wise man should follow foolish children? How can our Lord God stand with His judgment and righteousness, which Paul so praises: God's righteousness, God's righteousness? Is this righteousness, that thou shouldst reject the prudent and accept the foolish? It is said here: Faith

God's words. Give in, our Lord God has purer thoughts than we have. He must therefore deburr us (as the gushers speak). He must cut away the coarse branches and chips from us before he makes such children and fools out of us.

Behold, how fine pure thoughts the children have, how they look at heaven and death without any doubt. They are in paradise, as it were, and the children who become heroes always have wonderful gifts.

#### **57. another one of little children.**

(Cordatus No. 639.)

My son, Johannes Luther, sat at the table and once said seriously that the highest joy in heaven is in Estonia, dancing 2c. There is a river flowing with milk, and the bread rolls grow by themselves. This life of the children is the very happiest, because it has no worldly worries, does not see the strange happenings in the church, nor suffers the horrors of death or future infirmities, but the children have only good thoughts.

#### **58. a different.**

(Cordatus No. 399 and No. 1542.)

The children have such fine thoughts about God, that he is in heaven, that he is their God; and as he held his little son Martin in his arms, he added: "I wish that I had died in this child's age, and I wanted to give it all the honor and good that I have and may come over in the world.

When he had taken the child to himself and it defiled him, he said: Oh, our Lord God must suffer much greater stench from men than father and mother from their children.

#### **59. a different from children.**

He, Doctor Martin, was watching how his little child of three years was playing and slurring with himself; then he said, "This child is like a drunkard, does not know that it is alive, lives along quite safely and happily, jumps and leaps. And such children like to be in large wide rooms and dwellings, where they have space.

#### **60: Parents' songs against their children.** (Cordatus No. 948. 949.)

It is a wonderful grace that the youngest children are always the dearest to parents. My youngest child is my greatest treasure. And this affection for them is necessary because they need the greatest care. Those who have begun to speak can already take care of themselves in some way. The little children mainly need our care. From this can be understood the heart throbbing of Abraham when he went to kill his only son 2c. He will not have told Sarah about it. I would truly dispute with God if he would present such a thing to me.

According to the judgment of reason, God was more fatherly toward Caiphas, Pilate 2c., than toward His only Son, whom He had so miserably murdered.

#### **61. Cain Adam's favorite child.**

(Cordatus No. 1255.)

Dear God, how will Adam have loved Cain so much, namely his son born to him first, and this one, thanking the father for it, became a murderer. Fie on you!

#### **62. a different.**

Grandparents love their children's children and nephews much more than their own children produced by their bodies. But the chickens, dogs and other unreasonable animals soon forget their young. And such love is an indication of immortality, because they have a hope of future resurrection and eternal life.

#### **The parents' and the authorities' power is different.**

(Cordatus No. 1038. 1039.)

Parents guard and restrain their children with greater care than the authorities do their subjects. That is why Moses says, "Have I begotten you?" For the parents have a natural, self-originated dominion over the children, a self-grown dominion, but those [the authorities] have a drawn and forced, a made dominion.

Where father and mother can no longer, the executioner must execute and avenge. And the authorities are the guardians of the fourth commandment, like the cat over the mice. Therefore, their dignity is greater, but the reverence for parents must be greater, because they are the source and origin of the fourth commandment.

#### **The children's discipline and punishment is necessary.**

Martin Luther did not want to accept his son John again for three days, although he had humbly asked in writing and his mother, D. Jonas, D. Cruciger and Philippus interceded for him, 1) and said: I would rather have a dead son than a naughty son. St. Paul did not say in vain in 1 Tim. 3:4 that "a bishop should be such a man as presides well over his household and has well-bred children," so that other people, being edified by it, may take a good example and not be offended. We preachers are therefore set so high that we should give others a good example, but our ill-bred children offend others, so the boys want to sin on our privileges. Yes, even if they often sin and do all kinds of mischief, I do not find out about it; they do not show it to me, but keep it secret from me. And let us follow the common saying: What evil happens in our own houses, we learn at the very last; when all the people have carried it through all the streets, then we learn it only. Therefore we must punish him and not look through his fingers, nor let him go unpunished.

#### **65. question.**

Whether a son, if he knew that his father wanted to betray a city or country, or do great harm and wrong to another, should report it to the authorities? Answer D. Mart: The son is not obligated to be obedient to the father, to do something against God and to sin. However, he may remind and admonish the father to desist from it and not to do it, if not, he would do it.

1) The improvement in the beginning of this § is according to the Hall manuscript. Bindseil I, 253,

He must report it to the authorities, because otherwise he would silently consent to his father's actions and would share in them, even at his own risk. As if I saw that my father wanted to kill and murder someone, I should lie down between them and defend myself.

But how, if either the son had to kill the father or have the fatherland betrayed, how should he behave here? Answer: The son should by no means kill the father in any way, but rather command the fatherland to our Lord God and let him rule, who can well preserve and protect the fatherland. For if I were to kill my father, I would not be able to desecrate the fatherland. Why should I then kill and murder the certain father for the sake of the uncertain salvation of the fatherland? We must command our Lord God and dare to do it.

#### **66. the custom of the goods is the most important.**

Since M. Philipp Melanchthon said that a rich citizen of Leipzig, Simon Leubel, had sold a large, beautiful, funny, well-built house 2), D. Martinus answered: It is not a matter of making the heirs rich, but it is most important that the heirs can send themselves into it and use God's blessing properly. And we parents are great fools, that we let it become blood sour to us, work day and night, that we leave much good to our children; but to train and instruct them in the fear of God, good discipline and respectability, there we are very negligent. It is a wicked, wrong way.

#### **The children shall suffer the infirmities of their parents.**

When M. Antonius Lauterbach's father-in-law came to the doctor, he asked the son-in-law in particular how he got along with his father-in-law and what kind of agreement they had. And he seriously admonished him that he wanted to hold him in honor as a father,

2) The word "sold" is added from Bindseil I, 254.

3) Thus the Hall manuscript. Bindseil I, 254.

and not take revenge for being foolish and whimsical. The children were trembling, but after that they were delivered again by common prayer. Otherwise, he would have to suffer and bear the curse of his wickedness and wickedness forbidden by God; God would bless him if he suffered and endured such things.

#### 68 Whether a father may disinherit his disobedient child.

Hans Weller, a citizen of Freiberg, 1) asked D. Martin for advice: Whether he also had the power to disinherit his disobedient, ill-bred son? He answered and said: "Yes, of course, because that is in his father's power and authority; as the old Chremes says in the Terentio: "Should I give my goods to the brat Bachidi? God decrees through Moses that disobedient children shall be stoned, not made heirless. Therefore the father should disinherit him, but with the reservation that if he would mend his ways, it would follow him again.

#### 69. why the first parents ate only fruit.

Answer: What were they allowed to do with the other food, since the herbs tasted so good and had such power? The pomegranates and bitter orange must have smelled so good that one might have been healed by the smell; but the flood of sin has spoiled everything. It does not follow: God created it all, therefore one must eat it all. The fruits were created primarily to be food for men and animals. The other things were created to praise God. So, the stars, what do they serve but to praise God, their Creator? What do the ravens and crows serve now? and yet they honor God.

#### 70. the parents curse.

A wicked, ill-behaved son cut off two of his father's fingers, and the father wished him to lie in the Elbe. This happened, because the son drowned the same day in the Elbe. So I read in the Augustino that when mothers curse their children

1) Thus the Hall manuscript. Bindseil I, 254.

#### The disobedient children are punished by God.

When D. Jonas said: The curse, which God has put on disobedient children, would have come true on M. Luther's blood friends, because he would always be sick and weak; D. Martinus answered: It is the deserved reward of disobedience: he once killed and enraged me, 3) that I lost all strength in my body and became completely powerless, 4) he must pay for that. He taught me the text of Paul, about the murderers of parents, 1 Tim. 1, 9. who kill their parents, not with the sword, but with disobedience; but they do not live long, nor do they prosper. This will also happen to the boy. Dear God, how wicked is the world, how terrible are the times of which St. Paul says, when there is no hope of repentance! And Christ says Luc. 18, 8: "Do you think that when the Son of Man comes, he will find faith and love? Oh, who would have died!

#### 72. hanging on and letting the children have their way corrupts them.

Anno 39. 21. Februarii saw D. Martinus saw a boy who was without all morals, rough and wild, but otherwise of a good nature and manner; then he sighed and said: "Oh, what do you do, how children are corrupted if you let them have their way and do not punish them! Sir. 30, 7. ff. Therefore I will not let anything be good to my little house; I will not joke with it as much as with my daughter.

Abraham has a delicious glory from God, since the Lord praises him thus, Gen. 18, 17: "Can I also hide something from Abraham? For I know that he will teach his sons and his household what I have commanded" 2c. Oh Lord God, how few are such fathers under the sun! Therefore it is also evil in the world.

2) Probably Luther's brother's son, Martin Luther, son of Jakob Luther in Mansfeld, who studied in Wittenberg since April 1539. (Förstemann I, 205.)

3) Thus the Hall manuscript. Bindseil I, 256.

4) In the editions: mattlos. (Förstemann.)



**73. another: No father shall hand over his good to his children at his life.**

One 1) was with D. Martino and complained of his misery, that he was abandoned and trampled underfoot by his children, whom he had endowed and honestly gifted, indeed, had turned all his goods over to them; then the doctor said: Jesus Sirach gives the best advice to parents, since he says: Do not give everything out of your hand, because you live, because the children do not keep faith. A father (as the saying goes) can feed ten children, but ten children cannot feed a father. 2) That is why in the old days people preached against ungrateful children, about a father who had made his will, which he secretly locked in a box, and put a note with it together with a club, with these words: Whichever father gives his own out of his power shall soon be beaten to death with a club.

Thus it was said of a father who had divided all his goods among his children, that they should feed and maintain him with them all his life; but the children paid no attention to him. When he had been with one child for eight days, he told him to go to the other child and eat with him. Once the father came to the son-in-law, who was sitting and eating from a goose; when he saw his father, he hid it and put it under the table. When the father went away and the son wanted to bring the goose out again, a toad had grown out of it, which jumped under the son's face and ate around him, so that he could not get rid of it, it stuck to him so hard, until it devoured everything on him, without stopping, and could not get full or satisfied, so that he died of it.

They set such examples so that one might see how severely God punishes the children's ingratitude toward their parents, for the disobedience and ingratitude of the youth is exceedingly great. They gladly take what their parents have earned with their hard work, blood and sweat, but they do not want to take it.

not to nourish them again, since the parents make it so hard for them day and night, that they make the children rich and leave them much, at the risk of life and limb, and then they are so despised.

Alas! the world is evil, soon starts in youth and bloom, therefore God has given the fourth commandment and commanded with great diligence and seriousness: "Honor your father and your mother" 2c., also keeps hard about it. But the Pope, the Antichrist, with his traditions, has dissolved this commandment of God and trampled it underfoot.

**74. a different.**

(Cordatus No. 872.)

It seems that old parents who have given their property to their children and are faithlessly abandoned by them should be advised to do as that wise old man did who was treated contemptuously by his son. For he borrowed money from his neighbor and, shut up in his apartment, he anxiously counted it, and then was kept better. But when death approached, he gave it back to his neighbor, not to his son.

**The children's unequal nature and nature.**

D. M. Luther looked at his children and saw that they were of different natures and kinds, he marveled at God's work and creatures, and said: "Just as the kinds are different, so are the gifts different; indeed, one person is different from another, one has more happiness or unhappiness than another. Therefore, one should look only to God, the Creator and Founder, trust Him and call upon Him.

**76. from Weibern.**

When D. Martin smeared his wife because of the paralysis of her legs, he said: "Some women were smeared, but you smeared me. For the word in Latin, uxor, woman, comes from lubricate, ab unguendo. For when the Gentiles saw that the marriage state had many obstacles and great danger, against all such misfortunes they smeared the posts of the new brides.

3) "The" put in by us.

1) Claus Bildenhauer. Bindseil I, 257.

2) This saying also in Lauterbach, p. 31.

Item: When women accept the teaching of the gospel, they are much stronger and more fervent in the faith, much harder and more rigid about it than men; as is seen in dear Anastasia, and Magdalene was more hearty than Peter. John 20.

**77. women should not be eloquent.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 4, 1538, p. 156.)

An Englishman, a learned man, was sitting at the table, but did not understand the German language. Luther said: "I propose my wife to you as a teacher of the German language, for she is very eloquent, she can do it so well that she far surpasses me. But eloquence is not to be praised in women; that they lisp and stammer, that suits them better.

**78. that which is evil to women.**

There is no skirt or dress that looks worse on a woman or virgin than when she wants to be smart.

**79. long hair is a woman's ornament.**

Hair is a woman's best adornment, which is why virgins used to walk in hair and have it beaten into the field when triumphing or mourning and suffering. A fine spectacle is to be seen and suits women very well when they have beaten their hair into the field.

**80. breast milk and female breasts.**

(The first two paragraphs of this § in Lauterbach, Nov. 14, 1538, p. 166.)

Afterwards they spoke of the power of mother's milk, that it nourished the best. Yes, even calves thrive better on milk than on any other food. So also the children become stronger, which are suckled for a long time. The Swiss, when they are almost grown up, should run to the cows to suckle.

Then they spoke of the breasts, which would be the adornment of a woman if they were proportioned, because large fleshy breasts were not good, promised much, but produced little. Nerve-rich breasts, however, even if they were small, even in very small women, were very productive, so that they could nurse several children.

At another time, Luther said: "Mother's milk is the best, and the children the healthiest, because they are used to it in the womb. And if the children have rough nurses, the children also take after them, as experience shows. Therefore it is unkind and unnatural for a mother not to nurse her child, for God has given her breasts and milk for this purpose. For the sake of the child, God has given her breasts and milk for this purpose, unless she is unable to nurse, in which case necessity breaks iron, as they say.

**81. men, women.**

(Contained in Cap. 43, Z75.)

**82. what they were created for.**

God created man and woman: the woman to multiply and bear children; the man to nourish and protect. But the world turns it around, abuses the women to fornication, the men's protection to tyranny. Women lack the strength and power of the body and the mind. The lack of strength of the body is to be tolerated, for men are to feed them. The lack of understanding we should wish for them, but we should bear their manners and ways with reason, govern them and keep them a little too well; as St. Peter teaches: "Husbands, dwell with your wives with reason, and give honor to the female, as the weakest instrument, as joint heirs of the grace of life" 2c., 1 Petr. 3, 7.

**Another of the women for whom they were created.**

The Holy Spirit praises the women, as, Judith, Esther, Sara 2c., and among the Gentiles are praised Lucretia, Artemisia. Marriage cannot be without women, nor can the world exist. To be married is a remedy for fornication, which controls it to some extent; for flesh and blood remains unclean for all its kind, until one strikes it with shovels. A woman is a kind, pleasant, and pleasant companion of life. Women bear children and raise them, rule the house and distribute properly what a man brings in and brings about, so that it may be used for counsel.

and not to be useless, but that each one may be given what is due to him. Therefore, they are also called by the Holy Spirit household honor, ornament and adornment of the house: they are inclined to mercy, because they are created by God for this purpose, that they should bear children, be men's delight and joy and be merciful.

#### **The greatest people are wrong.**

Adam missed Cain 1), because he thought he would be the man who would help the human race again and would crush the head of the snake. Isaac lacked Esau, Jacob lacked Reuben, Joseph lacked Manasseh 2c. All of them fared differently than they had meant. Joseph alone is called a son, whom Jacob begat in his old age, since he begat others after him. But I think it is because Rachel said, when she saw that he was now old, that he would never take a wife again.

#### **85. children stand best with GOD.**

The children's faith and life is best, because they have only the word, they stick to it, and give God fine simple honor that he is true, consider certain what he promised and promised. We old fools, however, have heartache and infernal fire, and still dispute long about the word, which they, the little children, believe badly with pure faith, without dispute. And finally, if we want to be saved in any other way, we must give ourselves to their word alone, according to their example, as Christ says, and with a high oath he prays, saying, "Truly I say to you, unless you turn and become like children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven, Matth. 18, 3. It is one of the devil's tricks, even deceitfulness, that we let ourselves be led away from the word by other business and dealings; thinking that we are more interested in them than in God's word (in which all our welfare and salvation, temporal and eternal, stand), hearing, reading and contemplating. Sometimes it also happens unknowingly that we do not think about it.

1) Cf. § 9 of this Cap.

remember that so much is at stake. We are truly poor people, so it is best that we die soon and are protected.

(The following at Cordatus No. 689.)

Luther said to his little child: "You are our Lord's fool. You are under grace and forgiveness of sins and fear nothing under the law. However you do it, it is undefiled; you are in grace and have forgiveness of sins, so be it.

#### **Women should not be in charge.**

The wives of the greatest lords, as kings and princes, are in no regiment, but only the men. For God says to the woman: "You shall be subject to the man" 2c., Gen. 3, 16. The man has the rule in the house, unless he is a verbum anomalum, that is, a fool, or that he pleases the woman out of love and lets her rule, as sometimes the master follows the servant's advice. Otherwise, and without that, the woman shall put on the veil; as a pious woman is obliged to help her husband bear accidents, sickness and misfortune, because of the evil flesh. The law takes wisdom and government from women. This is what St. Paul saw in 1 Cor. 7:10, where he says: "I command, not I, but the Lord", and 1 Tim. 2:12: "I do not permit a woman to teach" 2c.

#### **87. Children are God's gift.**

(Cordatus No. 568.)

As he was playing with his little child, he said: Oh, the best blessing of God, the best peasants are not worthy, they shall have sows.

#### **Man is made of dung.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 13, 1538, p. 28.)

That day he had bathed, and after supper he washed his hands, saying, How is the water so unclean after the bath? Yea, I have forgotten that skin and flesh are of filth; as the scripture saith, Thou art dust and ashes. Why are you proud, O man? [Gen. 3:19.]

**89. of the increase of fish.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 13, 1538, p. 28.)

After that, when he saw that there were fish on the table, he spoke a lot about divine power in procreation, especially in the waters and in the sea, where one fish produced many thousands, as the roe shows. One fishes every day in the Elbe, and yet it is full of fish. It is unbelievable how the fish multiply and breed, mostly in the sea; for it is said that the ocean at Antorff 1) brings a new kind of fish every four weeks.

**90. the youth bursts forth.**

A young person is like a new must that cannot be held, must ferment and overflow, always wants to be seen and be something in front of others, cannot hold himself in.

**Adam did not eat bread.**

When pears and apples were brought to the table, Luther said: "If Adam had not sinned, there would have been no need for bread, we would have needed only fruit. Then one asked: Why Christ would have eaten after the resurrection? He answered, "Christ did not eat because of need or hunger, but so that he might prove and testify that he was Christ and truly resurrected.

**92. a different.**

(Cordatus No. 1563.)

When his little son pressed the dog and the dog suffered it, he said: This is according to the will of God, who commanded that the fish and other animals should obey man.

**93. thoughts of all the wicked.**

These are the thoughts of the Pope and all philosophers: If I am pious, I have a gracious God, if not, there is no God 2c. This means to make oneself God. But I cannot think how a man should feel who does not seriously believe that there is a God, since he sees the sun rise every day 2c. He must ever until-

He must remember them and think whether they have been eternal, or he must put his eyes into dung like swine: for to look at creatures and not think whether there is someone who drives, governs and sustains them is incredible.

**94) Whether the languages and good arts and other natural gifts are also useful.****to theologia, and to understand the sacred Scriptures.**

(Contained in Cap. 13, § 19.)

**Whether the light of reason also serves theology.**

(Contained in Cap. 13, § 19.)

**God gives many goods to the wicked here, but much more to the godly.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 92.)

**We do not recognize God's creatures.**

When Luther's table was disputed as to how sweet the dew was, Luther answered: "I would never have believed it if the Holy Scripture had not praised the dew itself, since God says Deut. 28:12: Dabo tibi de Rore caeli: "I will give you of the dew of heaven. Alas! Creatura is a beautiful thing: if we are to believe Creationem, tum balbutimus et blaesi sumus, and say Cledo for Cledo, as a child speaks, Lemmel for Semmel. The words are strong, but the heart speaks, Cledo; sed per hoc salvamur, quia cupimus credere. Ah, our Lord God knows well that we are poor little children, if only we would recognize it. The apostles themselves say: Domine, adauge nobis fidem, Luc. 17, 5. But we are all wiser than our Lord God; yes, I myself am also so wise. We cannot understand, nisi per Filium, id est, Christum. This is all his preaching, that he says: Per me, per me, per me, you cannot do it, if you tear yourselves apart; through the Son we are brought to the Father. Therefore, if we only believed that our Lord God was wiser than we, we would already be helped.

1) Antorff is Antwerp.

## Chapter 4.

### Of the world and its kind.

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- The people do not use their goods with joy because of avarice. Wealth makes people hopeful and stingy.  
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 125. from borrowing.  
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 The world always wants something new, soon gets tired of one thing.

### 1. the godless nature of the world.

(Cordatus No. 54, and No. 68 to: "eject".)

The world does not want to have God as God, nor the devil as the devil. Therefore, it is forced to have its governors, the pope and the authorities. - If it were not for God's forgiveness of sins, I would gladly (after all that I am by nature) throw God out through the window; for the world does not respect God at all. As the Psalm also says: Dixit Impius in corde suo, non est Deus. Ps. 14, 1. On the other hand, God is wealth and pleasure to the world, so that it drives its pride and hope and misuses all creatures and gifts of God. Some years ago, a beautiful play and picture was played and seen in Antorf 1), where Antorf was finely painted and paraded around the city as a spectacle on a chariot, and this title or name was written above the city: Antorf a queen of the world. And on one side of the city stood Neptunus, a god of the sea, who brought and gave her great treasures. On the other side Mercurius, the merchants' god, offered her many gifts and goods. This let me be quite a conterfei and kind of the world, in which nothing else is, but contempt of God, pride and court.

The monks used to boast much about the contempt of the world, and helped themselves with the saying of St. Paul to the Romans in the 12th chapter, v. 2, where he says: "Do not put yourselves in the likeness of this world. For this reason, they did not want to attack money as if it were against God,

1) d. i. Antwerp.

The use of wealth, money and goods: since St. Paul and the whole of the Holy Scriptures only describe the abuse, the evil lusts, desires and movements of the heart, such as ambition, fornication, revenge, which the world indulges in and is even flooded with.

### 2. the insatiability of the human heart, and yet it soon tires of a thing.

D. Martin said: "He who is now a prince would like to be a king or an emperor. A man who loves a virgin is always thinking how he would like to get her in marriage, and in his eyes none is more beautiful than she. When he has gotten her, he soon tires of her and thinks that another is much more beautiful, whom he could have gotten. So a poor man thinks: If I had a hundred thalers, I would be the richest of all; but when he gets her, he wants to have even more. The heart does not remain constant on a thing, the pagans have also had *ab experientia*, and said: *Virtutem praesentem odimus, sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi*. And said Anno 1542 D. Luther then said: When Lucas Cranach, the older painter, had taken his wife and the wedding had taken place, he would always have wanted to be the closest to the bride. He had a good friend who stopped him for a while and said: "Dear, don't do that; before half a year has passed, you will have enough, and there will be no maid in the house; you will prefer her to your wife. And it is so. For *praesentia odimus*,

absentia amamus. Of it also Ovidius says: Quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet, acrius urit. This is imbecillitas nostrae naturae, quod caro praesens bonum non agnoscere potest, sed solus Spiritus agnoscit. So then the devil also comes to it, and throws in the way odia, suspiciones and evil concupiscentias on both sides; hence then comes the running away in matrimony. Therefore a wife is soon taken, but to love her always is donum Dei, and one may well thank our Lord God for it. Therefore, if anyone wants to take a wife, let him be serious, ask God for a pious wife, and say: Dear Lord God, if it is your divine will that I should live without a wife, help me; if not, provide me with a pious husband or wife, with whom I will spend my life, whom I love, and she me again. For copula carnalis does not do it, it must be there, ut convenient mores et ingenium.

**The world cannot bear good days.** (Cordatus No. 693 and No. 696.)

The world can bear nothing less than happiness. It cannot use good days, it has too weak legs, it becomes arrogant through happiness and despairs in misfortune. Christ alone was able to bear both. Whatever you may do to heal the world is in vain, it is baptism and Chresem [bise] lost. So God says in Hosea, Cap. 6, [5.], he has planed them. They face now and as two thousand years ago, because now God's word falls in similar times. Nowadays we have the same argument with the seventh chapter of John, where they said [v. 48]: "Does any ruler or Pharisee believe in him?" So nowadays the bishops and princes of the Lutheran doctrine, Isa. 2. believe, it agrees with the counsels of our time.

The nature of the opponents of the Word of God is not human, but diabolical. A man does as much as a man can do, but a man possessed by the devil is moved by truly diabolical enmity, and this becomes of such a kind as that between the serpent and the woman, Gen. 3:15. In short, the first table has devils against it, but the second has men against it.

#### 4. useless people.

In the garden Luther said: "If the useless people all had to die, we would have to become useless, because the devil must have useless servants. Therefore, let them live, because God grants them life. He said this about useless courtiers and other people.

#### 5. ingratitude of the world for the gospel.

1) The thanksgiving that the world gives for the teaching of the gospel is the same as that which it gave to Christ, namely the cross.

#### 6. a different.

When someone complained about the great ingratitude of the people, D. M. Luther said. M. Luther: This year is a year of ingratitude, but the future and the following will be a year of vengeance. There is no end to it, God must also punish against His will, nature and kind, we will overtake it, Is. 1.

#### 7. human misery.

(Contained in Cap. 48, § 38.)

#### 8. people kind with food.

We have all tyrannical animals kind at us with food: the wolf eats sheep, we also; the fox chickens, geese, we also; hawks and vultures eat birds, we also; pikes eat fish, we also. With the oxen, horses, cows we also eat grass; with the pigs we eat dung and dirt, but inside everything becomes dirt.

#### 9. what people are.

We are a wicked traveling possession: we want to believe that God will certainly be merciful to us because He has given us His Son, otherwise it is all over and in vain with us.

#### 10. why God created the world.

God might have left the world uncreated, but He created it so that He might give His

1) Cf. cap. 2, § 14.

Honor and power berveisete. One shall not ask our Lord God, quare hoc facis? Why are you doing this? We should do what we are commanded to do, and after that we should not ask: Quare? Why? We must come to the conclusion that our Lord God is more pious than we are.

#### 11. where good and evil come from.

What is good is from God, what is evil is from the devil. Man needs good and courage against God, more than for His praise, therefore "a man's friends are his greatest enemies", Matth. 10, 36.

#### 12. the world.

The world does not understand what God's word means, nor do they all want to be evangelical. Now it is said, multi vocati, sed pauci electi: "Many are called, but few are chosen", Matth. 20, 16.

#### Why the pagans so beautifully written thing of death.

I am often surprised, said D. M. Luther, what moved the pagans to write such beautiful things about death, because it is so cruel, horrible and ugly? But when I think of the world, it does not surprise me at all, because they have had to see among themselves many bad things from their authorities, which have hurt them, have been able to punish them with nothing else but death.

If the pagans held death in such low esteem, yes, so honestly and highly: how much more should we Christians do so! For the poor people knew less than nothing of eternal life; but we know it, nor do we fear, and are so sore afraid, when we are told of death. Well, these are our sins, and we must confess that we live worse than the heathen; therefore we are not wronged. For the greater the sin, the more cruel is death. This is seen in people who have acted against God's commandment and are to die, or that they are told about the last day, how they tremble and rage, even though they are fresh and healthy. We are such herbs.

#### 14 Doctor Martin Luther's thoughts of the world while he was still in the cap.

Since I was in the cap and first began to write, I would not have thought that in the world the devil plagued people so violently. I thought we had the devil only in the monasteries. And it is also possible, because the monks have taken over the world, that the devils have gone into the nobility and peasants; quia multum peccant in rempublicam, they spoil the country and the people, do great harm.

#### 15. glittering handsome rathgeber.

(Contained in Cap. 66, § 58.)

**God always wants to reform the world.** (Lauterbach, Nov. 20, 1538, p. 175.)

Then he spoke of the great foolish folly of men, that we poor people want to judge from God's word, which we should obey, as if the tile wanted to teach the potter how to make it and how many fingers he should use. So we want to set ourselves against God, the wretched creature against the Creator. It says (Matth. 17, 5.): "This (Christ) you shall hear"; and Ps. 45, 11.: "Hear, daughter, look upon it, and incline your ears; forget your people, and your father's house." Yes, if Adam had not fallen, still we would have judged ourselves by the Word alone; and now in such fall and darkness will we despise it. That is why the papal church is the most foolish, which is founded only on the outward discipline of reason, without God's word, with the outward childish antics, to which our salvation should be bound. If only there had been such things, which concern good manners and law.

#### The world is unruly, and does not govern itself.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 20, 1538, p. 176.)

The world is not governed by laws and rules, but irregularly [anomalo], like the irregular verb Sum, es, est, eram, fui. There is no regular sequence. Fero, tuli. There are defectives. This has no praeteritum, supina 2c., like the booklet



"Bellum grammaticale" indicates where the noun and the verb are the two generals; the noun has the pronoun, the verb has the adverbium, the participium goes to both; the preposition and interjection serve both. So it goes also in the world, where cannot be governed with laws. For one must let Sum, es, est remain and not make Sum, sus, sut out of it, because it is an idiosyncratic verb in grammar.

### 18. what is world.

(Contained in Cap. 4, 61, para. 1.)

### 19. three degrees of people.

People are of three kinds. The first are the great multitude who live safely without conscience, do not recognize their corrupt nature and kind, do not feel God's wrath against sin, do not ask anything about it. The other group is those who are terrified by the law, feel God's wrath and flee from it, fight and struggle with despair; like Saul. The third group is those who recognize their sin and God's wrath, and feel that they were conceived and born in sin, and therefore must be eternally damned and lost. But when they hear the preaching of the Gospel, that God forgives sin by grace, for the sake of Christ, who was sufficient for us to the Father, they accept it and believe it, and thus become righteous and blessed in the sight of God. Then they prove their faith with all kinds of good works, as fruits that God has commanded. The other two groups go there.

### 20. the ingratitude of the peasants.

(Cordatus No. 700.)

When I said: The farmers are not worthy of such an abundance of goods and the fruits of the earth; I thank our Lord God more for one tree and shrub than they do for all their fields and forests, Philip said: "Doctor, take out some farmers, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac. I answer that these were not only farmers and husbandmen, but also theologians; for the Scripture says [Gen. 24:63] that Isaac went into his field to signify the gifts of God and the creatures that are perceived in the field.

### 21. the will of the world.

The world wants to have night owls, that is, gangs and superstitious; birds fly to them, that is, the world marvels at them, accepts them with great honor, gives them money and good enough.

### 22. world do not believe that everything that is good comes from God, and his creature and

order.

(Cordatus No. 290.)

That marriage is a marriage, the hand is a hand, and goods are goods, all men understand and believe well. But to believe that marriage is God's order, that hands are God's creation, that the food I eat is given to me by God, and that everything else is created for my benefit, that is not man's work, but God's work in man.

### God is more learned and wiser than the whole world.

(Cordatus No. 690, 691.)

Erasmus, Oekolampad, Zwingli, Carlstadt want to measure everything according to their wisdom and thus become disgraces; but I thank [God] that I know and believe that God knows more than I do. He can do something higher than I can understand, because He can make visible things out of invisible things, because everything that He is doing now through the power of the Gospel makes visible things out of invisible things. Who would have expected this outcome ten years ago? But the flesh is very godless.

God forgives our sins for free, but also adds punishment [ultionem] and threats: "If you do not believe, you will die" [John 8:24]. Before believing this and accepting it for nothing, we torture ourselves to death, preferring to go to St. James in a whole suit of armor [kurus] 1). Summa, for the world

1) In all editions "Küris", i.e. armor, armor, which gives a very appropriate sense, namely that the pilgrimage to Compostella is made a torturous one "by" walking there in full armor. For the word, compare Luther's Werke, Wittv. Ausg., Bd. 7, Fol. 148 a: "a reitsigen Kürisser", which means there without doubt a harnischten Reitersmann. According to Dr. Wrampelmeyer, Kuruß should stand for drorus,

belongs not truth and life, but lies and murder; the former is dealt with by the pope, the latter by the Turk.

#### 24. ingratitude.

When young chickens were roasted on the table, Doct. Martin Luther to M. Nicolao Hausmann: There you see the treasures and desire of the farmers, which they do not recognize that they come from God and are given, do not thank him for it.

#### 25. a different.

In the pestilence here no farmer wanted to bring in wood, eggs, butter, cheese, grain 2c., so we had to suffer two for one plague, as pestilence and hunger; but if they had it outside, we had to pick it up from them.

#### 26. inconstancy of human heart.

Man's heart is like mercury, which is now here, soon elsewhere: today one thing, tomorrow another. Therefore it is a poor thing and vanity, as Ecclesiastes, the preacher of Solomon, says, that a man desires uncertain things and longs for them, and that he does not know how they will turn out; on the other hand, he despises those things that are certain and that are ready for him.

As Duke Frederick reigned, we both disliked him and his meekness and gentleness, that he led a peaceful, calm and collected regiment and court, and hoped for another, better one who would come to the hand. I will keep silent about spiritual things, such as regiment after him. Well, we said, if we had Duke Hansen, it would be fine. Now that we had him, after Duke Frederick's death, we wanted the current Duke, John Frederick, Elector; he will do it, we said, but for more than three years, he certainly won't be any good for us either.

Therefore what God gives us we do not want; for this reason Christ also did not want to reign on earth, but gave it to the devil.

to whom he says, "You govern. But God is a different man and has a different nature, manner and mind. I, he says, am God who does not change. I stand firm over my promises and urges.

Christians should thank God for what is present; and as it is certain, so it is good, and God provides and gives it out of His infinite mercy, and sing the 117th Psalm: "Praise the Lord, all nations; praise Him, all peoples, for His grace and truth are over us forever."

#### The gospel exposes the wickedness of men.

Just as the cold becomes greater and swifter in winter when the days lengthen and the sun comes closer to us, for it makes the cold denser and compresses it: so also the wickedness of men becomes greater, that is, more apparent, and breaks forth greatly when the gospel is preached; for the Holy Spirit punishes the world for sin, which the world cannot nor will suffer.

#### 28. safety and security of the people.

It is a wonder that people are so sure and hopeful, since we have so many innumerable examples and arguments among us, which should justly admonish us and drive us to fear and humility. For first, we do not have a certain hour of death, we do not know when we will die. Secondly, the grain and wine by which we eat and are nourished are not in our hands; moreover, neither the sun nor the air by which we live, neither day nor sleep, is in our power or authority, but all is in God's hand. I will keep silent about spiritual things, such as our own, peculiar and public sins, so that we may be oppressed, challenged and afflicted. And yet we have hearts harder than steel, stone, and adamant, which regard not these things, but ask nothing of them.

#### The world's ingratitude against God's faithful servants.

It must be a great spirit, serve the people in body and soul and yet suffer extreme danger and the highest ingratitude over it.

also ekurus, ekur, Kur written, thus "schaarenweise". That here not this meaning, but "in full armor to St. Jakob wallen", has, is clear from Walch, -old edition, Bo. VIII, p. 1624. interpretation of the letter to Gal. cap. 1, § 93. cf. also cap. 45, § 44 in the last paragraph: "Kürissen".

Therefore Christ says to Petro, Joh. 21, 15.: "Simon Johanna, do you love me?" and repeats it three times one after the other; after that he said v. 16.: "Feed my sheep". As if to say, "If you want to be a true pastor and shepherd, it must be love that makes you love me; otherwise it is impossible. For who can suffer ingratitude? who can lose his goods and health, and then put himself in the greatest danger? Therefore he says, "It is necessary that you love me. The pope and Turk have smelled us very well and have done her, the world, justice, for she also wants it. She cannot stand righteous, pious, faithful servants of God, yes, she murders them, therefore she must have such companions, nourish them, and moreover hold them in great honor and be cursed and seduced by them.

#### **The world must have serious and swift rulers.**

The world cannot do without such heads, by whom it must be ruled, even N. N. with his tyranny is like a morsel for the world. Therefore God speaks through the prophet Samuel to the people of Israel, who asked for a king, he wanted to give them a king. "But this was to be his right: Their sons he would take for his chariots and horsemen, their daughters for his cooks; item, their best fields, gardens, vineyards and oil gardens he would take and give to his chamberlains and servants." 1 Sam. 8, 11. ff. Luther then said: "When Prince Frederick returned home from the election day in Cologne, since Emperor Carl had been elected Roman Emperor, His Electoral Grace had elected his most distinguished councilors. Gn. had asked their most distinguished councilor, Mr. Fabian von Feilitzsch, how he liked these new newspapers, that they had elected the King of Hispania as emperor? the same wise man had answered: The ravens must have a vulture.

#### **31. human reason.**

Human reason either despairs or is presumptuous. If it despairs, it dies sine crux et lux. But if it is presumptuous, it also goes away and is deceived.

#### **The meanest challenge in the world.**

(Lauterbach, April II, 1838, p. 61.)

The highest challenge in the world is that no one is faithful to his profession, but everyone would like to go idle. I am now exhausted, 1) have many worries and am plagued with many affairs. Others walk idly and do not want to do anything: and I think that if we did not have to do it, we would not do it either. I can see where the pope came from, because the lazy, idle lords and princes also shat on him.

#### **The world's highest wisdom.**

(Contained in Cap. 21, § 1, subsections 6 and 7.)

#### **34. temporal peace.**

(Contained in Cap. 15, § 17.)

#### **35. a different.**

(Contained in Cap. I, § 18.)

#### **36. world becomes the longer the angrier.**

I hold it to be so, that the greater and brighter the light of the gospel is, the more evil the world is: so Christ in his day made evil worse, and St. Paul did not make many more devout Christians.

#### **37. sin goes before punishment.**

Since the Jews were to be beaten, captured and conquered by the Romans, and the land devastated and desolated, they had to crucify God's Son first: so do we, despising God's word, whether we carry it in our mouths or not, and boasting of the gospel, drive out the pastors and faithful pious servants of God and Christians. We still build bastions, ramparts and great mighty fortresses, but we do not build ourselves.

Jerusalem was also firm, the king of Babylon lay a whole year before it, still it had to go, there helped nothing for it. God also says through Jeremiah: "If you kill all the Chaldeans and leave only three alive, let those three fall in the window and kill you.

1) Cf. Cap. 26, § 46; Cap. 48, § 26.

**38. world can not be without sin, but therefore it is not to be praised nor**

**to suffer.**

Alexander Alesius Scotus wrote from Frankfurt on the Oder that D. Christoph von der Straßen, 1) a jurist, would be a godless man and great epicure, approved of bad fornication, public whore houses and other fornications, which would be forbidden. Item, would have decreed over the table that if someone spoke of something different, but of fornication and whores, then he should give a guilder as a penalty. Then M. Luther was moved and angry and said, "He brought this with him from Italy, even though he had despised his parents from childhood. For I once had him up in my room, where his father could not persuade him to have and hear a preceptor, whom he, the father, wanted to assign to him.

Yes, it is true, as that knave says: The world is and cannot be without sin; but that one would therefore conclude and infer from this: The world is not without sin, therefore sin should be permitted and approved 2c., this does not follow. Just as it does not sound: The church is not without offense, therefore one should let offense go, permit and approve it. It is another to commit fornication and other evil by deed and work, and another by or by right. How we must suffer our unfaithful workers, wicked servants, wicked neighbors; but to approve, to praise, and to say that it is fair and right, that is too much. It should come to this, as with the Lacedæmonians, who allowed stealing and let it go, but so that someone would handle it artificially, masterfully, and steal. I do not believe that the Lacedæmonians approved of thievery, but wanted to arouse the fathers of the house to greater diligence and to stimulate them to pay more attention to their thing. If it were right to commit fornication and thievery, the comedians would have allowed it, too, and would not have insisted so much that young journeymen would marry.

1) The name is inserted after Förstemann.

**The world's speeches and essence.**

(Lauterbach, Jan. 15, 1538, p. 10.)

Then it was said of the disloyalty of a courtier of the bishop of Mainz, who had fallen away from the gospel to the papacy and said with great certainty: "I will put Christ behind the door for a while, until I become rich, then I will bring him in again. Similarly, a certain atheist (xxxxx) said: If you want to be deathly timid, you will never get rich. Such remarkable, exceedingly ungodly sayings deserve the greatest punishment. If one could end this, that he could put God behind the door and pull him out again, if he wanted to, then man would have acted well; then God would be their prisoner. These are the words of the Epicureans and the last times, which challenge God's great plague and the Last Judgment.

**(40) How people forget their blessedness for the sake of temporal goods.**

Doctor Luther was asked at Eisleben in 1546 over the table: How is it that people in the world are so stingy and stingy, and everyone wants to be rich, even often with his soul's damage? There was also an example of a nobleman who said: "In the old days, when I was young, it would not go with me: if I had to clothe my wife and child, I had no money; I did not know how it would work. But when I began to put the sea-oak on my back, I became rich and came into money and property. If I had not done that, I would have remained poor for the rest of my life; it was all the sea creature's fault.

Then D. Luther started and said to D. Jonah: "Doctor, don't you know what Astche von Kram 2), the knight, said to me in Wittenberg, that someone had once said to him: "My dear, if you want to become rich, powerful and great, you must drill a hole in a tree, put your soul in it, and drive a stake in front of it so that it stays inside. When you have become rich, then go and take the peg from the tree.

2) Assa von Kram; cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, col. 488.

met your soul out of it again. Then Doctor Jonas said: How, if someone would come in the meantime, and take away the sea-oak from the tree? Then Doctor Luther said, "I'll let him take care of that, I wouldn't dare.

To this the doctor said of usurers that one spoke now in Saxony:

Who says that usury is a sin. The hefft no money, dat gläube fri.

But I, D. L., say against it:

Who saws, that usury no sin si. Die hefft kein GOtt, dat gläub nur fri.

Then said D. Luther said, "I would like to prevent avarice and usury and even eradicate them, but I am not able to do so; but this I would like to prevent, so that avarice and usury do not become rife. In the same way, I would gladly control stealing, adultery and fornication, so that they would not be used, and so that such sins and vices would not become rampant and rule. For we preachers must oppose sins and punish them severely, otherwise we must hear the curse that is written in Isaiah Cap. 5, 20: Vae vobis, qui malum dicitis bonum. I must do like my cousin Fabian Kaufmann, who went for a walk in Speck<sup>0</sup> and wanted to sleep inside: now he comes to a place where there was a whole nest full of snakes lying in a heap. When the snakes came to him, he drew his sword and struck under them, cutting off the head of one and the tail of the other, thus destroying the nest. So I cannot prevent a snake from entering my garden, but if I come across it, I slay it and pin it to a fence; therefore I can prevent it from making a nest inside. 2) Neither can I hinder the vices, that they should not be, but that they should not rule and reign in me, and be changed into morals, and even become prevalent. Rom. 6, 12. For the pagan Seneca says: Deest remedii locus, ubi ea, quae vitia fuerunt, in mores abeunt.

1) A copse near Wittenberg, cf. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, col. 686.

2) Cf. Appendix § 19; also Walch, old edition, Vol. XIV, 395, § 2.

#### 41. world before the flood, as it was. (Cordatus No. 1407.)

The world before the flood was very learned because of its long experience, but also the godlessness was very great, therefore it also came to ruin. But now we have to die soon and we are not allowed to come to a greater knowledge than is necessary to feed the belly.

#### The world does not want Christ as God.

: (Cordatus No. 1383.)

The world does not want the corporeal God, who is born, lives, is crucified, much less the one who reproves sins; to him they cry: Death, death. On the other hand, it seeks and worships the incorporeal God with great effort and honors him with great cost.

#### 43 The world's likeness.

It reminds me of the world as of a dilapidated house: David and the prophets are rafters, Christ is the pillar in the middle of the house, which holds it all.

#### 44. world seeks immortality from its pride.

D. M. Luther spoke of the world's hope. Because all people feel and recognize, even see, that they must die and pass away, everyone seeks immortality here on earth, so that he may be remembered forever. At one time, great kings, princes and lords sought it by erecting great marble pillars and very high pyramids, buildings and pillars, arranged in squares, and always the higher the more pointed, so that they thought they would become immortal, as they do now with great churches, magnificent, splendid houses and buildings. Warriors chase and strive for great honors and praise with victories and glorious victories. Scholars seek an eternal name by writing books, as we see now in our time. But they do not look to the eternal, imperishable honor and eternity of God. Alas, we are poor people.

#### 45. world always decreases the longer.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 2, 1538, p. 2.)

Dear God, how has the world declined from the time when the imperial rights were given to the people?

Since a maiden of twelve years of age was marriageable and a boy of fourteen years of age was considered manable. Now they are much too weak in such years. The world and people's strength is always going down, it is running out.

#### 46. tongue people.

(Here 7 lines are omitted because composed of Cap. 3, B 90 and Cap. 48, § 38.)

(The following at Cordatus No. 1274.)

Weeds grow soon, so the girls grow faster than the boys.

#### 47. common state of the best.

To be and live in a public state, which God has appointed, is the most secure, because Christ also lived and walked in a public state among people. And warn His own, when He says Matth. 24, 26: "If they say, Behold, He is in the wilderness; go not out; or, In chambers; believe it not." And in such corners they have led the most shameful boyish life. Among people in public, one must be civil and honest, and shy away from God and man.

#### 48. how to grow old.

If you want to grow old, grow old soon, keep your collar warm, don't fill your bowels too visibly.

Don't get too close to the Grethen, So you'll slowly turn gray.

#### 49. man's body.

(Cordatus No. 1137 and No. 719.)

The human body is a shameful sack of lye, through which nothing else flows but evil sweat, urine, saliva and more rivers than it has limbs. I experience this on my leg, which I recently opened again by rubbing, and as if from paradise, four rivers began to burst out.

When he took his little Martin, he said: "Oh, that God can put such fine black eyes into a piece of meat from a stinking sack. It reminds me just now, as if I took

1) puts fine eyes into it; and to make nose, mouth, hands and feet out of a piece of flesh in the womb is also an art.

#### 50. man cannot comprehend God's gifts.

(Cordatus No. 416.)

The very great gifts and goods of God cannot be grasped by the human heart, therefore the shepherds Luc. 2, are dismayed; so also we are often dismayed when God opposes us in the most friendly way.

#### The world's judgment of the ministers of the gospel.

To restore and comfort a despondent and afflicted conscience is much more than having many kingdoms. But the world does not respect it, even despises it; it calls us rebels, disturbers of peace and blasphemers, who pervert and change the doctrine. Verily it will prophesy itself, though we see it with great sorrow of heart. So the Jews also say of Christ, John 11:48: "If we let him go, the Romans will come and take away our land and our people" 2c. But when they had killed Christ, they did not come? Yes, I mean, they came and made a mess of them. So the despisers and enemies of the word will destroy the peace and turn Germany around, so that it will go over and over and lie in ashes, when we are now carried away. So they want to have it.

#### The shape of the world and the churches.

(Contained in Cap. 20, § 18.)

#### The world grows weary of God's works.

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 2, end of first paragraph.)

#### The world does not like the godly.

(Contained in Cap. 60, § 7.)

1) Perhaps from Plunze, blood sausage. (Wrampelmeyer.)

**The world begrudges the Christians their food and would like to have all the goods for themselves.**

Doctor Luther once said: "If a poor man had a good field or meadow, those of the nobility would soon begrudge it to him, seeking to overtake him. So did the centauri of the king of Gerar, Abimelech's court, do to Isaac the pious patriarch: for when they saw that Isaac had gotten a hundredfold fruit of the field which the king had let him, they came quickly, and stirred up the king against him, that he took Isaac's field again. Gen. 26: For they thought: The field bears much, therefore it must be ours: it is a fruitful land, we are nearer to it than he. Why did we rent it to Isaac? We would rather have it ourselves. They think that if they get the land back, they will soon become rich. He had a hen that laid a golden egg for him every day, and he thought, "There will be a great treasure in that hen, and she will have a golden ovary. So he thought he would get rich all at once, and strangled the hen, and took out the stick, and found nothing. Sic et nostri Principes jam nihil aliud agunt, quam ut fiant maledicti a Deo. They also push Isaac out to the land, but they do not know that Benedictio Dei is with him, and that they find maledicti.

**The world, especially Germany, certain punishment.**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 15, 1538, p. 131.)

On the 13th Sunday after Trinity, September 15, he gave a very serious exhortation to prayer against the future plagues of Germany from the Turks, the Pope and the mobs, which we caused by our impenitence. Therefore the punishment must come. God turn the evil! For the whole world is nothing else but an inverted decalogue, vain contempt [of God], vain blasphemy, vain disobedience, fornication, courtiers, thieves, is almost ripe for the slaughter: so the devil does not celebrate through the Turk, the Pabst and the Rotten.

**57. what to consider in official capacity.**

If I did not let myself get angry from the bottom of my heart for the sake of the man who died for me, the world would not be able to give me enough money to write a book or to interpret something in the Bible. I want to have my work unrewarded by the world, it is too small and poor for that: I have never asked my lord in Saxony for a penny, because I have lived here.

**58. a different.**

(Cordatus No. 1266.)

All wickedness has now come together in one heap. This is seen in lending, because many, provoked by the gospel, would like to lend, but there is no one to give back. It is like borrowing to him, like finding. I have been much deceived by such boys. It is to lend and to give back.

**59. the world's folly.**

(Cordatus No. 1278.)

Great is the folly of men who value gems not according to their goodness [a virtute], but according to their estimation. A turquoise for three hundred guilders, which has no proven value. Therefore, Claus Fool answered the prince who asked him, since he bought a gemstone, how much he valued it: As much as a rich fool may respect and pay for it.

**The world became more and more angry after the gospel came to light again and was preached.**

(Cordatus No. 1123.)

It is a wonderful thing and full of awe that the world has become worse and worse as often as the gospel has had to be preached again. All spiritual freedom of Christ they draw on carnal lust. Therefore, the kingdom of the devil and the pope is the best for the world in outward things, because the world wants to be ruled with laws, with superstition, with lies, with tyranny, and through the doctrine of grace it only gets worse, because it does not believe that there is another, future life after this one. The

proved the one who, when he was dying, threw away his will written on paper, on which only these words were read: I have robbed when I could, you also rob when you can. [Dum potui, rapui; rapiatis, quando potestis.]

### 61. what the world is.

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 1419. The following in Cordatus No. 1454 and No. 1621).

1) The world is an assembly of people who receive all the benefits of God with ingratitude. He who has not come to know the world, let him go to a monastery. 2)

The world did not sit faith, love, the cross. It does not grasp faith, therefore it does not practice love, through which faith is active. It also cannot want to suffer the cross, through which faith is practiced and increased.

Since faith is trust in God, who is merciful in His essence, it is frightening that the world despises it and thinks that faith is only an opinion of God, who is angry and demands only justice. And, just as the world does not want faith, it also does not want that with which faith, love and the cross have to do [objecta], namely God, the neighbor, the adversary. Because it considers God an enemy, it looks at no one but itself, and considers the friend an adversary. Therefore, the world cannot understand the first commandment of God and the commandment of the neighbor, but inevitably hates God and what is His, the Word and His saints. It loves itself and its own in all things, it seeks the devil and the honor of the flesh and its peace.

### Nothing happens to thank the world.

(Cordatus No. 1352.)

One can never do right to the world nor preach. When the Pabstacy is preached, the conscience is violated; but when you preach Christ, you cause offense.

1) Regarding the first paragraph, cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol: XI, 894, § 25.

2) There he will come to know the ingratitude of the world.

by the flesh and the papacy; but if you preach the flesh, you offend Christ. The world remains the world, and if Christ cannot help it, we will leave it at that. But who is it that believes this? It is not that they want to believe, but that they see.

### 63. imitate what it is.

(Cordatus No. 1353.)

Imitation is a devilish and human thing, therefore it is simply harmful or at least useless. Thus, heretics imitate the word of God, hypocrites imitate the works of faith, idolaters imitate ceremonies, tyrants and reckless people imitate war, fools imitate the government, clumsy people imitate the crafts, asses imitate the arts. Therefore, when GOD sets up his word, works, arts 2c. in the world, he also makes monkeys, and the [great multitude follows the monkeys. But it is GOD alone who sustains the remaining examples [*prototypias*]. Thus is the world from the beginning.

### 64. no punishment helps in the world.

The world is not improved by any punishment, it does not change, it balks and barks against it. As the farmers say when the Elbe has run out and drowned and ruined everything in the field: "If you have drowned my grain, you have not drowned my thalers. Well, God can lend you a good pittance, but after that he comes and demands a serious reckoning, so that you keep neither skin nor hair. For such prideful presumption has never gone unpunished.

### The world does not respect God's gifts and works.

(Here 21 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 2, § 49.)

(Cordatus No. 434.)

If God did not give His blessings to the earth for only one year, how great would be the lamentation among the people! But now, since He gives everything abundantly, they are very ungrateful.

3) The year 1531 was very fruitful.



### **The world does not do anything for free.**

The world is so selfish that it does nothing for nothing, but wants to have everything rewarded. As this fable indicates, D. Martinus said: One rented his donkey to another and walked beside him; but he sat on it, because the sun shone so hot and stung him, he asked the master [of the donkey], he wanted to sit on it, and also let him walk a little in the shade, but he would not and said: He had rented him the donkey to ride, and not the shade of it, the same he should pay him specially, because he wanted to have it. This fable is a confection and a picture of the bet, which does nothing in vain, and does not want to give or grant the shadow.

### **How the world rewards and rewards good deeds.**

(Lauterbach, Apr. 5, 1538, p. 57.)

Philip told an excellent story of ingratitude in the chariot. A farmer was walking around and being tired, he rested beside a cave. In it a snake was hidden and enclosed, calling him and asking him to free it. If it would be freed, it wanted to give him the best reward and thanks on earth. When the stone was rolled away and the snake was freed, it wanted to kill the farmer, saying that this was the way of the world against its benefactors. But since he expected a greater reward, he appealed to a court of law; the animal which first met them was to decide the matter. There a horse was brought, old and worn out, which should be killed. It answered: "I'm doing fine. Now that I've pulled my heart out, they want to flay me and beat me to death. Then an old dog, which had been driven away, complained about its master in the same way. He demanded a third judge. They met a little fox, who said, because he was clever, "I must see how the liberation happened. And to him were given all the fowls [of the farmer] price, if he were delivered [from the serpent]. The fox went into the cave with the snake and immediately jumped back. The farmer put the stone in front of it again, but when the little fox came by night to fetch the chickens, it was killed by the

wife and the servant were killed. Luther answered: This is a picture of the world. Whoever is helped from the gallows brings one up. If I had no example, it would be Christ, who delivered the whole world from hell, and he is crucified by his people. 1)

### **How grateful the world is for God's benefits.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 2, 1538, p. 106.)

After that, they told about the people's blasphemies and grumbling because it rained in the harvest and they had been punished with drought before. He replied: "So God must be thanked, and if God had not spared the world because of a few believers, it would have long perished. It must also have hurt the pious King Solomon very much when he wanted to rest in his old age and handed over the government to his sons, that they loved gifts and gold more than justice.

### **The world soon forgets God's benefits and despises His word.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 27, 1538, p. 122.)

On August 27, Luther lamented the future misfortune of Germany because of the contempt for God and the Word, and because of the wickedness that follows from it. For as soon as people begin to fall away from God, which is the origin of all hope, as Jesus laments in Sirach Cap. 10, all sins go by force, as we, unfortunately, see today that the race has become so insolent in a short time, provoking the wrath of God. This is what happened to the inhabitants of Sodom, who, while Abraham, the hero who freed them from four kings, was still alive, forgot about God's benefits and even despised Abraham, who taught them. Then religion, worldly rule and good manners also perished and the plague soon followed; although the Jews belittle the sins of the Sodomites, namely that they had killed a very benevolent girl, who gave alms, in an outrageous way. But the

1) Cf. Phädrus, lüd. IV, cad. 16. - The same fable is told by Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 164 f.

The holy fathers have impressed this on their descendants by means of an image, so that this may be a prophetic word over all despisers. For the gospel is the girl; it promises the help of grace to all people. But, alas, the world persecutes the gospel to the utmost. That is why the plagues will follow. God help us.

**The world is full of hypocrites and blasphemers, of which there are many.**

i) Anno 38, the 21st of September, D. Martin said much of the world's wickedness and the same's various different pieces and pitfalls, Colax, Sycophanta, Cacoethes, which sins and vices are almost one and the same, only that one goes on top of the other, just as one climbs higher and higher from one step to the next. Colax, I think, is called Gnatho in the Terentio, a scratcher of ears, a flatterer, a lick of plates, who speaks and does what one likes to hear and have for the sake of one's stomach; and is still a human sin, who finally thinks to do harm to others with it. But is such a hypocrite, betrayer and slanderer, who wants to earn the gray skirt. And this sin is more diabolical than human. Gnatho belongs to the comedies, Sycophanta to the tragedies. Phor-  
mio in Terentio is a pious person who has almost none of the two vices. Cacoethes, a villain who knowingly and wantonly does evil.

**The world cannot be reformed.**

(In Kummer x. 411b. ff. [Lauterbach p. 70.] )

Lament over the world because of the future. - The great misfortune threatening the world, he indicated almost with sobs, because it would be so evil and incorrigible that it could not suffer any discipline and punishment. And there is already a very great movement in the world by the revealed word. It cracks very much, hope it will break by the last day which we expect. For all vices are now taken for [good] morals, and

1) Another relation of K 70 of the 37th Cap. where the 6th November 1538 is given by Lauterbach. Cf. also Cap. 39, § 2.

do not want to be reprimanded. Therefore we pray: Thy kingdom come, deliver us from evil, though things are more polite and better now than they were twenty years ago. There are now much finer people and also much finer schools where young people are taught. We have, praise God, new universities that have accepted the Word of God. So there are many fine particular schools that are well suited. Zwickau, Torgau, Wittenberg, Deventer, Goldberg are fine particular schools, which are almost equal to universities. The growth of the schools is a fruit of the Word and they are teaching institutions of the churches. If these are promoted, then Jit shall, if God wills, stand much more courteously. And I think that the universities were first invented by the Saracens, as there is a famous school in Alkair [Cairo], which was imitated by our emperors. The monasteries are the old schools.

**The world does not want and cannot stand the pure word of God.**

The philosophers and scholars among the pagans have had innumerable speculations, thoughts and opinions about God, about the soul, about eternal life, but they have all been doubtful and uncertain, without God's word. Now, because God has given us His dear Word pure and unadulterated, we despise it, according to the saying: Malum, malum dicit omnis possessor: When one has a thing, no matter how good it is, one gets tired of it and does not respect it. Now when the word comes away, we will seek foolish works and deal with self-chosen devotion and superstition of human thoughts and conceit; thus we must become wise with our harm.

**73. world remains world.**

There was lamentation about the last terrible time, which could neither be governed by laws nor punishments. Martin said: "The world remains the world, which neither loves nor suffers justice, but is governed by God through a few heroes and excellent people. As a boy of twelve tends a hundred oxen in the pasture, so the race is also governed supernaturally.

**The world, especially our ingratitude, will help the papacy out again.**

D. M. Luther pleaded diligently for the course of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, and against heresy and the papacy. For if the pope were to come back into power, he would duplicate his tyranny and make it illegal. As he did after the Costnitz Conciliar, he has honestly smelled himself for the hundred years since he was deposed, and has introduced very ungodly profanation and abominations. But I am not so much afraid of the pope and the tyrant as of our ingratitude and contempt for the word that would help the pope back into the saddle. If this happens, I hope that Judgment Day will soon follow.

**75. world becomes the longer the more annoying.**

Claus Bildenhauer said to D. Martin that he would almost become a child again; then the doctor said: "It is the fault of the time, you and I have eaten too many Easter eggs, it is over with us. When I think of my companions who grew up with me, they are very thin and almost all gone. For now every twenty years a new world is created. Then Bildenhauer said that he remembered that four Electors had ruled in Saxony, and what a fine time it had been then, when Duke Albrecht and Ernst had ruled with each other, and both had stayed together with two wives in Torgau. Thereupon spoke D. Martinus said: "At that time there were pious people, now it is the devil that no one may trust the other. The princes are very tyrannical and use force.

**Of the ingratitude of the people.**

Just as the Israelites did to Mosiah, who led them out of Egypt, so do we now, who have been led out of the prison and house of service of the Antichrist in Rome. But he prayed for them. I pray that the boys will be punished.

Aristotle, the pagan, tells of several causes why one may be justly angry, one of which is ingratitude. Scipio, the noble hero of Rome, was able to

.suffer, but others it makes no sense. God's patience and wrath are both great. And just as God spoke to Moses verbally, as one good friend to another; so He also speaks to us verbally through the preachers, as Christ says Matt. 10:20: "It is not you who speak, but your Father's Spirit who speaks through you." We despise the same.

**The world's presumption and certainty and Epicurians.**

(Lauterbach, Jan. 1, 1538. p. 1.)

On January 1, in the year of the Lord 38, he sharply examined M. G. Karg, who had been summoned to the sacristy, because he had cursed himself in a whimsical presumption in a letter to his best friend: If Christ offered him the kingdom of heaven, he would not accept it at this hour, because he did not want to keep it with Luther in the article. Since this letter had come before the Elector through his friend, it was then handed over to D. L. with the strictest order that he should be imprisoned in the castle; but D. L. examined him beforehand in the sacristy. Then the quaestor took him and put him in prison against all the privileges of the university. After that, he was released from prison on the first of February and was imprisoned in his room by intercession. Luther's. At home the doctor sighed and said: "How great is the presumption and certainty of the world! What is only a little something dares to offend Christ and to lift its foot against Him. It will get even better, epicurism will arise with force, because the world, the despiser of the Word of God, is nothing but a preparation for epicurism before the last day, who believes neither in God nor in another life. Is it not terrible that among the people of God there are such epicurists? not only in private and hidden, but also publicly in office, in glory,

1) Interrogation of M. Georg Karg in the Sacristy in the presence of D. Jonas, D. Cruciger and Melanchthon. Cf. Luther's letter to the Elector about this matter, dated Jan. 4, 1538, in Walch, old edition XXI, 410, where Rörer is not mentioned, nor in Lauterbach.

like the Sadducees were among the Jews, ruling in religion and yet believing nothing of the future life and also teaching so. Such people are our papists today, who know the Scriptures and yet consider them a dream. The bishop of Mainz says and does what he wants. Leipzig is drowned in such avarice that they take 45 florins a year out of 100 florins under the pretense of piety. For that must be love, that one lends 100 florins. Justice is that one gives 45 guilders for it. In ten years, 100 florins carry 1000, isn't that epicurism? Leipzig is drowned deeper in the sea of avarice than the mountains of Arabia under the flood of sin, which lay only fifteen cubits under the floods, but Leipzig lies fifteen miles under the floods of avarice. So are all the others. Ah, evil times are yet to come. Our Epicureans are worse than the Cardinals of Italy, who said: We want to let others be pious, even if we ourselves do not want to.

#### **The world's impiety and ingratitude.**

God entices us with promises, both in the Law and the Gospel, so that we "may hear His word; but the world and the wicked not only do not respect it, but also despise it and persecute it. Therefore they are justly condemned, and it serves them right that they should become beggars, and also here temporally be put to shame.

(Here 15 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 15, § 19, para. 2.)

#### **79. canons are all epicureans.**

The canons of Würzburg, Mainz and Cologne have the best days, live in idleness, feasting and damming, have everything in stock, without any worries, what their heart desires, and then go happily to heaven, where it sizzles. The bishops do not have it so good, because they are in the regiment and have to do to some extent with the trades.

#### **80th Des Epicurismi Regiment.**

(Lauterbach, Dec. 12, 1538, p. 190.)

Eck is a man of great gifts and has a good memory, but because this very

impudent man has been in Rome for some time, he has learned there many good examples of the Epicurean life, that he asks neither for the papacy nor for the Gospel. Dear God, twenty years ago I would not have thought that even now there should be Epicureans in the Christian Church, since almost all Romanists are drowned in the Epicurean life, caring neither for God nor for a good conscience. These are horrible times. I used to think that the Epicurean sect had died out long ago, but it still flourishes, because Epicurism has set its intention on this life, leads people from the eternal to the temporal. Such people were Pomponius Atticus, Scipio and other very wise people, in whom God shows the foolishness of human reason, although Cicero, in his letter to Octavius, has indicated his opinion of eternity. Nevertheless, there was a high intellect in Cicero, who concluded from reason that it was safer to surrender to the opinion that there is an eternal life after this than that everything is temporal and transitory; and it is also certainly true that it is much more certain according to reason that one should surrender to Christianity than to Epicurism. For if a man is deceived by the delusion of Epicurus, he has lost the eternal for the temporal. But if Christianity deceives him (which is impossible), he has lost only the temporal for the eternal. God protect us all from this opinion, in which the whole world now walks.

#### **81. a different from the epicurismo.**

(Kummer p. 403. [Lauterbach, p. 205.] May 26, 1541.)

After that, people complained about the epicurism of our time, where noblemen, burghers and peasants care neither about God nor about eternity. Luther answered: "Do not be surprised by this in the last times; consider how it happened in the time of Christ in the people of the Most Holy God, when besides the Pharisees there were also Sadducees in the regiment, good fellows who believed nothing.

#### **82. of epicurean people.**

D. Martin Luthern was told over tables in Eisleben that a nobleman, C. von

Seckendorf was supposed to have said in a convivium: If God would let him have his wealth and pleasure, that he might live a thousand years and do all his will, then he would gladly leave his heaven to our Lord God. Then Doctor Martin Luther said: "That was a real pig, and they are nothing but trotters.

Also D. Martinus said that D. Henning Goede, a lawyer and cathedral provost at Wittenberg, had not known much about our Lord God, for he, D. Luther, had come to him when he was sick 'lying on the ground without a bed and had only his hood covered over him; then he had asked him: What he was doing well? He answered that he was sick, and the doctor began to talk to him and said: Dear Doctor, you are a weak man, you should now also reconcile yourself with our Lord God, and it would be your best that you provide yourself with the reverend sacrament, so that you would be ready when God would command you. Then D. Henning would have answered: "Well, there is no need yet, God will not act so Swissly on me, and thus hasten me. But D. Luther said that it would have happened to him right away, as he had told him. For the next day his speech would have slipped, and he would have died soon after; so he went there, and did not know much about God. And the doctor then said that we should always be ready and prepared when God knocked and demanded of us that we be sent to take a Christian farewell from this world.

After this, Doctor Luther spoke of the great power of the devil and gave this simile: That, just as a wild horse or stallion cannot get rid of a hamster when it comes to its throat, but the small angry animal, the hamster, strangles the great horse, be it as joyful, wild or biting as it likes; item, just as the lynx kills a deer when it jumps on its head and sits between its horns, eating out its brains, or grabs it by the throat and bites it in two: So is Satan; if he possesses a man, he can be attacked by a man.

He leads man into despair and harms his body and soul; as St. Peter says of him in his first epistle, Cap. 5:8, that he "goes about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. Therefore, one should pray daily and resist him with faith and prayer.

(This paragraph in Kummer x. 288 d. [Lauterbach, p. 74, note.])

The devil has no better way to defeat us than by leading us from the word to the spirit. I have observed this as a miracle in the Sacramentans, because they do not look at the word. They do not look at the word, but only at the things that are added to the word. They see bread and wine and water. But one should stay with the word and not concede the spirit to the people. The sacramentarians see only bread and wine and water, not the word. So they see only the raised serpent, not the word. Gen. 21. I am reminded of the devil as of a bailiff: he strangles everything he sows, but if he has a bird that pleases him, he lets it live, so that it sings what it wants. 1)

### 83. which pave the way to epicurismo.

Oh dear Lord God, how terrible, horrible and dangerous the future will be! Lyra's prophecy moves me very much and goes not a little to my heart, because it belongs to our time, when he writes: Detecto Antichristo, erunt homines carnales, dicentes, nullum esse Deum; that is: When now the wickedness of Antichrist is revealed, then the world will fall into great courage, so that it will think that there is no God. Then the antinomians and lawbreakers will start their work, they will remove all fear, they will make people even sure that they do not respect their sin. If sin is not respected, Christ is not respected either, because he came for the sake of sinners to make them blessed. And the strong do not need a physician, but the sick, as he himself says Matth. 9, 12. 13.

In contrast, the Sophists and Cano-

1) Cf. the relation of Cordatus Cap. 24, § 59.

nist hard on their ungodly statutes and traditions and want to weigh down the consciences with them. Dear God, the greater Your goodness is, the greater is the wickedness of the world.

(The following contained in Cap. 66, § 50; therefore omitted).

#### **84. a different.**

Anno 30, June 16, a student at Wittenberg, who had written many ungodly questions in his book, wanted to turn the Scriptures according to his head and almost cause a new epicurism, pretending that there were neither good nor evil angels, and many horrible things about the Holy Spirit and the resurrection of the dead 2c. The professors punished him severely for this and denounced it to D. Martino, who said with a sigh: "Dear Lord God, what will become of this? Oh how terrible times we will have! The authorities should severely punish such epicureans, like other public offenders.

#### **85. the world security.**

In 39, February 2, St. Martin spoke a lot about the shameful, harmful security of the world, so that even the godly would be secure, not feeling nor respecting their sin, misery and hardship in which they are stuck. Therefore, it is written in church history about a pious young boy who boasted how well he was doing, without any temptation; then an old hermit said to him: "It is a gift of God, but still everyone should be plagued by his sins and feel them, or else it would be a bad sign. For everyone likes to have good days, to which no one is hostile: but if he is God-fearing, he will also have and feel his temptations of the flesh, as St. Paul complains Rom. 7, 14. ff.

#### **The people's safety and diligence in errors.**

(Contained in Cap. 1, § 13, sub. 2.)

#### **87. the Epicurer thoughts.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 114.)

#### **The world's goods and treasures.**

The Fuggers can, said D. Martinus, in a hurry raise a ton of gold five or six, which the emperor is not able. N. Fugger has left at 18 tons of gold. It is said that the Fuggers and Welsers once lent the emperor twelve tons of gold in the war before Padua. Augsburg is able to raise thirty tons of gold in three weeks; the emperor cannot.

And the doctor said: That a bishop of Brixen once died in Rome, who had also been a cardinal and very rich, and when he had been dead, no money had been found with him, but only a slip of paper a finger long, which was stuck in his sleeve. When Pope Julius received the same note, he soon thought it was a money note, and soon sent for the Fugger Factor in Rome, and asked him if he did not know the writing? He said: Yes, it was the debt that the Fugger and his company owed to the Cardinal, and made three times a hundred thousand florins. The pope asked, "If he could pay him such money? Fugger's servant said: "Every hour. Then the pope summoned the cardinal from France and England and asked, "Could your king also lay three tons of gold in one hour? They said, "No." Then he said, "A citizen of Augsburg can do that. And the pope Julius received the same money.

The doctor also said that the Fugger in Augsburg should have given the estimate once, and he would have given the answer: He did not know how much he had or how rich he was, so he could not give the estimate. For he had his money in the whole world, in Turkey, Greece, in Alexandria, in France, Portugal, England, in Poland and everywhere; however, he wanted to give the estimate of what he had in Augsburg.

Mr. Doctox also said that he had heard of someone who said that he had received a sheet of cards from the Emperor Maximiliano, on which few words had been written, with which he had come to the Fugger in Augsburg, who had given him thereon

He said that he had given him six thousand guilders, which he would have put in his coat and carried with him, so that his servants would not have noticed it. But the doctor said: He would have liked to believe that with the sheet of cards, because in former times small letters would have been written, and great faith would have been held. But to lead the money, so that it would not be noticed, seemed to him a little too mildly spoken.

### The world's stinginess.

(Cordatus No. 1482. 1483.)

When Pommer returned from the places to which he had been called, he brought a hundred florins as a gift to the doctor, because he would have deserved them, since he had served in his [Bugenhagen's] office. He did not want to accept it, and since they argued with each other and Pommer said that many of the people would otherwise say that he was ungrateful, the doctor replied: "For their sake I will not take it, because they would judge Pommern, who is righteous, but they are the most ungrateful of all. For what do they give me, the Pomeranian and others? Nor do they want to burn themselves white.

There is such scratching and clawing under the gospel that [it] is a shame. I must preach once and touch them, for they make it too rough, so I must make it rough. For if preachers do not punish, evil customs become habits; from these laws and rights are made by evil customs. Therefore preach, whoever can, against that exceedingly ungodly mischief.

### 90. stinginess is a sign of death: money and goods should not be relied upon.

(Cordatus No. 1022.)

What has money, does not get away, what we see now at the richest rulers. Therefore, away with greed! And when princes have very great treasures, they rely on them completely and perish through them. Since Doctor Hennig [Göde] counted the sausages in the fire wall, he soon died, and if I took care of building, malting, cooking, I would soon die.

### 91. the parish priests and preachers avarice.

(Cordatus No. 1090.)

My dear priests also begin to be stingy, always wanting to give a penny or two more than other people, since it behooves them to set a good example for the farmers by going down from such a high price. So it is a bad profit, so that they make themselves bad consciences and give bad examples. Fie on you, you miser.

### 92: The virtues of Mammon.

Mammon has two virtues: the first is that he makes us safe when things go well, and live without fear of God. The other is that in times of trouble, when things go badly, he teaches us to tempt God, to flee from God, and to seek a foreign god.

### 93: Pabst's stinginess.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 2, 1538, p. 19. The last paragraph, Aug. 4, 1538. p. 107.)

Pabst's avarice has been the greatest and most insolent, and the devil has chosen Rome for him. That is why the ancients said: Roma radix omnium malorum avaritia. [The first four letters form the word Roma. of all evil]. 1) And I found this verse in a very old book:

Versus *amor Mundi Caput est et Bestia Terrae.* 2)

For it would be an abominable handling of avarice, to snatch everything to oneself without the work of hands, without preaching, without the service of the church, but only with superstition and selling of their works. Hence Peter describes their avarice in the strongest terms [2 Pet. 2:14.], "They have a heart smitten with avarice." I believe that no one can recognize the nature of avarice unless he knows Rome, for all other deceptions, frauds, avarices are nothing against the Roman superstition. Therefore, at the Diet in Worms, the

1) Some lines of this also in Cordatus No. 31).

2) If the word amor is reversed, it is called Roraa.

His Imperial Majesty wanted to abolish it, or they wanted to abolish it. There, they were waiting for my writing "To the German Nobility," which was made known to me by Doctor Wick. At that time, the course of the Gospel began very well, but the three sects, Carlstadt, Münzer and the Anabaptists, hindered it very much. Nevertheless, God promoted it and abolished it through me, without my doing. There is truly a great power of the papacy over all kings and rulers, and I have put this down in the one booklet "Against the Ban". I did not intend to write this booklet against the papacy, but against the abuse. But they were soon frightened, because their conscience accused them.

Luther was told about the tenacity of a very dirty miser who denied his fortune to his own body. He answered: He collects treasures, and does not know for whom? Let us eat and drink as we please, and thank God for His bounty. Others will eat after us.

#### **94. stinginess prevents God's blessing.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 5, 1538, p. 110.)

On that day came his brother Jacob Luther and M. Mich. Cölius and complained a lot about Count Albrecht [of Mansfeld] that he was the ruin of his people. Luther said: "I am sorry that you have to suffer so much because of his wickedness, so that God's blessing is hindered. [For when GOD gives common blessings,] as with mines, and a person wants to appropriate it and take GOD captive, GOD flees with His blessings. He wants to be freely uncaptured in His gifts.

#### **The first is that the monasteries and ecclesiastical estates should be seized by princes and lords.**

Doctor Luther once said about the table that a true proverb was: "That the goods of the church are wealthy goods, and that the goods of the church do not prosper. And that is what one has from experience, that those who have drawn spiritual goods to themselves end up impoverished and become beggars.

And thereupon he said: Burkhard Hund, Elector Hansen of Saxony, would have said: We of the nobility have drawn the monastery estates under our manors; now the monastery estates have eaten and consumed our manors, so that we have neither monastery estates nor manors anymore. And Doctor Luther told a nice fable about this and said: "Once upon a time, an eagle made friends with a fox, and they agreed to live together. When the fox had made all friendship with the eagle, he had his young in our tree, where the eagle had his young eagles. But the friendship did not last long, for as soon as the eagle did not have food to bring to his young, and the fox was not with his young, the eagle flew down and took the fox's young, and led them into his nest, and let them eat the young eagles. When the fox returned, he saw that his young had been taken away, so he complained to the supreme god Jovi that he wanted to avenge Jus violati hospitii and punish this injuriam. Not long after, when the eagle again had nothing to feed his young, he saw that in a place in the field they sacrificed to Jovi. Therefore he flew there and quickly took a roast from the altar, and brought it to the young eagles in the nest, and flew away again and wanted to get more food. But a glowing coal was left on the roast; when it fell into the nest, it set the nest on fire, and when the young eagles could not fly, they burned with the nest and fell to the earth. And Doctor Luther then said: "That is what happens to those who seize spiritual goods, which are given for God's honor and for the preservation of the ministry of preaching and the service of God: they must lose their nest and young, that is, their manors and other worldly goods, and also suffer harm to body and soul.

At another time, Doctor Luther said: "That the spiritual goods have eagle feathers of a kind and nature; for where they are put with other feathers, they devour and consume them. Thus, if the spiritual goods are placed per fas et nefas among other goods



If the two are mixed together, they also consume them, so that one of them ends up with nothing at all.

There was one in Wittenberg, named Severus, who had been preceptor of the Roman king Ferdinand's sons, who went to Doctor Luther's table. He had said about Doctor Luther's table: There had been a dog in Linz, which had been used to fetch meat from the meat banks in a basket. But when other dogs came to him and wanted to take the meat, he put down the basket and bit his way through them. If they had overpowered him, he would have fallen into the basket with his mouth first and caught a piece of meat, so that he would also get some of it. Then said D. Luther said: "This is exactly what our emperor Carl is doing now; after he has long defended the ecclesiastical goods, and now sees that every prince is seizing the monasteries and convents, he is now also seizing the bishoprics; as he recently seized the bishoprics of Utrecht and Liège, so that he might also get partem de tunica Christi.

#### **96. avarice disrupts and devastates the country and its people.**

(Lauterbach, Oct. 2 and 7, 1538, p. 140 f.)

On October 2, he lamented the very miserable confusion of the worldly regime due to the devilish avarice, which hindered all worldly justice, obligations, orders and contracts; everyone was looking to accumulate a lot of money. 1) The stingy do not esteem grain and food as highly as money, which they cannot eat. The world is still all about money, as if soul and body depended on it. God and the neighbor are despised, mammon is served. Dear, look at our times, how the very stingy noblemen, burghers and peasants trample religion underfoot, chase away the preachers by great hunger. If they do not want to build our Lord God's house, their house will fall apart again, as the prophets Haggai and Malachi have said to their despisers.

1) Here in the manuscript is probably interpung incorrectly; the punctum should be after pecuniae.

They were threatened by those who did not want to give anything for worship; therefore God would not give them anything, but they would perish through famine and war. Look at the passages of the prophets there; will it not be the same in our time? There will come terrible times, almost worse than over Sodom 2c.

On October 7, I [Lauterbach] was forced to go to Grünau [Grunnaw] to fetch D. Martin home, who was tied up there by the stone of D. Jonas. Jonas, who was suffering from a severe seizure, and said to Jonas: You must be patient and already live according to the laws, for such are the cases of the world, as Terence (Adelph. IV, 8, 21.) says, "as if we played with dice"; we want to move to joys, so we come to suffering.

#### **97. from a stingy farmer.**

(Lauterbach, Oct. 23, 1538, p. 156.)

It was reported in letters that a rich farmer had recently brought his grain to the city for sale; but since no one wanted to buy it at his price, he is said to have said: I don't want to give it closer, I would rather go home and let the mice eat it. When he had done this, such a large number of mice suddenly gathered in his house that they gnawed all his grain with a great noise. When he fled from his house to his field, he also found his seeds freed and destroyed by the mice; the others were unharmed. To this Luther said: If this is true, it is a certain sign of God's punishment, but unfortunately! of the ungrateful world a sign of wrath.

#### **98. D. M. L. Admonition and warning against avarice.**

In the year 39, the Lord was very angry and vehement against the stinginess of the peasants, who throw away the grain and leave it lying around until it becomes expensive: that, praise God, he said, three peasants have hanged themselves all ready. Such fellows, who rob and toil the whole land, are worthy of such punishment. For this theurge is a wanton theurge. God

There would still have been enough, it also still grows -all days; only that the devil possessed us, to make wanton theurge, become murderers and thieves of our neighbor. For Christ will say in that day, "I was hungry, and you did not feed me," Matt. 25:42. Only do not think that you will escape punishment by selling the grain at such a high price, for you are a cause of the poor man's death and destruction: the devil will lead you away. Therefore, those who fear God and trust in Him, pray for daily bread and against these robbers, so that they may be disgraced or reformed.

**That princes and lords may become stingy, and take to themselves all merchandise and food.**

It is said that in some places in the papacy it was customary to paint the first letters of the three holy kings, C. M. B., which signify their names, Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, over the doors of the holy three kings' eves: over these three letters C. M. B. one used to paint a cross. This should mean that the devil should have no power or authority in these places. When a stranger saw this in one place and did not know what the cross and the three letters meant, he asked one of them; the latter answered him and said: "The three letters mean the virtue of princes, counts and noblemen, because they now want to be cretzmars and alehouses, item, millers and brewers and take to themselves all trades and civil food. When the other asked what the cross written over it meant, he replied: "It means that one should beware of them. This must have been a real prankster who interpreted the letters in this way.

**100. of miserly men who make mischievous theurge.**

Anno 39, April 7, D. M. L. gave a written, serious admonition to D. Creuzigern, to [the] Rath, 1) therein he asked that they want-

1) Cf. also Luther's letter of April 9 to the Elector John Frederick. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 414.

The poor people had to be careful that they did not get hungry. For there was such a shortage the same day that neither bread nor rolls could be had for the money; so he secretly gave the council a felt for the sake of carelessness. In the evening, one of the mayors, Lucas Cranach, came to him and excused the council, saying that the grain had been held up for them in the Mark by an arrest and grief. There spoke D. M. Luther said: "Alas, that our prince is not in the country! The nobility is very brazen and unfaithful: they buy all the grain from the peasants and lay it down, thus hindering the grain, making a wanton theurge, since God's punishment is not yet there. There belongs a prince who talks with such squires.

**The first is a book about the history of the world.**

(Contained in Cap. 59, A 6, para. 3.)

**102. of the nobility's avarice.**

The nobility has a fine and honest food, so does the peasant, because agriculture is a divine food, and the dear patriarchs also had this food, because this food comes straight down from heaven. But what do the nobles do? They scratch and scrape, proliferate, and are in a state of upheaval, and have the falbel, 2) because they want to make their children princes and lords. Some of them are so stingy that they would like to give their children an annual income of ten thousand guilders. Then the children turn out badly, and our Lord God blows into the badly won property, so that everything is pulverized and torn to pieces. Oh, that one should get rich by stealing, it does not do. "Benedictio Damini divites facit," says Solomon in his Proverbs, Cap. 10, 22. That was a wise man. And I have grown old and have also found out whether I do not have a great experience, for I was a monk up to my fourteenth year: but in

2) Perhaps the "Fallübel" in the saying used by Luther: "Was Fallübel gehe den, der es besser macht, als er kann. Wittb. Ausg. Bd. III, col. 463a.

In the twenty years that I have seen the world, I have seen so many miserable cases and miseries that it is exceedingly clear that you will also see how our citizens here will fare; they will not bring their usurped and ambitious goods to the third heir.

The old Margrave Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, once said to Duke Frederick of Saxony: "How do you princes of Saxony strike such heavy coins? In our regiment alone, we have won about three tons of gold from it. Behold, this has happened in about forty years. The land was open to him, he could bring the good coin out, melt it in the crucible, and have Markian pennies struck from it, and bring the same coin back to the Electorate. But where does this good come from? It is a pitiful thing that people are so blind and do not see such things, quod quando peccant, tum sibi ipsis ruinam parant. As the Holy Scripture says in the 73rd Psalm, v. 18: "Dejicis eos, dum attolluntur." It is a hard word: "Tolluntur in altum, ut lapsu graviore ruant." Now the noblemen have thought up a new discovery and say: "May I not do what I want with what is mine? They have learned this from the Gospel. Nun? Yes, the knife is mine, so I may stick it in the neck. It is true, they are Domini suarum rerum, sed non alienarum. If I give one five florins for ten, what is that? are they not thieves and robbers?"

Two of them were reported to D. Martino that they made theft with the grain, as Friedrich B., Tylo D., 1) and was asked: Whether they also had the power to hinder the grain of land on the common market? Luther answered: "It is only human malice; what would happen if God's punishment were to come? Oh, dear Lord God! If the world is so evil, I will gladly die, even of hunger, that I may get away. Then he said to the mayor, "The bailiff is a cause, who has had some grain carried away on ships. As he once said: "If the citizens would

If he could not make good beer and sell it cheaply, he would make the barley expensive before they wiped their mouths. This speech of his makes me suspect him. God has blessed us wonderfully in this sandy land, more than the Thuringian soil, which is a land rich in grain.

On May 14, Friedrich B[randt] sent to D. M. Luthern and apologized for the suspicion, as if he should pour out the grain and be in the company of the envelope; indicated that D. Martin's letter had moved him very much; asked, he did not want to believe such from him. D. Martin answered and said: I have admonished and warned him, but conscientia mille testes adest, conscience is there, that will convince him, tell him: Hoc fac, et vives: do this, and you will live. If he is pious, there is no need.

### 103. stinginess takes away God's blessings.

(Lauterbach, Apr. 3, p. 54.)

After that, some tyrants were remembered who, out of avarice, oppressed their subjects and lost the blessing of God, mowing down everything in the purest way, as Ferdinand, Duke George and [Count] Albrecht of Mansfeld did in the mine, which they would not build on their own. It is an atrocious thing about the insatiable greed that would kill itself. As it is said of Duke George, when he had filled a spacious vault with silver and thalers, he is said to have said: Come back first, what we may not bring in here, we want to find another place. Moses did not wrongly command (Deut. 19, 10.) that the vine and the harvest should not be cut down so purely, but also left for the poor. But because avarice is insatiable, there is no end to the gathering of treasure, because such people hinder the blessing of God to themselves and others.

### 104 On the Avarice of the Thuringian Peasants.

(Lauterbach, May 21, 1538, p. 84.)

Erfurt used to be very productive in terms of crops, but now it is subject to the curse. It is more expensive there than in Wittenberg. I saw this a year ago

1) According to Bindseil II, 164: Friedrich Brandt and Thilo Dene, the latter mayor of Wittenberg.

and considered, because they had small bread and black bread. Oh, no one takes care of the worldly regiment. They only collect money, and so we lose the blessing of God. They have such wine wax there that one can give a jug for three pennies; if they had only half the wine wax, they would be very rich. But since the wine was in great quantity, they could not deny it, gave the wine for the wood.

**105. Christians should not be stingy.**

When people complained about the great stinginess of the people, even at the time of the Gospel, that they did not want to help anyone in need, D. M. Luther said. M. Luther said: "Well, let it be that our hearts are not inclined to give, but a Christian should be mindful of his position and office and of love, so that he may be charitable and gladly give, and give to the poor who are in need, and do it with a cheerful heart, for the sake of God, who will reward it abundantly, as He promised in Luc. 6, 38: "Pray, and it shall be restored unto you"; as Solomon says, Proverbs 19, 17: "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to God by usury." Just as again the Strauesgütlein i) are, who waste and spill everything; as the wise pagan Seneca said to a waster: You have a plague and disease, which is called, Gaudens dando, have desire and joy to give and use everything there. For such a waste is also not to be praised, as one who despises rationality and gives away without distinction and need.

**106. of the avarice of the people, especially when the gospel is taught.**

We now learn, said D. Martinus, since people are taught righteously about God and worship, as well as about right good works, how even an abominable avarice has possessed the hearts of almost all and most of them. No one shows charity to the poor, as he should; they devise various ways and means to increase all things and goods and to make the most of them.

even in the most trivial matters. But what is spent on church servants and schools, as such things are very small, is considered great and high. Therefore, it is not only a great shame, but also a great sin at this time, that it is seen that many parishes are either completely deserted or miserably neglected and abandoned because of people's avarice.

But look at the former times, when there was no true religion and people were led to idolatry and idolatry, and trust in their own self-chosen works; there was no measure nor end to giving, there it was only cutting with all power. Everyone was willing to give, all monasteries full of monks, all monasteries full of chasubles were fed, and enough was given to them, yes, all superfluous: Churches were adorned and decorated with silver and gold in the most beautiful and abundant way, yes, they were showered. Therefore this blindness of the world is to be deplored.

**107. No one lets himself be satisfied.**

We are of the kind, said D. M. Luther, if we have a penny, we would like to have a florin, and if we have a florin, we would like to have a hundred 2c.; if I have a candel of beer, I would like to have the barrel of beer. So the peasants do, they would like to be citizens, citizens noblemen, noblemen princes 2c. That is, not to be satisfied in bodily matters, which happens much less in spiritual matters.

**(108) Avarice corrupts and hinders God's blessings.**

(Cordatus No. 1553.)

Grain will never again be bought as cheaply as before, for our sins deserve punishment, and usury has become too great.

**109. stinginess.**

(Lauterbach) Aug. 8, 1538, p. 111.)

Old wines are cramped, because wines that are three years old are no longer strong. The godless miserly ones may pack themselves away, which they keep for a long time, until they become nasty. They hinder God's blessing and man's joy, as the bishop of Würzburg, the

1) Straues from: to scatter, to disperse; hence the opinion of the word "Strauesgütlein": those who are too good, so that they waste everything, squanderers.

hewed out a cellar completely in a rock, wanted to get several hundred barrels in it without containers, but his covetousness failed him.

#### 110. of those who are attached to the world's wealth.

A man who has surrendered to the world's riches and honor, and yet forgets his soul and God, is like a little child who holds in his hand an apple that is beautiful in shape and outward color, and thinks it has something good, but inside it is rotten and full of worms.

### D. M. Luther's Table Talks on Commerce and Usury.

#### 111. of trafficking and usury.

A civil and lawful trade is blessed by God, that one out of twenty pennies has one, but an ungodly and unrighteous profit in trade is cursed. Like Melchior Lotther, 1) book printer, who from his books, which I gave him to print, gained a great money, that one penny acquired two. It has carried in the first mighty much, so that Hans Grünenberger, the printer, said with conscience: Doctor, it carries too much, I may not have such copies; it was a God-fearing man, therefore he was also blessed by God.

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 595.)

It would be considered a cheap rate or profit if twenty pennies gained one, which would make five florins from the hundred. But now they simply want a penny to make one or two, and a hundred florins two hundred, and such people do not become rich, at least not in goods that remain to them.

The Romans have forbidden to take twelve from the hundred, but now they may take all Leipzig markets from the hundred fifteen guilders, that does annually eight and forty guilders, is just the twenty-fifth. Fie you

times! When sin is no longer considered sin, there is neither counsel nor help; but I hope God will come with the last day, as soon as the word of the gospel will cease.

#### 112. legitimate profit.

In 42, on July 14, Dominus Jakob Prepositus, pastor of Bremen, came to Wittenberg, who had been Luther's companion and brother in the monastery, an old, pious, sincere, learned and God-fearing man, so that he might see his father, Martinum, once again. Then they talked with each other, and first of all they thought of the usury in which Flanders and the Low Countries were drowned. Thereupon spoke D. M. Luther said: "The whole world is drowned and flooded in usury, so that without any fear or hesitation people steal, rob and steal as much as anyone can; therefore those who have invented and practice it should be punished and condemned. If five or six out of a hundred were taken, we would be satisfied, if only there were a pledge that could bear it. And if such a trial were held that the principal sum should not be claimed by the one who lent it, but by the one who borrowed it, so that the redemption would be with the seller and not with the buyer, we would let it happen that six percent should be taken; for the goods have increased, so that it can be used. But the buyer, who has lent the money, shall also bear the risk if the house burns down or the field is washed away, or falls into ruin, or otherwise suffers noticeable damage, so that it cannot bear or pay the interest. And such danger of the pledge makes this contract right; not the re-purchase or the redemption. Oh, how blessed we would be if we could persuade the people to do so; but the devilish usury and turnover eat up everything, so the emperor in his fatherland gives twelve out of a hundred. Fie on you!

D. Martin Luther was asked by a pious, God-fearing man who had lent a hundred florins to someone who had asked him against it.

1) Rebenftock I, 222a.

out of good will and good cheer, let a cellar be used: whether he would also do it with a good conscience? Then the doctor said, "It must be a pious man who wants to have a conscience about this; why would he not take one service after another?"

#### 113. from usurers.

Public usurers are to be banished, as I have now done to the nobleman Heinrich Ryder, that is, he is not to be given the sacrament. But one of them said, "How, if he repented and reformed? M. Luther answered, "That has its measure; but he must become a Zacchaeus and give back what he has robbed too much from those he has robbed, or he will not repent properly. According to the laws described, he cannot keep it with a right and good conscience, let alone according to divine laws. And whoever eats and drinks with him makes himself partaker of his sins.

#### 114. question.

One of them asked M. Luther: If a poor man were in need of money, and had no pledge, would he also take money for his business of advertising? Then he said, "Let him live on his poverty, and feed himself with God and honor; do not sin, nor do wrong, for money is round and perishable, and soon vanishes. So we should not sell the skill of advertising and winning, for it is uncertain. But the people are to be kept to manual labor, and the rich are to be exhorted to works of mercy.

We do not reject worldly and civil commerce and food, which are just and fair, without avarice and deceit. But we see that the world is not to be reformed, is hopeful and proud, and still boasts of evil deeds and misdeeds. What a jumble is now in Leipzig, which is drowned in avarice. Summa, mundus est diaboli, Genitivi casus, et diaboli, Nominativi casus. The world is of the devil, and the people have become vain devils.

#### 115. sermon Dollar Martin Luthers wider den Wucher.

In 39, April 13, Luther preached a very harsh and sharp sermon against the avarice of usurers, saying: "They are worthy of all disgrace and cursing and are the greatest enemies of the countries, strangling many people with their shameful avarice and usury. And very beautifully acted the saying of Solomon: "He who has mercy on the poor lends to God on usury," Proverbs 19:17.

#### 116. from avarice N. N.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 9, 1538, p. 5.)

On the ninth of January, Melanchthon dined with Luther and said much about the cases of the world, which have various influences on the minds of men, and about M. V[itus] W[insheim], who, devoted to avarice, had a very good judgment about good and bad florins. The doctor then said: "If my husband had had such a mind, he would have become very rich. Philip answered, "That is impossible, for a mind that is intent on the common good cannot pursue self-interest.

#### 117. unfair trade.

(Cordatus No. 1316.)

It is an unequal trade if one has it in his will [to set the price as he wants], the other is in need; for the latter respects the goods according to his liking.

#### 118. stinginess does not let people use their goods with joy.

(Contained in Cap. 3, § 14.)

#### Wealth makes people hopeful and stingy.

Where there is great good, there are also all kinds of sins; for good makes courage, courage makes war, and war brings poverty, poverty brings humility. Therefore the rich will also have to give a great account; for to whom much is commanded, he must calculate much. Wealth, understanding, beauty are fine and beautiful gifts of God, but we misuse them very badly. However, great intellect and a skilful

1) Cf. cap. 21, 8 4, last paragraph. In Förstemann it is called oar.

A head full of sense is also an evil thing if it turns out badly; for it is said: Qui velit ingenio cedere, nullus erit. No one wants to depart from his mind and head; he wants to be right. It is much better for a man to be a little beautiful under his face, for a disease may come and take it away; but the ingenium, the mind and head, cannot soon be changed. It is written Gen. 3, 5: "You will be like God"; yes, I also mean, we are gods. This disease is innate in us from Adam: You will be like God.

#### 120. goods the least gifts.

Wealth is the least thing on earth and the smallest gift that God has given to a man. What is it against God's word? Yes, what is it against bodily gifts, as beauty, health? and against the gifts of the mind, as understanding, art, wisdom? We still strive so diligently for them, and let no work, toil, or danger hinder us or prevent us. One strives day and night to accomplish much and great good, and has no rest; yet materialis, formalis, efficiens et finalis causa, nor is there anything good in it. Therefore, our Lord God commonly gives wealth to gross asses, to whom he does not grant anything else.

#### The buyer of a thing shall bear the damage and stand the risk.

If I sell my field to someone, take a hundred guilders and give five of them; if the Elbe comes and washes it all away, the buyer shall bear the damage, not I. Just as if I sell a horse to someone and hand it over to him; if it dies soon afterwards, the damage is the buyer's, not mine, the seller's. The risk of the goods and the property is his who buys it, he must keep it. Res enim transit cum periculo; qui emit, is eam curet. For the seller no longer owns the goods or has them under his control, but he who bought them from me for a hundred guilders, to him I will give five of them annually at interest, and therefore he must also bear the damage.

#### 122 Positiones und Schlussreden vom Wucher zu Wittenberg disputiret.

D. M. Luther were brought Positiones und Schlussreden vom Wucher, which Ulrich Mordeisen of Leipzig was to disputiren, since he wanted to become Doctor, praesidente D. Doctore Hieronymo Schurff. Then he said: If I wanted to argue, then I wanted to use the argument, namely: Everything that God has permitted - and forbidden, that is good; God, however, has forbidden usury; Ergo, therefore 2c. Then one said: Usury is against nature and natural law, why then did God forbear and permit it? Answered D. M. Luther: "To others, as to the Gentiles, as a punishment, for they, the Jews, do not take usury one from another. Ps. 109, 11. And he said further: "The proofs are very well and precisely put together, I can see that he is poking at me with a word in them; but they please me well, if only the lawyers would also think about them, but no one wants to open their mouths.

I have often asked D. Hieronymum often asked him to write a book against usury, and he was willing to do so; but where is it? If they also instructed the princes and lords in this way, as they write and teach about it in the school, and said: Most gracious lord, you have the cry, therefore stop it E. F. G., or I will recite my service to you. But this is not de pane lucrando, there is nothing in the kitchen. Then one said: Every man has his infirmity and sin; if one should do that, then one would also often have to show him other vitia, deficiencies and vices. Answered D. Martin: Ei, this is a lame argument and quite unequal, because adultery is not in my hand nor power and do not have, therefore I replace it again and restituire. But with money and property it is another thing, because I have the same in the box.

#### 123) From one who is willing to lend money usurpingly.

A great, rich prince and lord, since he was about to die and his soul was on the tip of his tongue, was persuaded by his friends and advisors to make a will that one hundred thousand florins, which he had with him, should be put into trade in Leipzig.

This is a beautiful penance, said D. M. Luther. M. Luther; if some were left to die in this way, without sacrament and consolation, the others would be offended by it. So now, unfortunately, it has come to this, that one says: O! good works, my piety does not make me blessed, therefore I will be stingy, proliferate, and do what pleases me and is good for me 2c., and if I am to die, then I will have absolution pronounced. Yes, dear companion, St. Augustine says: God has promised you that he will be merciful to you, but do you also know that he will be merciful to you if you have not wanted his mercy out of spite, in your fresh, young and healthy days? Oh how I would like to preach now, if I were strong.

Then one said: It would be too hard and unkind, if one should not have the power nor the right to demand the main sum, which he has lent, again according to his opportunity. Likewise, if the pledge would perish from water, fire 2c., that the damage should be the buyer's, not the seller's? Answer: Well, with this one has glossed over the usury and disguised to put the money on interest. If you have money, and a pious poor man comes to you and asks you for it, then lend and help him according to your ability; this is the right of a Christian. One of them said, "Yes, they don't give you anything back? Answer: You have to wait. Therefore a Christian must have the three things: 1. he must give, 2. he must lend, and 3. he must suffer: but the none, or ever so little, is more to be done in the world.

#### 124. question.

(Cordatus No. 970-974.)

With a clear conscience, he who has set aside a few guilders can say that he has no money to spend when someone asks him to lend.

Speaking of lending, John [I. Ep. 3, 17.] speaks of the needy brother, and Christ speaks [Luc. 6, 30.] of him that asketh, that is, of the needy, not of an idle man, not of prodigals, who are commonly the greatest beggars, because none of these is helped by lending.

In this city no one is needy except the students. Poverty is great in the city, laziness even greater. You can't get them to work with money, they all prefer to beg.

I will not take my wife and children's bread and give it to those who are not helped by it. But one who is truly poor must be helped from the heart.

Therefore, the passages that speak of alms are not to be interpreted in relation to the idle, for example this [Luc. 3:11]: "He who has two coats, let him give one to him who has none. But by the one coat the Scripture means all the clothing of which the truly needy man has need according to his condition and need, as it calls bread all food.

The devil tries to make us monks again through almsgiving and to give godless idlers the opportunity to indulge and eat. They all wanted to get rich with me before, there was no end to the begging.

#### 125. borrow.

If you lend, you will not get it back. If they give it back to you, it will not happen so soon, and so well and good. But if it does, you lose a good friend.

#### 126. from the game.

Cards and dice games are the meanest now, because this world has invented many and various games, it has, truly, well solved. When I was a boy, all games were forbidden, so that the card makers, pipers and minstrels were not allowed to go to the sacrament, and had to confess from playing, dancing and other spectacles and shows, if they had practiced it or watched it and had been there. Now it goes in high pregnancy, and one defends it for exercise of the mind 2c.

Alas, said D. M. Luther, the world is full of usurers! I would be content to take five, six or even seven of the hundred, because the goods have increased, with a pledge; but so that it can bear such interest, and that the buyer does not have the power to demand the main sum again. Since



But if no pledge is put up, but only money is badly lent at interest, and one has to demand the principal sum for a certain time, then it is not right. For money is a barren commodity; it does not bear and raise money again, since it is sown in the same way as grain is sown; I cannot sell it by my skill. Therefore the present dealings with money are unjust and against God, which destroy and drain the land and the people.

One of them said, "Why don't princes and lords punish such unlawful and unchristian trades and usury? M. Luther answered: What! Kings, princes, and lords have other things to do, they have to panketiren, prangen, hagen 2c., cannot wait for it: therefore it goes and stands also, as long as it can, it must break and a great unpredictable change must follow. But I hope that the last day will soon put an end to it.

### 127. from boozing.

I recently, said D. M. Luther, preached a hard and sharp sermon at court against drinking; but it does not help. Taubenheim and Minkwitz say: It could not be otherwise at court, because the musica and all knightly and string playing would have fallen, only with boozing would now be the worship at courts. And indeed our most gracious lord and prince is a great strong lord, can well stand a good drink, his need makes a

If he were a drunkard, his lady would not have it good. But when I come to the prince again, I will do no more than ask him to command his subjects and courtiers everywhere, with serious punishment, that they should get drunk. Perhaps, if it were commanded, they would do the contrary; quia nitimur in vetitum, what is forbidden, against it one gladly does.

### The world always wants new things, soon gets tired of one thing.

(Cordatus No. 961. 962.)

The ingratitude and vanity of the world cannot be expressed [in words]. Before the New Testament was translated, everyone wanted it to be translated. When it was translated, they loved it for four weeks and wanted the Old Testament to be translated. This also lasted four weeks and the Psalter also four weeks. The book of Jesus Sirach, 1) which now causes much trouble, will also last four weeks after it is translated, and after that the people will desire something new until they fall into error.

The book of Jesus Sirach is entirely about the house, so the "Ecclesiastes" is about the world regiment. It is house law and city law.

1) The book Jesus Sirach was finished in 1533, therefore in this year these words will be spoken. (Wrampelmeyer.)

## Chapter 5.

# From idolatry.

1. what idolatry is.
  2. to establish worship without God's command.
  3. the nature and character of the idolaters or works saints.
  4. from the idolatry of Baal Peor.
  5. idolatry of Moloch, the idol of the Ammonites.
  6. Jeroboam's calves and the cast calf of the Jews.
  7. Idolatry is naturally inherited by us.
  8. where idolatry initially come from.
  - (9) Apart from Christ, all worship is idolatry.
  10. 11. Idolatry and its punishment.
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  13. beginning of idolatry.
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- The world is full of idolatry.

16. idolatry in the papacy.
  17. that Jacob put away foreign gods, and from Cain.
  18. idolatry and superstition is common to all.
  19. warriors have commonly had and used a lot of superstitions in the papacy.
  20. the pagans' monkey work of the holy of holies and others.
  21. of the golden calf.
  22. of the sacrifice of the people.
  23. idolatry, which is practiced with the monks and nuns.
  - (24) The idolatry of false teachers is for all time.
  25. 26. Of idolatry in invocation of the saints.
  27. of foreign gods.
- What idolatry is.

### 1. what idolatry is.

Idolatry is and means all kinds of holiness, worship and spiritual being, glittering from the outside as beautifully and gloriously as it can, plus all kinds of heated and ardent devotion of the heart, of those who want to serve God without Christ, the mediator, without his word and special command. For example, in the papacy, it was considered one of the most spiritual works when the monks sat in their cells and wrote about God and His wonderful works; when they were so fervently inflamed in their great devotion that they lay on their knees, prayed and had their contemplation of heavenly things with such great joy and devotion that they thought they had great joy. Then they cast out all thoughts of women and all that is perishable, thinking only of God and His great wondrous works. All this, which reason considers to be vain angelic spirituality, is still a work of the flesh, as St. Paul clearly indicates when he speaks Gal. 5:19, 20: "But the works of the flesh are manifest, which are adultery, fornication, idolatry, sorcery" 2c.

Therefore, all kinds of religion (let it have a name and appearance, as great and holy as it may be), since one wants to serve God without His word and command, is nothing else but idolatry. And the holier and more spiritual they seem, the more harmful and poisonous they are; for they lead people away from faith in Christ, and make them rely on their own powers, works, righteousness; as this time of the Anabaptists is also, who want to be far better than others 2c. And of all monks, especially of the Carthusians, order, fasting, praying, hard shirts, the most holy works, rule and whole life, which state, however, was held in the papacy the most holy, are vain carnal works: for they hold that they are holy and become blessed, not through Christ, whom they regard and fear as a strict, wrathful judge, but through their order rules.

So now no one can persuade the papists that the corner mass is the greatest blasphemy and idolatry on earth, the like of which has been so abominable in Christendom since the beginning of time.

The apostles' time has never been, for they are blinded and hardened. Therefore all their understanding and knowledge of God and all divine things is also perverse and wrong, considering that to be the right and greatest worship, which is the greatest and most abominable idolatry. And again, that is idolatry, which is the right and best worship, but to know Christ and believe in him. But we, who believe in Christ and have his mind, can, praise God, know and judge everything, but can be judged by no one with truth, 1 Cor. 2:15.

### 2. setting up worship without God's command.

One of them asked: How can one prove that whoever establishes a church service out of good opinion and devotion, without God's word and command, is lacking the right God and serves a foreign god? He answered: A man honors and calls upon God for this reason, that he turns to Him for comfort, help and all good things. If the same invocation and honor happens according to God's word, that man turns to God for all graces because of his promise and promise made to us in Christ, he honors and calls on the true, living, eternal God. But if he performs a work or service of God out of his own devotion and discretion, in order to appease God's wrath, to obtain forgiveness of sins, eternal life and blessedness, as is the way of all hypocrites and saints of works, then he honors and worships an idol that he himself has invented in his heart, contrary to God's command and commandment, and is an idolater and idolater; and it does not help him to think, I do it in honor of the right God: "For whatsoever is not of faith is sin," Rom. 14, 23.

### 3. the nature and character of the idolaters or works saints.

(Cordatus No. 887.)

The idolaters do as the musicians do, for as often as God wants them for His service, He cannot make them do it. Although he preaches to them in his word the way, the time and the place of his service, he does not make them do it.

they do not want. All hypocrites, papists, and even all natural people do the same. All of them want to worship God and seek Him as He does not want them to, in high groves 2c. So let him wait for us, because it annoys him. Idolatry is God's angerer, irritant, and I will confront them for their inventions.

#### 4. Baal Peor's idolatry.

The Jews write to the Gentiles out of envy and annoyance: It was such a service and such a way, that before the image of Baal Peor, one has torn open and thrown one's butt. This is not the opinion, for all idolatries and idolatry have ever been so arranged, that they have had a semblance of spirituality and holiness. But I think it was such an influx and service, as with us in the Pabstthum St. Valten, 1) St. Antonius, Cyriaci and Rochi, and the like; that Baal Peor should not do harm to the people, nor spoil them with pestilence, cold fire, Sanct Valtens pestilence, or other plagues.

Also I consider it to have been a disorder, similar to our pilgrimages and church masses, that they (as written in Ex. 32, 6. of the idolatry of the cast calf) got up early in the morning, prayed and sacrificed, then ate and drank, and later here two, there two got together and went out under the bushes to do their baptism 2c. The way has been very common before this time in the Pabstthum with the pilgrimages that one has visited in the cross week of the holy place of churches, about a half, whole, two or three mile way from the cities. And when two could not come together to commit their fornication, they went to such pilgrimages, atoned for their lust, but under the pretense of the holy service. There is still much of this abominable nature under the cursed papacy; may God put an end to it, amen.

#### 5. idolatry of Moloch, the Ammonite idol.

This idolatry has had a great appearance and glorious prestige, as if it were dearer and more pleasing to God than the common worship commanded by Moses in the Law. Therefore, many people who seemed devout, spiritual and holy from the outside, when they wanted to show God a pleasing service, sacrificed their sons and daughters out of great love and devotion in honor of God, as they thought, and thought that by such work they would become righteous and dear children of God. They did not mean otherwise, for in this they followed Abraham's example, Genesis 22, and pleased God with it.

Against this the prophets preached fiercely, calling it sacrificed to idols and devils, not to God, as the 106th Psalm, v. 37, 38, testifies: "They sacrificed their sons and their daughters to the devils, and shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and their daughters, which they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan. And Jer. 32:35: "They have built the high places of Baal in the valley of Benhinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters to Moloch, whereof I commanded them not; neither did it ever enter into my mind that they should do such abomination. "2c. Jeremiah continued on 7. But the prophets had to lie and be damned heretics.

This idolatry was also common in the papacy, but in a different way. The parents were praised blessed who gave one or more children into the monasteries, so that they became monks or nuns, since they could serve God day and night 2c. Hence the common saying: "Blessed is the mother who has given birth to a child who has become a spiritual person.

These sons and daughters were not burned in the flesh and sacrificed to idols, like those mentioned above, but they were thrown into the jaws of the devil, who, through his apostles, the pope and his multitude, miserably murdered their souls with false doctrine, so that they relied on their works 2c. Now, "he was a murderer and a liar from the beginning", Joh. 8, 44. This his handiwork he does without ceasing, daily murdering in many ways.

1) d. i. Valentin.

Wise countless people all over the world. Those he cannot kill physically, he kills spiritually, through lies and false teaching, but under the appearance of truth and wholesome teaching. Summa, "he goes about" without ceasing "like a roaring lion" 2c. Know how to judge thyself, "that thou be sober and watchful, and resist him steadfastly in the faith," 1 Pet 5:8, 9.

Of the idol Moloch spoke Anno 1540 D. Luther (as M. Hieronymus Besold, blessed, has diligently written it out), that the holy scripture often remembers Moloch, and that Lyra and the Jews' Commentarii said that it would have been an idol, made of copper and brass, like a man, who would have held his hands in front of him, in which they would have put glowing coals. When the brass image became hot, a father went and sacrificed to the idol, took his own child and placed it in the idol's glowing hands. However, they rang and tolled with bells and cymbals and blew horns so that the parents did not hear the child's cry. Against this all the prophets cried out, especially Jeremiah (Cap./, 31. 19, 5. 32, 35.). And the prophets write that Ahaz sacrificed his son in this way. (2 Kings 16:3) In the 106th Psalm, v. 37, it also says this. All this was done out of the opinion and tradition that they had thought: If I sacrifice to our Lord God, I will sacrifice something delicious to Him; what shall I sacrifice to Him, a calf? I will sacrifice My own son to Him.

#### **6. Jeroboam's calves, and that cast of the Jews.**

The calves remain in the world forever, until the last day, not that anyone should make and have made for him new calves like those; but in whom a man, putting his trust and confidence in God, makes for him, like Jeroboam, calves, that is, other and strange gods, which he honors and worships instead of the one, right, living and eternal God, who alone can and will counsel and help in all distress. So now all these calves serve, who abandon themselves

on their art, wisdom, strength, holiness, wealth, honor, power, alliance, good fortifications, fortresses, and in sum, on everything, be it what it may, since the world builds on and defies them; for such reliance on perishable creatures is true idolatry and idolatrousness.

#### **7. idolatry is naturally inherited.**

(Cordatus No. 1034.)

We all easily fall into idolatry because we are all idolaters by nature, and since idolatry is innate in us, we like it very much.

#### **8. from where idolatry initially arose.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 151.)

#### **(9) Apart from Christ, all worship is idolatry.**

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Btief to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 153.)

#### **10. idolatry and its punishment.**

Idolatry is called and is, if everything is not done, taught and done according to God's word, as it prescribes and teaches us. For where one wants to serve God, one must consider not what one does and the work, but how it is to be done, whether God has also commanded it, since "God" (as Samuel says 2 Sam. 15, 22.) "is more pleased with the obedience of His word than with the burnt offering.

Therefore, whoever does not obey God's voice is an idolater, even if he praises the highest and most difficult divine services. For it is the characteristic of idolaters that they do not choose what is easy and small to look at, but what is great and difficult. Such things have been seen in monks, who always and almost daily devise new services; but because God has not commanded it in His word, it is vain idolatry, along with it and always blasphemy, contempt for God's word, avarice, injustice, violence, unjust courts and judgments, and the like.

For what men set up for worship without God's word and command is idolatry; as the Scriptures say.

Therefore, one should flee idolatry with the utmost diligence, as it is not followed by evil punishment, but by final and extreme destruction. For since God punishes the injustice done to one's neighbor with terrible scourges, as is seen in the prophets and histories, how much more severely and cruelly will he punish when he sees that his honor is defiled and oppressed by godless people through idolatry, false doctrine and idolatry? Oh, the punishment will be much greater than a man's heart can think or his tongue can utter.

#### 11. a different.

All worship that is performed without God's command is ungodly and idolatry. Although such worship is praised in fathers who had God's command. And from this rule all monasticism and idolatry in the priesthood and elsewhere can be judged and judged.

#### 12. end of idolatry and idolatrous.

The life of idolaters is not only arduous, for they do not celebrate or rest, and they get sour, but idolatry is sure to be followed by misfortune and ruin, even if it is blissful in the first place, and receives great goods and power. On the other hand, the right, true, pure religion must suffer hunger and sorrow, be fiercely contested and persecuted. But how the idolaters use such goods can be seen in the papacy, in foundations, at the courts of cardinals and bishops, and it happens with them just as Moses says: "When he was fat and full, he became lustful" 2c. Deut. 31, 20.

And the secular authorities defend and protect such ungodly beings and abominations; for kings and princes (which the Scriptures call shields Ps. 47:10 because of their office, which they should serve with their power) are commonly patrons of ungodly beings and idolatry. But what will be the end of it? Namely, as Samuel says in 1 Sam. 12, 25: "If you do evil, you will be wronged.

then both you and your king will be lost." For idolatries, which one performs and does in order to avert God's wrath, provoke God to anger even more. Thus, the papists of today, with their masses, pilgrimages, and invocations to the saints, do nothing but promote their ruin and downfall, and hasten to punish them. For God can suffer nothing less than contempt of His word, which always follows idolatry for and for. From this comes strife and dissension, hatred and enmity of the right pure doctrine, and murder; for the idolaters want to defend their false doctrine and idolatry, not only with insults and blasphemies, but also with their fists.

Therefore, God is forced on both sides to look into it and to judge, so that the godly are not oppressed, and the idolaters do not go unpunished, because they have deviated from God's word and have created new services, with which the other simple and unintelligent people, as entangled and confused with nets, may not come to the right knowledge of God. Which sin, however, those who are in the teaching and preaching ministry should punish 'freely and unashamedly, regardless of their high dignity and dignity. For the prophets, as seen in Hosea, chap. 5:1, not only punish the house of Israel in general, but also publicly name the priests in particular; item, the king's house, that is, the king himself and the whole court. They did not ask that there was great danger that the authorities were thus publicly punished and touched, and that they were scorned for it, and that their sermons were reproached as seditious. For another and greater danger pressed upon them, namely, that they saw that by such examples of the authorities the subjects were also seduced and provoked to sin.

Therefore it is highly necessary to punish the founders and masters or perpetrators of such offenses, especially if they are in high offices, powerful and learned; although it is not without danger. Above all, however, the abuses in the papacy and other errors are to be punished with seriousness, and one is to

Do not turn to the judgment of the worldly wise nor be deterred, who think that the right pure doctrine could nevertheless be preserved, if one did it carefully and cleanly, that one dealt with it gently and quietly, and for the sake of common peace let the adversaries pass and go a little, see through the fingers, do not lead with the seed bell. No, dear sirs, the danger of arousal is greater, which righteous, faithful teachers and preachers can neither counsel nor control in any other way than to freely and unashamedly punish what they see to be evil and wrong, false and seductive.

### 13. beginning of idolatry.

I hold, said D. M. Luther, that idolatry has its origin and has come from the right religion: that the holy fathers commanded their children and told them to pray early; after that the descendants worshipped the sun early. As then all idolatry commonly has its beginning from imitating the right worship, and wants to embellish itself with a semblance of divine word and the pious examples that have had God's command. .

(The following paragraph at Cordatus No. 1431.)

Every idolater is stingy; the work saints [religios] are idolaters, therefore stingy. The true righteousness has pity, the false, indignation. Everyone who deals with (his own] righteousness. 1) is sad and safe, and the holier [religiosior ---- scrupulous], the stingier.

### 14. from the Astrologia.

(Contained in Cap. 70, § 4, last paragraph.)

#### The world is full of idolatry.

All the world (also God's own people, the Jews) has been full of idolatry, for one went there, the other there, worshipping as much as they had mountains and trees in the land, which were pleasant and beautiful; as is seen in the prophets, and we have also done in the papacy. Such was the high idolatry, since they worshipped God with earnestness.

1) Justitarius cannot possibly mean "judge" or "judicial officer" here. That would be an idea quite foreign to Luther.

They sought, sacrificed and fasted, and hurt the body with it. But no one was served by it but the devil and his own thoughts. This then is the greatest dishonor and blasphemy that God encounters in the world, which arises from not knowing Christ; for everything that is apart from and without Christ, be it ever so glorious and great, is nothing but blasphemy and idolatry.

After that, there is another grosser idolatry, where the great god Mammon, that is, money and goods and the like, is honored and worshipped, since one's heart clings to it and trusts in it. The world is also full of such gross idolatry; for emperors, kings, princes, noblemen, citizens, peasants, go about with the crude block, the shameful mammon, the wretched helper of necessity; everything is attached to it. Thus God is blasphemed and dishonored everywhere, both with the subtle idolatry of hypocrites and great saints, as among the Jews were the Pharisees and Sadducees, and among us are the Carthusians and monks: they worshipped their own righteousness, great merits and holiness, virtues and good works; and with gross idolatry, since most of them despise God and cling to mammon. This is what goes on throughout the world, that people do not honor God, do not ask about Him, do not call upon Him, do not thank Him.

### 16. idolatry in the papacy.

D. Martinus said how in the papacy on the feasts of St. Catherine and other holy martyrs these words and prayers were read and sung: O God, have mercy and be merciful to those who commemorate my memory. God answered: "Come, my beloved, what you have asked, you have received. So this is where idolatry came from. ,

After that they unashamedly taught: The saints can do more than God has commanded them, have more merits than meritlessness. There the saying of St. Paul had to be used to Colossians, Cap. 1, 24, where he says: "Now I rejoice in my suffering, which I suffer for you, and make up in my flesh what is still lacking in afflictions in Christ" 2c. He had to serve them for the

They did this for their idolatry and for the merit of their other works, which they shared and sold to others. Since St. Peter says 1 Ep. 4, 18: "If the righteous is hardly preserved, where will the ungodly and the sinner remain? Nor did the desperate boys Opera "supererogatio- nis, remaining works, which they did not need, impudently invented.

That is why the great deception of the devil came with the pilgrimages to Grimmethal, where people were blinded as if they were mad and foolish. Servants, maids, shepherds, women, left their profession in the queue and ran there. It is rightly called Grimmethal, Vallis furoris; there was no one who would have spoken a word against it. The bishop of Würzburg was silent about it and agreed to it, and because we now speak against it and say that it is wrong and idolatry, we are persecuted to the utmost. If we had had faith in Christ, we could have easily recognized and judged this; but because we have abandoned it, we have fallen into all kinds of darkness. How the good N. in H. and near N. built a chapel for a horse. Well, let us pray and be brave, and keep faithful to God's word.

#### 17. that Jacob put away foreign gods, and from Cain.

(Cordatus No. 1590.)

Since in the first book of Moses [Cap. 35, 2.] it is read about Jacob that he had removed the foreign gods, one must not think as if he had only removed or broken one or the other idol, but that he had completely changed the false worship. There will have been a being and the true worship has often fallen, as when one reads [Gen. 4, 26.] that Enos began to call on the name of the Lord, because the true worship was violated by Cain, who was an evil-doer; but it should not have been, because by the promise of the Lord 1) [Gen. 4, 15.

1) In the original erroneously xntis. - The preceding words: "but it should not have been" are either to be understood with Dr. Wrampelmeyer: "he was not predestined for that" or, as it seems to us, it would be better to change "had" into "would have", which fits better into the context.

If he said, "I'll beat you seven times over," he only got worse, and so he will have been a seemingly fine saint of the world, and he did not want to be ungodly.

#### 18. idolatry and superstition are common everywhere.

(Cordatus No. 945. 2)

The Turks, the Tartars and all the pagans very often use writings and magic signs to fortify themselves against weapons. This abuse finally reached the Christians, and Maximilian was very superstitious in matters of war. The pagans slaughtered in danger even what was dearest to them. The cause of this is that they know nothing of faith and prayer, which are the advantage of Christians.

#### 19. warriors have commonly had and used a lot of superstitions in the papacy.

(Cordatus No. 946. 947.)

Not only superstitious, but also foolish was the vow of Jephthah, who killed his daughter after the victory, before which the Holy Spirit came upon him [Judges 11:29]. But God lets His saints be fooled. If a godly man had been there, who would have told him not to kill his daughter, the law would have suffered a mitigation, he [God] would not have meant it that way, he would have saved the daughter, as Jonathan was redeemed [1 Sam. 14, 45.] from the vow of his father Saul.

The histories of the Old Testament are very glorious, but to us, when we read them, quite dead; but to the believer they live, like the history of Jephthah, which is followed by such great lamentation and lamentation over the virgin for two 3) months, which [lamentation] happens without a doubt [Judges 11:37], because she was to die without children, as can be seen in Hannah [1 Sam. 1]. And for sensible spouses barrenness is something [very] hard, which one easily realizes in the joy we have in our children, who are the sweetest pledge of marriage.

2) A part of this number was drawn to the following §; however, we let it follow here completely.

3) In the original erroneously "three" months. Cf. 11, 37. 39.

### 20. the pagans' monkey work of the holy of holies and others.

The Gentiles took it from the Jews and imitated them with the holy of holies, that they had their places and corners, where one asked the idols for advice, where they gave answers; these were also dark and gloomy. But the holy of holies was a dark place in the temple, so that the kingdom of faith is indicated, which cannot be grasped and understood with any reason, but only with faith. In this way the Gentiles also imitated and followed the Jews in slaughtering and sacrificing their children; for it was a good service to God in the sight of reason to slaughter and sacrifice children, as if to say, "If we had something dearer, we would also dare to do it and serve and please God.

### 21. the golden calf.

When the people in the desert, because Moses was on the mountain, set up a golden calf with Aaron the high priest, Exodus 32, they did not want to honor another god or have many gods, 1) but only wanted to change God and His service, beyond what Moses had prescribed and commanded them. Not all, but only the most noble and a part of the people agreed. They wanted to indicate that God wanted to be honored and reconciled by sacrificing calves.

Such sacrifices were before the law, coming from the fathers and taken. And the worship of the Jewish calf was taken from the Egyptians and was a tradition: they honored an ox and an idol, Apis, just as the people of Israel did, as St. Stephen tells Apost. 7, 41. ff. But this worship of the Egyptians is a tradition of Joseph, who sacrificed oxen and calves.

### 22. of the sacrifice of the people.

(Lauterbach, July 21, 1538, p. 100.)

On July 21, there was talk of human sacrifices that were still taking place, which were only

1) Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 2114, § 246.

Emperor Carl in our time and erected Minorite monasteries in their place. It was said that at the court of Ferdinand there was a priest's robe of that idolatrous service, which was made of various colored bird feathers, but the sleeves were small, the hands of gold, set with artificially carved and other precious stones. Adorned with this garment, the priest awaits a revelation and then chooses a child or adult to sacrifice with great reverence from the people. Luther said: "It is not to be wondered at that such idolatries are still going on, since in the lifetime of the most holy prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah this idolatry was in bloom among the people of God, against which the prophets fought to the death. For idolatry always has the greatest prestige.

### 23. idolatry, which is practiced with monasticism and nunnery.

There must be sects, said D. Luther. M. Luther, who practice idolatry as long as the world stands, and with the highest devotion give the errors a great appearance and prestige. Just look how much weeping and wailing there was at the blessing when the parents gave their children into the monasteries to be blessed; especially the maidens when they sang the Regnum mundi. Oh! what weeping there was when the parents sacrificed their children to Moloch and burned them. It was a horrible sacrifice in the past, especially when the parents' natural love and inclination towards the children was great, because they were not blocks and sticks.

### (24) The idolatry of false teachers is for all time.

D. M. Luther was brought a great book, which a Frenchman, called Wilhelmus Postellus, had written about unity in the world, in which he tried hard to prove the articles of faith from reason and nature, so that he would convert the Turks and the Jews, and bring all people (they would have as many different kinds of worship as they always wanted) to one faith. Then said D. M. Luther said: "It is too much to fast for one bite, although others have fasted before us.



In the past, the French also wrote books of natural theology, with which they wanted to prove the Christian faith from natural reason. But this one has fared according to the saying: Frenchmen lack brains. There will still come enthusiasts, who will dare to put all kinds of idolatry with a sham and cover on the faith and thereby embellish it. Then Philip Melanchthon said: He had heard of a merchant who had seen in India that they worshipped serpents, and that the people there had honored a large serpent and dragons with the highest worship.

**(25) Of the invocation of the saints, which is also idolatry.**

The question was asked: "Where did the papists originally get the calls of the dead saints? Then spoke D. M. Luther: Perhaps they took it from the pagans, who divided God into innumerable images and idols, and assigned and gave each one its office and work. As they invented and pretended that Pallas was such a goddess, through whom society, peace and friendship among men would be preserved. They did the same with other idols, so that each one had his own humble work. The papists unchristianly imitated them, thus denying God's omnipotence, and each of them had a special opinion apart from God's word, according to his own mind, in the most certain way.

Just as once there was a sacristan who, when he was to consecrate many hosts over the altar, thought that he had not spoken congruously according to the Grammatica: This is my body; but said: These are my bodies. He then boasted of his art and said, "If I had not been such a good grammarian, I would have committed heresy and consecrated only one host. Such fellows, said D. M. Luther, the world will produce many, that the Grammatici, Dialectici, Rhetores and Philosophi will falsify the holy scripture and make a mixture out of it and their art; since one can highly

Each should remain in its place, as and for what it is ordered by God, not brew into each other. Theology should be empress, philosophy and other good arts should be its servant; not rule and master it, as Servetus, Campanus and other enthusiasts do. May God preserve His dear Church, which is carried by Him like a child in its mother's womb, and protect it from such scholastic and philosophical theology.

**26. another one of invocation of the deceased saints.**

(Lauterbach, April 3, 1538, p. 53.)

The invocation of the saints has been a terrible blindness and a source of money; nevertheless, the papists do not want to turn back. Summa: Even the dead have had to help to strengthen the foundation of the pope, because the invocation of the saints and the satisfaction for the dead have carried everything. The dead have borne much more than the living. Superstition nourishes more than religion; the former is the master, the latter the maid. 1)

**27. of foreign gods.**

Doctor M. Luther was asked: How one could prove that having foreign gods means so much as to establish and establish a worship against God's word? To this he answered and said: Deus et cultus sunt relativa, God and worship belong together, one cannot be without the other. For God must be the God of every man or people, and is always in praedicamento relationis, referring and drawing on one another. God wants to have some who call upon him and honor him; for having a God and honoring him belong together, sunt relativa, as husband and wife in marriage, neither can be without the other. Therefore whoever sets up and establishes a worship service of his own, out of his own devotion, without God's command, is an adulterer and idolatrous, as a wife is when she keeps company with another, and woos him, and again; and seeks one another.

1) This is immediately followed in the original by Chapter 33, § 3.

God, for the right, true God, even though he thinks he is doing God a righteous service.

#### What idolatry is.

This actually means to commit idolatry: without God's command, out of one's own devotion, to make a

Service to God. For he wants to be unmastered by us, how we should serve him: he wants to teach us and pretend it: his word should be there, it should shine and guide us. Without his word everything is idolatry and vain lies, however devout and beautiful it may be.

## Chapter 6.

# Of the Holy Trinity.

1. comparison of the holy trinity.
- 2 There is an image of the Trinity in all creatures. The article of the Holy Trinity surpasses all reason.
4. testimonies of the Holy Trinity.

- The article of the Holy Trinity has always been contested.
6. as the learned pagans have described God.
7. that the heretics abuse their art and skill, and dispute the articles of faith.

### 1. comparison of the holy trinity.

In divine things and matters, the Father is the Grammatica, for he gives the words and is the fountain from which flow good, fine, pure words to be spoken. The Son is the Dialectica, for he gives the disposition, how a thing is to be put in fine order one after the other, so that it closes and follows one after the other. The Holy Spirit, however, is the Rhetorica, the speaker, if it is finely presented, blows and drives, makes alive and powerful, so that it presses on and takes the hearts.

in rivers, the essence, the current, and the force; in astronomy, motion, light, influence; in grammar, three parts; in a Hebrew word, three essential letters; in arithmetic, three numbers; in dialectics, explanation, division, conclusion; in rhetoric, the outline, the delivery of the speech, the *gestures*, or the recital, for invention and memory are gifts of nature, not of art.

Thus every thing has weight, number and measure, but this, which is very good, the scholastics pass over and have devised useless things.

### 2 There is an image of the Trinity in all creatures.

(Cordatus No. 1289. 1290.)

All that is his, including the Trinity, God has placed in his creature. So he also put the forgiveness of sins against the enemy, the swine, the ox, the woman, etc., which must be spared, just as he himself does. Therefore his epithet is that he alone is. For he alone can have patience with men, but with men is the greatest right, yea, even the greatest wrong. Thus Paul says in Acts, Cap. 13, [18.], "He tolerated their ways." In the sun you find the essence,

### The article of the Holy Trinity surpasses all reason.

On the evening when Martin Luther had preached early about the Holy Trinity, he spoke a great deal about this high, excellent article of our Christian faith, which surpasses all human reason and understanding, namely, that one is three and three is one; which no arithmetician, philosopher, jurist, Jew or Turk can grasp or understand. Thus

1) Instead of splendor, which was just before also used of the sun, should be read with vine I, 4b and binding rope I, 8. probably luxury.

The similitude of the physical father and son does little for the matter, for it is a very weak image or similitude, in which only the difference of the two persons is indicated; namely, that these two persons are an inseparable being, which no creature can comprehend or indicate.

Basil, one of the ancient teachers, sets forth and shows the best simile or image of this, namely, that all men are called rational creatures because of reason, which is common and natural to all men, for what has reason is a man. But men are nevertheless differentiated: although they have a common name, that they are called rational men, yet one in particular is very unlike the other, because one far surpasses the other in understanding and reason, and also in other gifts and virtues.

#### 4. testimonies of the Holy Trinity.

(This § is found in the house postilla. 2. sermon on sunday. Trin. Walch, St. Louis ed.; vol. XIII, col. 680-682, §1.)

#### **This article has always been fiercely contested.**

(This § is found in the 1. sermon on Sund. Trin. in the house postillon. Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. XIII, col. 666, §3; col. 667, §5 and 6; col. 674, §25; col. 675, §27. 28.)

#### 6. as the learned pagans have described God.

The philosophers and learned pagans have described God as being like a circle, which dot is everywhere in the middle, but its circumferentiality, which is all around it from the outside, is nowhere. So that they would indicate that God is everything and nothing; for our Lord God is everywhere, and yet cannot be comprehended nor grasped. I find him not only at Jerusalem in the temple, and in the image and likeness,

as he exemplifies and holds himself up to me. He is everywhere, namely in the baptism, crib, sacrament, but nowhere is he in his majesty, nor in my speculation, as I paint him according to my thoughts and sense. Oh good God, how wondrous you are, "who put to shame the wise in their wisdom," Job 1:12, 13. It still takes effort and work enough for us to understand and attain something of it, only the ABC, if we pray diligently and call upon God for help. And if the wicked, out of their own thirst and iniquity, according to their own reason, want to decide and do something without and against God, then God turns it around immediately, so that it wins the canker: and if he does not, then he loses the honor and glory of his majesty.

#### 7. that the heretics abuse their skill and art and dispute the articles of faith.

When in 1532 a horribly evil book against the Holy Trinity had gone out in print, D. Luther said: "The enthusiasts do not think that other people have also been challenged by this article; but it does not hold the sting that I oppose the Word of God and the Holy Spirit with my thoughts. When M. Veit Dietrich said to the doctor: "Someone should ask that he would not be taught in the Holy Scriptures, but that he would be taught in them. Thereupon said D. Luther said: "Oh no, otherwise one would also have to ask that there be no gold in the world; item, that there be no sun, for the sun is a cause of all sins and vices in the other table of the ten commandments, and if there were eternal night 1), then there would be less death and murder, or fornication and adultery, also less theft.

1) So set by us. Aurifaber: "not". Stangwald: "day and night". - Night" also stood in the section we omitted, Cap. 15, § 42.

## Chapter 7.

### Of the Lord Christ.

1. that Christ is truly God.
2. whereby Christ's divinity is recognized.
3. believing in Christ is the right religion.
4. of the humanity of Christ.
- No human being can comprehend the two natures in Christ.
6. thoughts of D. M. Luther about the birth of Christ.
7. from the feast of the Annunciation of Mary.
8. the faithless ingratitude.
9. why Christ was born.
10. 11. D. L. comforting thoughts of the Incarnation of the Son of God.
12. of the childhood and youth of Jesus; item, of the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Savior.
- No man can unlearn Christ.
- The name of Jesus alone helps.
15. that the Lord Christ is our high priest, from Romans 8.
- Christ remains priest and king.
17. 18. Christ is our high priest.
19. Christ an eternal priest.
20. Christ our King and God.
21. schefflimini.
22. Christ presents himself as if he does not care for his poor, afflicted and persecuted members.
23. the scripture separates Christ from our priest, bridegroom 2c.
24. Christ our eternal mediator.
- 25 Against Schwenkfeld's Opinion of the Creatureliness of Christ.
- 26 All errors and heresies go against Christ.
- 27, 28: That the Lord Christ's divinity has been contested by the devil and heretics for and for.
- The deity of Christ should not be separated from his humanity.
- 30) Whether the Godhead in Christ also suffered.
31. error of the heretics in the article of Christ.
- Of the resurrection of Christ, that reason cannot comprehend it.
33. about Christ's resurrection, what it is good for.
34. suffering of Christ and His Church, and how Christ nullifies the power of the devil.
- Collation of the suffering of Christ with the suffering of His Church.
- 36) At what time and hour Christ ate the paschal lamb.
37. Christ's friendly conversation in the Lord's Supper.
38. of the sweating of blood and other spiritual sufferings of the Lord Christ in the garden.
39. Christ's own work.
40. how Christ becomes ours rightly.
41. Christ the greatest of sinners.
42. of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem.
43. of Christ's sufferings, who did and still do the most harm to him, Jews and Gentiles.
44. of Christ's future.
- 45 Christ preached from a book.
46. Christ has gone to hell.
47. of Christ's resurrection.
48. epitaph of the Lord Jesus Christ, our Savior, which is to be carved on his tomb at Jerusalem.
- Another epitaph found at Jerusalem near the tomb of the Lord Christ.
50. Christ our glory and praise.
- (51) Whether they were right who said and spread the miraculous signs of the Lord Christ, when he had forbidden them.
- After his resurrection, Christ revealed to the apostles everything that had happened to him during his suffering.
53. Christ's humility and kindness.
- Christ leads his kingdom wonderfully.
55. crucifix of Christ.
- In Jesus Christ alone shall one believe.
- Christ alone should be in a Christian's heart.
58. Christ is law and freedom, sin and righteousness, death and life.
59. why Christ had come.
- 60 Christ's special work and own ministry.
61. which people may benefit from Christ.
62. Christ must remain eternally, and all who believe in him.
- No one wants to have Christ as his Lord.
- He who knows Christ well is a master of the Scriptures.
65. before Christ, one should never be afraid.
- The dead Christ is not forgotten.
- 67 Christ wars with great lords.
68. Christ often revealed Himself to His disciples after His resurrection from the dead.
69. 70. Where Christ abides, there also abide those who believe in him.
- One flees from Christ, but runs to Satan.
- Christ must receive his word himself; we are too weak to do so.
- The devil is hard on those who love and confess Christ.
- 75 St. Paul's person.
- The Christian's golden art, to know Christ rightly.
77. 78. To know Christ surpasses everything that is on earth.
79. teaching of Christ and the apostles.
80. Christ preached in vain.
- 81 Christ once coined.
- 82) That John calls Christ the Word.
- The prophecies of Christ are described with dark words.
- Christ's kingdom will be wonderfully built and preserved.
85. word of Christ Matth. 11.
- 86 Christ holds over his kingdom and protects it, the devil also, but with unequal armor and weapons.
87. common question in the world of Christo.
- The prophets' knowledge of Christ.

89. it does not follow that Christ has done this and that, therefore we also may do it.
90. christ's name.  
The kingdom of Christ has remained under the papacy.
92. difference of the kingdom of Christ, Pabst and Mahomet.  
In the kingdom of Christ, even the weak believers belong.
94. Christ is the only physician against death, which few desire.
95. Christ has overcome the world.  
Why the Son of God appeared.
97. temple of all gods, excluding Christ, at Rome, called Pantheon.  
The world does not know Christ and his own.
99. knowledge of Christ.
100. What Christ requires of us.  
The first is to be able to argue about God's grace shown to us in Christ.
102. joy in Christ is hindered by the devil.
103. will I not wash you 2c., Joh. 13.
104. miracles of Christ and the apostles.
105. Christ's highest humility.  
The greatest strangler that has happened on earth.  
A wonderful thing is the faith of Christians.
- 108 Against the Obstacle of Reason.
109. difference between the resurrection and ascension of Christ.
- 110 Ascension Day.  
Christ alone is to be heard.
112. 113. Lamentation of the godly over their unbelief.
114. from the name of Jesus Christ.  
How a believing soul talks to Christ.  
The blasphemy of Christ and his word makes it all.
117. no one leads to heaven 2c, says Christ John 3.  
If God is for us, who can be against us? from Romans 8.
- 119 Christ is the only comfort of his believers in their cross and loan on earth.
120. Apart from Christ, one should not remember God.  
The enmity between Christ and the devil started already in paradise.  
Christ is an unworthy guest in the world.  
What kind of king Christ is.  
Christ and the law cannot dwell together in one conscience.  
In Christ we have everything.
126. Apart from the humanity of Christ, one should not seek grace or forgiveness of sins.  
In what matters one may dispute without danger from the majesty of God.  
The Christians' art and wisdom.  
You should get to know Christ.  
Knowing Christ in the face of adversity is difficult.
131. Christ's burden that he has borne.  
Christ must have a big mouth and wants people to accept his word.  
Christ has interpreted the law.  
Christ and the pope are rushed to each other.
- The devil will have to let Christ remain.
136. Christ is to be sought in the Holy Scriptures alone.
137. with Christo one should remain.
138. Christ's appearance on earth.
139. of the merit of god's word.
140. One should defy and insist on Christ alone.  
Christ and Satan cannot get along.
142. verses, so under the Colloquio to Worms Anno 1545 were made, that the Pabst and Luther can not be compatible with each other.
143. Christ is an evil steward.  
Christ and Satan never compare, one must give way to the other.
145. Apart from Christ, everything is wickedness.  
Christ's kingdom is preserved by God alone, against all devils and the rages of the world.
147. Christ is the highest article.  
The little animal Ichneumon is the image of the Lord Christ.  
Christ is the salvation and wisdom of believers; otherwise it is a poor thing with human wisdom.
- 150 Christ soon grew tired of this life, and so did his Christians.  
Christ humbled and humbled himself deeply.
- 152: How Christ distributes merit far away.
- 153 The Christians' Consolation.  
The preaching of Christ was not as prestigious as it is now at the time of the Gospel.  
Hearing Christ is the greatest worship.  
Christ alone is the comfort and hope of Christians.
157. Christ is a bishop of our souls.  
In what God's consolation stands.
159. Christ does not shrink.
- 160 The Lord's Giving of Christ.  
What the world thinks of Christo.  
Apart from Christ there is no consolation, and how Christ chides the faithful.  
God is not only the God of the Jews, but also the God of the Gentiles.  
That Christ would save the Jews and the Gentiles.  
Christ cannot be unlearned.
- 166 Of Christ's Kingdom.  
How to confess Christ.
168. repugnant works of Christ and the devil.
- 169'. Christ bears the curse of the law.
- 170) Above the article of Christo, one should hold.
171. forgiveness of sins.
172. to write or speak of God's grace.  
How God's grace is apprehended.
174. strokes make you angry.
- 175 David's fame from his piety.
- 176: Reason's annoyance at Christ's weakness.
- 177 Christ was silent until his thirtieth year before he entered the ministry.
178. Christ's words are powerful.
- 179 Ways of Preaching in the Papacy.
- 180 Christ's intercession and preaching is certain.
- 181 Believing in Christ alone makes you blessed.
182. of god's glory.

### 1. that Christ is truly God.

That Christ, the Son of Mary, the virgin, is the true and true God, is testified to in the Holy Scriptures everywhere, but especially in the Evangelist John, Cap. 8, 25, when the Jews were offended at his teaching and asked, "Who then are you? And JESus said to them: First of all, he who I speak to you," as if to say, "I am your prophet and preacher, according to the saying of Moses, Deut. 18:15: "A prophet like me the Lord your God will raise up for you, from you and your brothers, and you shall obey him. And whosoever shall not hear my words which I put in his mouth, and all that I command him, which he shall speak in my name, of him will I require it." That is: First and foremost hear me, then you will see who I am. I am just the one Moses pointed out. It is a little milder and more polite than if he had said: I am your Messiah. And about this saying St. Augustine struggled fiercely, broke himself and troubled himself. Therefore one should read the dear old fathers and teachers with great distinction and Christian understanding; 1) for they were men just as we are, and have also often erred and erred.

At another time, D. Martin L  ther spoke of the deity of the Lord Christ, saying: "All the sayings in the Holy Scriptures that speak of faith in Christ clearly indicate that he is the true natural God, otherwise it would be idolatry and against the first commandment ("You shall not have other gods") to believe in Christ and worship him if he were not God, for "God does not give his glory to anyone else," Isa. 42:8. 42, 8. Now this article, that Christ is true God, is founded by certain strong testimonies in the Holy Scriptures, especially in the New Testament, since Christ is often called God with clear, expressed words. As Joh. 1, 1.: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with GOD, and GOD was the Word." And Joh. 20, 28. Thomas, the apostle, also calls Christ God, since he says: "My Lord

and my God." The same St. Paul, Rom. 9, 5, speaks of Christ as being God, saying: "He who is God over all, blessed forever." Col. 2, 9: "In Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily," that is, essentially.

(Here a section is omitted because contained in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 49 and 50.)

M. Luther said at another time that Christ is the true natural God. For, he said, if Christ is not God, neither the Father nor the Holy Spirit is God, for our article of faith says that Christ is God with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Many speak of the divinity of Christ, such as the Pope and others like him, but just as the blind man speaks of the color. Therefore, when I hear Christ speak, I believe that the undivided Godhead speaks. Thus speaks the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, when he says Matth. 11, 28: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Here the whole Godhead speaks in an undivided and undivided way. Therefore, whoever preaches such a God to me, who did not die for me, I do not accept him as my God. Whoever has this article has the main article of the Christian faith, although this article is very foolish in the eyes of the world. Christ says John 14:16: "The Comforter, whom I will send, shall not depart from you, but shall abide with you," and make you bold to suffer all kinds of misfortunes and evils. Now he says: I will ask the Father; before he said, I will do it. Before he speaks like a god, now like a man. Thus I learn my article, that Christ speaks as God and man.

Also Christ sometimes speaks as a pure man, and at the same time as a pure God; therefore, when he says: I give, these are not only the words of a man, but of God. But when he says, I will ask; these are the words of a man, and yet the Son of God asks. As when I say, The maid hath dropped the child; I mean not the body of the child only, but also the soul. Item, so

1) Cf. Cap. 57, § 11, about the middle, paragraph 6.

I say: The child has eaten; so I understand that not only the mouth, but the whole man with body and soul has eaten or fed. In the same way one should also say of Christ.

Item, D. M. Luther testified from his own experience that Jesus Christ was a true God, he also wanted to confess this publicly; because if Christ was not God, then there would certainly be no God. And said D. Luther: I do not want to become an Epicurean, if God wills it; I know well what the name of Jesus has done to me. It is well said and true that the 68th Psalm, v. 21, sings: "God lays a burden on us, but He also helps us: we have a God who helps, and the Lord our Savior, who saves from death. Therefore, if God wills, no tribulation, misfortune or other creature shall separate me from my Lord Christ.

Our only comfort is that we believe in Jesus Christ. I have often been so close to death that I knew I would have to die, because I had taught his word before the evil world and had confessed him; but he has always graciously comforted me again and made me alive. Therefore let us be diligent to keep him alone, and there shall be no need, though the devil be yet so wicked and crafty, and the world so evil and false. I will abide with the dear Lord Christ, I will encounter whatever I can: I have been baptized into him, I can and know nothing except what he has taught me. But it is indeed a very great and difficult art, involving many and various trials and experiences, that one can heartily call Christ a Lord and God who saves from death, as the 68th Psalm, v. 21, says; and from this same word and trust I will never, if God wills, let myself be torn away.

## 2. whereby Christ's divinity is recognized.

(The beginning of this § is taken from the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 1. Walch, old edition, Vol. VIII, § 62. 63.)

(The rest of this § is omitted because contained in Cap. 7, § 120.)

## 3) Believing in Christ is the right religion, 1)

Although no religion seems more foolish than that of the Christians, I believe in God, since Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the heavenly Father. I do not believe in any other God, as the superstitious and idolaters do, for they are rejected and given a wrong meaning. I D. M. Luther does not want to know about any other God, but only about the one who hung on the cross, namely Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Virgin Mary.

## 4. of the humanity of Christ.

There is a great mystery about the incarnation of Christ, which cannot be explained or investigated by human reason, since God, the highest majesty, has thus lowered himself into our flesh. If we have this Christ, we have everything; for St. Paul to Colossians, in the other chapter, v. 9, says: "In him dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and ye are complete in him. And St. Paul earnestly presents Christ to all men, so that they may believe in him. But there is, alas, nothing more contemptible in the world than the Lord Christ.

## No human being can comprehend the two natures in Christ.

That Christ is God and man is contrary to all reason, sense, and understanding; for when the two natures in Christ, as the Godhead and humanity, are to be brought into one being, reason is at odds and says, "I do not understand. But thanks be to you for this confession; for it is not written that I should understand and grasp it with my reason, but you must give yourself up, and believe the word of the gospel through the action of the Holy Spirit, and give glory to God that he is true.

Joh. 16, 23., Matth. 21, 22. and Marc. 11, 24. Christ says: "If you ask anything in my name, I will give it to you.

1) This § seems to be spurious, only an extension of the same idea contained in Cap. 7, § 56. - Cf. also Cap. 13, § 83.

give." There Christ speaks as if he has everything in his hand and power to give everything to everyone what one asks from him in faith.

#### 6. thoughts of D. M. Luther about the birth of Christ.

(Lauterbach, Dec. 25, 1538, p. 195.)

That evening he was very joyful, and all his speeches, songs and thoughts were about the incarnation of Christ our Savior; and he said with sighing: Alas! We poor people, that we are so cold and lazy about this great joy, which has been done for our benefit, the great good deed, which is far, far above all other works of creation 1); and yet we should believe it so weakly, when it is preached and sung to us by angels, which are heavenly theologians, and have rejoiced so much because of us. Their singing is by far the most beautiful and the main thing of the whole Christian religion. For the Gloria in excelsis Deo [Glory to God in the highest] is the highest service of God, which they desire and bring to us in this Christ. For the world, after the fall of Adam, knows neither God nor the creatures, lives entirely outside of God's glory. Oh how great thoughts man would have had of God in all creatures, so that he would have contemplated God's omnipotence and wisdom even in the smallest flowers. For, truly, who can conceive how God creates from the barren earth: such diverse little flowers, such beautiful colors, such lovely smells, which no painter nor apothecary could make? Nor can God bring green, yellow, red, blue, brown color out of the earth. Adam and his people would have used all this for God's glory and would have used all creatures with thanksgiving, which we now enjoy to our disgust without any knowledge, just as if a cow and unreasonable cattle trampled the very best flowers and lilies only with their feet. Therefore, here the angels call the people who have fallen back to faith and love, namely [to the] glory [of God] and [to] peace on earth.

#### 7. from the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary.

The feast of the Annunciation, called Annuntiationis Mariae, when the angel came to Mary and brought her the message full of God that she was to conceive his Son, may be called the feast of the Incarnation of Christ. For that is when our redemption began; just as the English and French began to count the year from this feast. For the mystery of the Incarnation of Christ cannot be explained by any human being, nor can it be fathomed by reason, that God, the Supreme Majesty, has lowered Himself into our flesh. For if we have Christ, we have all that our heart desires. That is why in St. Paul the word "in him" is so often used and repeated, since he so vehemently and diligently imagines this Christ in all men; for apart from and without him there is no God, comfort, or blessedness. But, alas, there is nothing in the world that is less esteemed than this incarnation, indeed, it is despised.

Christ lived three and thirty years, went to Jerusalem three times every year, that is, he went up a hundred times. If the pope could boast that Christ had only been to Rome once, what boast could he make? And yet this city Jerusalem is utterly destroyed.

#### 8. the faithless ingratitude.

This is a great glory of God, that He put His Son into our flesh and blood, and for our sake made Him human, like us, yet without sin. What a mystery of the greatest miracles and benefits of God is one that no human heart can truly contemplate, for we are so cold and ungrateful. O of corrupt nature! Fie on the shameful fall of Adam, that I should not love this one who has redeemed me so dearly from eternal death, the devil and hell.

When Doctor Martinus looked at the painted infant Jesus lying in the womb of the pure virgins of Mary, he sighed deeply for the sake of the article of the Incarnation of God, and said: "Ah, that we could have such a glorious

1) In the original probably erroneously "are". We have put "is" for it according to Bindseil III, 43.



If you were to consider the work of divine mercy a little, and not to babble on like that! Fie on you, you disgraceful unbelief, how you stand so shamefully ungrateful against the friendly gracious will of your God, who otherwise wants to stick to all creatures. O Adam's sin! What have you done!

### 9. why Christ was born.

(Cordatus No. 43.)

Peter preaches 1) that Christ was born to set all things right, that is, to bring us to self-knowledge, and for this purpose alone the whole creature is placed before our eyes, so that we may contemplate the Creator in it; and this is fortunate for us, because we do not draw much faith from the first article of faith.

### 10. of the incarnation of the son of god comforting thoughts of D. M. Luther, according to of the writing.

On this day (of the conception of Christ), said D. M. Luther, we preachers should diligently hold up to the people the history of the feast, which Lucas describes with poor simple words in a fine and orderly manner with all the circumstances, and well imagine it, and all of us should have joy and delight in the comforting, blessed story that today Christ, our Lord and Savior, was conceived by the Holy Spirit, took human nature in the pure, chaste virgins of Mary, became our brother, has placed us poor stinking maggot sacks and damned human beings in the highest honor, that we are now children of God and his, Christ's, co-heirs, about which we should rejoice more than about all the treasures on earth.

Here one should not dispute how it happened that he who fills heaven and earth, whom neither heaven nor earth can comprehend, is resolved in the pure mother's body? These and such disputations hinder this joy, and give cause for one to begin to doubt it. That is why I am very annoyed with Erasmus, that he has

1) Perhaps 3 Petr. 1, 4. Aurifaber has Paul and draws on Eph. 1, 4. and Col. 1, 33.

Doubting things that should be our greatest joy.

St. Bernard spends the entire sermon of this feast on the praise of the dear Virgin Mary, forgetting the comforting story that, as the Church sings, hodie Deus homo factus est: Today God became man, and the redemption of the human race began. Bernard and Anselmus have done too much to him by exalting and praising Mariam too highly. We Christians should rejoice in the great honor that has been bestowed upon us today, that "the Son of God did not take on the angelic nature, but the seed of Abrahama, became like us His brothers, yet without sin," Ebr. 2:16, 17, so that He might become merciful and a faithful high priest before God to atone for our sins. Item: "that by his death he might take away the power of the devil, and deliver us from the power of death. He redeemed us, who through fear of death had to be slaves all our lives. Ebr. 2, 14. 15.

This unspeakable grace of God, shown to us in Christ, we should consider great and praise. It is true that one cannot sufficiently praise Mary, the high and noble creature; but when the Creator Himself comes and gives Himself for us, that He redeemed us from the power of the devil 2c., neither angels nor we can sufficiently praise, praise, praise for eternity 2c. There we will also have eternal joy and bliss.

### Other thoughts of D. M. Lutheri about the incarnation of the Son of God.

He who takes reason to counsel will never send himself to know the articles of our faith (especially the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of Christ), much less believe that they are certain and true. No one can or should be forced to believe by force. For even if people hear something from the holy scriptures or read it themselves and have thoughts, they still do not want to accept it; the majority of them are repelled by it or even throw it to the wind; except for a few who are stirred and opened by the Holy Spirit.

The Turk keeps his subjects in obedience and coercion by his Mahometan faith and religion (as the pope has done before this time by the ban and human doctrine). He believes that there is one God who created everything. He lets Christ remain a prophet, but that he is the native, true, natural Son of God, he considers this to be the highest blasphemy, for which he has persecuted his word and his people for so long, and he even intends to eradicate it.

In my great temptations and struggles against the devil, I have learned from the Scriptures and am certain that Christ, true natural God, was also made man. Therefore, I not only believe it, but have also experienced in many ways that this article is certain and true. For in high spiritual temptations nothing has helped me better than that I have comforted myself of it, and have rejected the devil with it, that Christ, the true, eternal Son of God, is our flesh and bones (as Paul Eph. 5, 30. says: "We are members of His body, of His flesh and of His bones"), sits at the right hand of God and represents us. If I take hold of this shield of faith, I will soon have chased away the evil one with his fiery arrows.

God also kept this article strong and firm, protected it against all heretics, Popes and Turks, preserved it in the beginning of Christianity, and afterwards confirmed it with many miraculous signs, so that all who challenged it finally became sinners and disgraced by it. God also allows us to call the Son of Mary His Son and true God and to worship Him. He also hears all those who call upon Him in the name of Christ. Even in this last time of gloom, now some twenty years ago (when the devil, through the end of Christ, the Pope and his followers, attacked us with all his power and cunning), nothing else has preserved us but prayer, sighing and crying out to God our Father in the name of Christ our High Priest.

Whoever says: I or others, they are called and be whoever they want, have the pure doctrine against the pope, tyrants, Anabaptists, sacramentalists, and other red spirits.

defended and preserved, he is the one who lies to us. God alone does it for the sake of Christ, who shall reign among his enemies and sit at the right hand of God until they are all made the footstool of his feet. In spite of the devil and all his scales!

#### **12. of the childhood and youth of Jesus; item, of the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Savior.**

All the wisdom of the world is mere child's work, even foolishness, compared to the knowledge of Christ. For what is more wonderful than to know and to recognize the great ineffable mystery that the Son of God, the eternal Father's image, has taken on human nature and has become like another human being in every way? In Nazareth he will have helped his father Joseph to build houses; for Joseph was a carpenter, therefore also Christ is called the son of a carpenter, even a journeyman carpenter. What will those of Nazareth think on the last day, when they see Christ sitting in divine majesty, and say to him: "Lord, did you not help to build my house? How did you come to have such high honors?"

Many fables are invented by many, what Jesus did in his childhood and youth; 1) as can be seen in the book with the title "De Infantia Salvatoris, oder de Vita Jesu. But because in the same book there are many ridiculous, foolish things, it has never had any reputation among Christians. But this is the most necessary thing that we Christians should learn and know with the greatest diligence, that the Son of the eternal God lowered Himself so low, was born so poor and miserable, and did this for our sins, and hid His majesty from us too well for so long. When he was born, he cried and cried like another child; Mary had to wait for him and take care of him, suckle him (as the church sings: "There was a little milk for his food"), etc., wipe, lift, lay, carry, etc., like another mother her child. Soon after

1) Dgl. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, 2644, 818, and Vol. XI, 280, § 118.

Joseph had to flee with his mother and child into misery in Egypt from Herod, who was looking for the child to kill it. When they returned to Nazareth after Herod's death, he became the parents' servant, Luc. 2, 51, and often gave them bread, drink and other things. Mary may also have said to him: Jehovah, where have you been? Can't you stay at home? And now that he is grown up, he will have helped Joseph to carpenter 2c. Not to be annoyed by this weak, lowly figure and contemptible nature, as was seen in Christ, is great, high art and wisdom, yes, God's gift and the Holy Spirit's own work.

Some, and many others, are annoyed by the fact that we sometimes say in the pulpit that Christ was a roomer, when it is a much greater annoyance that he was hanged on the cross as a blasphemer and rebel between two evildoers. But now the hanged were cursed, as it is written in Deut. 21, 23: "A hanged man is cursed in the sight of God"; and Gal. 3, 13: "Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree. But since we are always preaching this article, and are so diligent to impress it upon the people, and since all Christians daily confess in infantile faith that Christ our Savior suffered under Pontio Pilato, was crucified, and died for our sins, why should we not also say that he was a carpenter? especially since he is thus called in the Gospel in clear words, since the people are astonished at his doctrine and wisdom, and say, "Whence came this to him? Is he not the carpenter, the son of Mary?" Marc. 6, 3.

It is written, 1) there was a pious, godly bishop, who often asked God with earnestness, that he would reveal to him, what Jesus had done in his youth. About a while later, the same bishop had a dream like this: It seemed to him in his sleep as if he saw a carpenter doing his work, and a little child with him picking up the shavings that had been cut off. Then a virgin in a green skirt came, and called to both of them that they should go to the

They were told to come and eat, and they were served porridge. The bishop saw all this, as he thought, in a dream, standing behind the door, so that they were not aware of him. Then the child began to say, "What is that man standing there for, should he not also eat? The bishop was so frightened by this speech that he hit his head hard on the main board of the bed and woke up.

Be it as it may, be it a poem or a story, I believe that Christ in his childhood and youth acted and behaved like other children, but without sin. As Paul testifies to the Philippians, Cap. 2, 7: "Jesus Christ was like another man, and was found to be like a man in his deeds. He will often (as I think, do not say it for truth), when the parents have prayed, by divine power have provided and brought what was needed, without money. Therefore (when the mother saw that there was a lack of wine at the wedding in Cana) she says to him, out of a motherly heart and trust, Joh. 2, 3: "They do not have wine", because she had noticed in him more than once before that he could provide advice when there was a lack. Therefore I believe that Mary, the mother, not only knew and believed that he was the true, natural Son of God (because she conceived this child miraculously, unusually, namely by the Holy Spirit, and was born without any pain), but that she also saw and noticed this by some signs that he did in his youth. Therefore, whoever wants to understand this child correctly must remember that there is no higher wisdom than to recognize Christ, and not turn away from it or be angry that the world considers the preaching of the Son of God, who became man, was crucified, died, 2c., to be the greatest foolishness and annoyance, but know that it is a divine power and wisdom for us believers, through which we are saved, and in which even the dear angels take pleasure and delight.

But the fact that the dear Lord humbled himself so deeply, that he became obedient to the shameful death of the cross, is what he has done for us poor, miserable, damned people for our comfort and salvation. When a great, mighty quay-

1) The same selection is found in the house postilla. Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, 151 f" § 19.

ser or king would wash the feet of a despised beggar; dear God, how gloriously would this humility be praised and glorified in such a high person! But because God's Son, the Lord over all, humbled himself to the highest degree and showed obedience even to death on the cross, no one is surprised about it, except the small group of believers who recognize and worship him as their Lord and Savior.

Therefore I say: To recognize Christ, that he was a man, and so humbled himself, that he became "the most despised and unworthy man, afflicted and beaten by God" 2c., Is. 53, 34. and did this for our sake, that is the right' golden art of the Christians and their highest wisdom. As St. Paul, 1 Cor. 2:2, says: "I know nothing, except JESum Christ crucified." Nor can the devil be hurt any more or hurt any more, for if one teaches, preaches, sings and says about Jesus and His incarnation, 2c.

Therefore, I like it very much when one sings loudly and slowly in the church: *Et homo factus est; et Verbum caro factum est.* The devil cannot hear these words, he must flee from them for many miles, for he well feels what they contain. If we would rejoice so heartily over these words: the Word became flesh or man, as much as the devil is frightened and trembles before it, it would be very good for us. But the world despises all God's works and words, because they are presented to it in such bad, simple words.

Well, the godly are not deceived by how small and bad the words are, but take heed of the eternal heavenly treasures and goods, which are contained therein, held out to them and offered to them as their own, which are unspeakable, yes, so great and glorious that even the dear angels desire to look at them, 1 Petr. 1, 12.

#### **No man can unlearn Christ.**

No man, be he apostle or prophet, much less I or my like, can learn Christ in this life, so that he would know and understand rightly who and what He is.

For He is true, eternal, almighty God, and yet He took our mortal nature upon Himself and showed the highest obedience and humility even unto death; therefore He Himself says: "I am gentle and humble in heart. Matth. 11, 29. Now I cannot sufficiently explain how I feel when I am quite happy or sad; how then should I explain the high emotions and movements of Christ?"

#### **The name of Jesus alone helps.**

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 1658.)

This I will leave behind me, that I will consider Christ my Lord alone as my Lord, 1) not only in faith and scripture, but also in experience, for he has proved it in me. For I have the thing [that Christ is my Lord] and the experience [at the same time] with the Scriptures. But, verily, it is become sour unto me.

And Mr. D. said that spiritual temptation taught what Christ was good for, and that he had sometimes tried it and experienced how powerfully the name of Jesus Christ had helped him, so that no tribulation should drive him away from Christ; the same experience also made him believe that the holy scriptures were certain divine truth. For this experience of his would have made the sayings of Scripture quite certain to him, since the Lord Christ says: "Those you have given me, I have not lost," John 17:12. Item John 6:37: "What comes to me I will not cast out," but this is included so that they do not run away.

#### **15. that the Lord Christ is our high priest, from the 8th chapter of St. Paul's to the Romans.**

Christ, our High Priest, has gone to heaven, "sitting at the right hand of the Father, and praying for us without ceasing", Rom. 8, 34.

1) "will hold" i.e. my faith, my doctrine and firm conviction, confirmed by Scripture and experience, shall be said after my death and certainly held for it, that I will, "Christ alone I hold for my Lord."

In his death he is a sacrifice paid for our sin, in the resurrection a conqueror, in the ascension a king. In his death he is a sacrifice paid for our sin, in the resurrection a victor, in the ascension a king, in intercession and advocacy a high priest. For in the Law of Moses the High Priest alone went into the Holy of Holies, into Sancta Sanctorum, and interceded for the people. Thus our Lord Christ is finely portrayed in this figure.

### Christ remains priest and king.

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 505.)

Christ wants to remain a priest, although he is not ordained by any bishop. But God has ordained him, saying: You are a priest forever. [The D and the U are longer than the stone in Revelation, 1) 300 miles and more in length.

In the Holy Scriptures there is no book in which the priesthood of the Lord Christ is so finely and actually described as the Epistle to the Ebrians. Christ's priesthood is a great comfort to the godly, because he is a priest. But that he is also a king is not so comforting, because the heart thinks that he is a strict judge.

### 17. Christ is our high priest.

2) "You are a priest after the order of Melchizedek," says God, the heavenly Father, to Christ, His Son, Ps. 110, 4. Martin said: "Let us cling to this priest and stay with him, for he is faithful and given by God for us, and he loves us more than his own life, John 10:12. He proved this with his bitter suffering and death, which is certainly true. Oh, who could believe this, how blessed he would be!

(This paragraph follows immediately after Cap. 51, § 6. Lauterbach, March 3, 1538, p. 45.)

Afterwards his servant recited the 110th Psalm: "The Lord has sworn" 2c. He said: "This is the most beautiful, most glorious verse in the whole Psalm, since God has sworn to this Christ alone.

that he shall be our bishop and high priest, and no other. It shall be neither Caiphaz, nor Annas, nor Peter, nor Paul, nor the pope. He alone shall be the priest: therefore I swear an oath that he alone shall be, therefore flee to this priest. I mean, the epistle to the Eberians can make it useful, this: You are a priest.

### 18. a different.

There is a great and glorious consolation, which every devout Christian, for the honor and good of the world, should not and would not do without, namely, that he knows and believes that Christ, our High Priest, is seated at the right hand of God, represents and forbids us without ceasing. Item, our souls faithful shepherd and bishop is, which the devil can not snatch from his hands.

But we can see from this how a cunning and powerful spirit the devil is, that he can frighten and destroy pious, God-fearing hearts with his fiery arrows in such a way that they lose this beautiful consolation and immediately think perverse thoughts about Christ, that he is not their high priest, but accuses them before God; that he is not the bishop of their souls, but a strict judge. Therefore the dear apostles, Peter and Paul, did not warn us so faithfully in vain that we should "be sober and watchful, armed with God's armor to resist the devil, steadfast in the faith", 1 Petr. 5, 8. Eph. 6, 13.

### 19. Christ an eternal priest.

Christ will remain a priest forever 2c., even though he is not ordained by any bishop, because God himself ordained him when he swore, and he will not repent: "You are a priest forever" 2c. In these letters of these words: You are a priest, any syllable is much greater than the tower of Babel. "Rule among your enemies", Ps. 110, 2. Thus ev must and will certainly preserve his teaching, which we preach and confess before the wicked world, even before the gates of hell. We Lutherans (as we are called) and the papists dwell in

1) Rev. 21, 16. - 12000 dirt roads (stadiums) are 300 miles.

2) This paragraph will probably be spurious; formed to the entrance for the following.

under one roof. Every part wants to be God's people and the right church, and no part wants to give way to the other. Now one part must finally give way, namely the wicked to the righteous.

The Jews and apostles, together with their listeners, were also under one roof. When the Jews had for a long time plagued the Christians, persecuted them, stoned and murdered many of them, and finally chased them all away, and now thought they were rid of the evil people and the boys, the Romans came and finished them off. The same will happen now: when the papists have raged and raged to blaspheme and condemn Christ's teachings, to persecute Christians and shed their innocent blood, they will have to give way to this part. For Christ will and can never leave those (who hold and confess Him as their eternal King and Priest to the end of the world, preach and confess His doctrine, take comfort in His prayer, John 17, and that He sacrificed Himself for their sin) without comfort and helplessness.

#### 20. Christ our King and God.

Whoever has Christ as his King and God, who has taken on human nature, flesh and blood, born of the pure virgin Mary, must certainly take care that he has the devil as his enemy, who will cause him much suffering and torment him all his life. But this is our comfort and great glory, that we poor people have the Lord of life, death and all creatures, clothed with our flesh and blood, sitting at the right hand of the Father, who lives forever and prays for us, protects and shields us.

#### 21. scheslimini.

Scheslimini, that is, sit at my right. The Scheslimini has many and great enemies, 1) we, his poor little group, must experience this so that we feel it. But he will remain seated before them all, as before, and we in him and through him; I know that.

forsooth. And even if we have to suffer much and are strangled, it does not hurt if we dare to rely on His word Joh. 14, 19: "I live and you shall also live". Item Joh. 17, 24: "Where I am, there you shall be also".

#### 22. Christ stalks as if he does not take care of his poor, afflicted and persecuted members 2c.

For this reason Christ is incomprehensible in this life, because the world rewards his best and most faithful servants very badly, persecutes, blasphemes, condemns and kills them as the worst, most harmful heretics and evildoers 2c. In addition, he is silent and lets it happen, so that I sometimes think: I almost do not know where I stand, whether I preach right or not. This has also been Saint Paul's trial and torture, which he (I think) has not said to many, or has not been able to say; for who can say what it means that he says 1 Cor. 15, 31: "I die daily"?

#### 23. the scripture calls Christ our priest, bridegroom 2c.

The Holy Scripture often calls Christ our priest, bridegroom, bridegroom 2c., and us, who believe in him, his bride, virgin, daughter, which is a beautiful image that we should always have before our eyes.

Now he proved his priestly office firstly by preaching and proclaiming and revealing to us the will of the Father, that whoever believes in the Son has eternal life, Joh. 3, 16. Secondly, he also prayed for us, yes, for all of Christendom, until the end of the world, shortly before he went to the Father, when he said Joh. 17, 20. "I do not pray for them alone" (to whom I gave your word and commanded to preach), "but also for those who will believe in me through their word"; and still "he sits at the right hand of God and represents and pleads with us before God without ceasing", Rom. 8, 34. Thirdly, that he sacrificed his body on the wood of the cross for our sin.

He is our bridegroom, we are his bride. What he, the dear Lord Christ, has, even he himself, is ours, for "we are members of his

1) Cf. cap. 2, § 124.

His body, his flesh and his bones", as St. Paul says Eph. 5, 30. What we have is his. But it is a very unequal change: He has eternal innocence, righteousness, life and blessedness, which he gives us, that they should be our own. We are captives of the devil, subject to sin and death. He redeemed us from the devil's power, crushed his head, took us captive, stripped us, cast us out to hell 2c. Our sin he took upon himself, bore, and gave his life for a redemption for us. He has taken away the power of death, yes, he has devoured it eternally, so that we may cheerfully defy it with St. Paul's 1 Cor. 15, 55.: "Death, where is your sting?"

The prophet Hosea speaks of this spiritual marriage in the person of Christ Cap. 2, 19. 20.: "I will betroth myself to thee for ever; I will trust in thee in righteousness and in judgment, in grace and in mercy; yea, in faith will I betroth myself to thee, and thou shalt know the LORD." And Isa. 62:4: "The LORD hath delight in thee, and thy land hath a dear Puhlen." Item v. 5: "As a bridegroom rejoices over the bride, so will your God rejoice over you." 2c.

Whether the dear Lord establishes a spiritual marriage with us, betroths himself to us to be our eternal bridegroom, graces and adorns us with his eternal heavenly goods, and also swears to be our eternal priest, it still does not help, the great multitude runs in the devil's name, fornicates against him, worships foreign idols, as the Jews served Baalim, Astaroth 2c. Astaroth 2c., and we in the papacy worshiped the saints. Yes, this is even more to be lamented and wept over: we, who now know from God's word that he is our high priest and bridegroom, when there is a tribulation, fear and distress, when we should have the most refuge, we flee from him and worry that he is angry with us and wants to leave us in hiding.

#### 24. Christ our eternal mediator.

"There is only One GOD," says St. Paul 1 Tim. 2, 5, and "One mediator, between GOD and men, namely the man JESUS

Christ, who gave himself for salvation for all." Therefore, no one should think of coming before God and obtaining grace from Him without this mediator, high priest or intercessor, Ebr. 5, 1. 2. 1 Joh. 2, 1. 2. If he is our mediator before God, it is certain that we are sinners and lost, and through our honorable life, good works, virtue, merit, holiness, even through the work of the law, we cannot appease God's wrath, nor can we obtain grace and forgiveness of sins.

Thus, by this single word "mediator" all the saints' merits, good works and righteousness are rejected and condemned before God, so that they cannot stand before God. We also see from this how unspeakably great God's wrath is against sin, because it could not have been atoned for or paid for by any other sacrifice, but only by the Son and the precious blood of the Son of God.

#### 25 Against Schwenkfeld's Opinion of the Creatureliness of Christ.

(This § is Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1593, no. 159, and vol. XX, 2072.)

#### 26 All errors and heresies go against Christ.

All heretics have laid themselves against the article of Christ. Manichaeus challenged mankind, because he pretended that Christ was a ghost. Just as, he says, the sun passes through a painted glass and shines, and the rays touch and pass through the other part, but the sun takes nothing from the essence of the glass; so Christ took nothing from the essence and nature of Mary.

Arius wanted to worship the deity. Nestorius wanted it to be two persons. Eutyches taught that there was only one person, because the divine one was devoured. Helvidius pretended that the mother was not a virgin. As if Christ was born in original sin.

It is all about Christ, and about the article that the children say before the table: "And I believe in Jesus Christ" 2c., which repels all devils and hell, and before it all devils are terrified and tremble; nor must it be so shamefully challenged.

become. The pope knows nothing of the office of the person of Christ. Macedonius alone challenged the article of the Holy Spirit, but it soon fell and fell to the ground; for if the article of Christ remains, the other soon perishes.

But all heresy goes against the other article. The son has sinned, he must suffer, they do not want him. The Turks and Jews left the father, but the son did it, and much blood was shed over it. I think that more than two million martyrs remained in Rome. It has been true from the beginning of the world with Cain and Abel, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob; and I believe that the devil was also cast into hell because of this, because he was a beautiful creature of God, so he also wanted to be the son.

According to the holy scriptures, we have no stronger argument than the dear holy cross; for against Christ and the article all kingdoms contend, all that is mighty, and yet cannot overpower him. Therefore, the holy scripture is the first argument to prove Christ's divinity and humanity; the other is the cross.

So many rulers have perished who have challenged it; so many kingdoms have opposed it; but the article still remains. Then I, a poor monk, must come and seize a poor nun; they have it: therefore the word and the cross do it, they make one sure. They will have neither word nor cross; but we accept the word, and the cross soon follows; and though we would gladly be rid of the guest, yet we accept him, and have patience.

**27. that the Lord Christ's divinity has been contested by the devil and heretics for and for.**

When it was said over Luther's table in 1543 that there were many heresies, sects and cults against the Holy Trinity, Luther said: "It all goes against the high article: "I believe in Jesus Christ. Luther said: "It all goes against the high article: "I believe in Jesus Christ. In the first article, as: "I believe in God the Father, almighty Creator of heaven and earth"; there stimulated

They all come in droves, for they all want to have only One God. But they do not want to suffer the son; just as the devil himself did not want to suffer the son, because he wanted to be a son himself, crying that he was a beautiful creature. Adam also did not want to have the son, he wanted to be as wise as the father himself. There are many figures who, as I think, have indicated this from the devil. Ishmael wanted to be Isaac, and Esau wanted to be Jacob; so the devil was also against the Son of God, that is why it is still the same for us.

**28. a different.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, § 97.)

**The deity of Christ should not be separated from his humanity.**

Doctor Martin Luther said: He had received letters in which one denied that the Godhead in Christ had not suffered, but only mankind. When Dominus Jacobus, Prepositus at Bremen, heard this, who was just at Wittenberg and was eating with M. M. Luther, he said: "This cannot be, for it is written: "God, who has purchased the church (or congregation) with His blood. To this D. M. Luther answered and said: Oh, this is the trade! The devil deals with it, one wants to tear Christum and to separate. Such heads are not godly, but ambitious: they do not seek God's glory, but their own, for they want to be seen before others, and leave disciples and pupils behind them.

**(30) Whether the Godhead in Christ also suffered?**

(About this § Stangwald remarks in the appendix p. 824: This is taken ex manuscriptis resolutionibus Disputationum Circularium Lutheri, Wie die in der Universität zu Wittenberg gehalten wurden).

The question was asked, "Is it right, true, and Christian to say that Christ suffered and died according to the divinity, or divine nature? Because the Godhead is not subject to death, it can neither suffer nor die. For St. Peter says: "Christ is dead", or to the



Death delivered, "according to the flesh, but made alive according to the Spirit," 1 Petr. 3, 18. Then answered D. M. Luther, and said: All God-fearing and righteous Christians, or the whole holy Christian church and congregation, believe without all doubt that which is spoken of in the infant faith, namely, "that JESUS CHRIST, the only SON of GOD, in One Divine Being and One Nature with the Father, is truly man. Conceived of Mary of virgins, born of the Holy Spirit, suffered, was crucified, died and was buried", therefore they believe that not only the human nature, but also the divine nature, or the right true God, suffered and died for us.

And although suffering, dying, 2c. are foreign qualities that cannot otherwise be said of the divine nature in particular, but only of the human nature, nevertheless, because the divine nature has thus assumed the human nature and clothed itself in it, these two natures are now inseparable from one another, so that Christ is now in One Person both God and man at the same time: what now befalls and happens to this person, who is Christ, that same thing also befalls and happens to this God and man. Hence it is that these two natures in Christ communicate their idioms and attributes one to the other; that is, what is the peculiar attribute of one nature is also communicated to the other, and is rightly said of it, because they are interdependent, and are alike as interwoven and united, so that they cannot be separated or divided from one another. As, being born, suffering, dying 2c. Idiomata, attributes of human nature, which the divine nature is also made part of in this person, who is and is called Christ, for the sake of the union, which cannot be separated nor set apart from one another, and must be grasped only with faith.

Therefore not only man, but also God is conceived, born of Mary of virgins, suffers, dies, is buried 2c., as St. Paul testifies Rom. 1, 3. when he says: "Son of God, born of the seed of David, according to the flesh" 2c. He

says: "according to the flesh", because Christ, from David's seed, took on the human nature; therefore it is rightly and actually said that he was born. But because this same nature, in One Person, is so closely united to the divine nature, it almost shares its idiom and quality with the nature of God, as it was born and became man, as John says in Cap. 1, 14: "And the Word became flesh", God became man. Thus, not only man, but also the Son of God, as Paul says, or the right true God was born. And Mary, the virgin, is not only the mother of a man, but a true, real mother of God, as the angel Gabriel testifies, Luc. 1, 31, when he says: "Behold, thou shalt conceive in the womb, and bear a son, 2c., who shall be called the Son of the Most High." And adds to this, v. 32: "And GOD the LORD will give him the throne of his father David" 2c. Therefore Mary, the virgin, truly gave birth to the true Son of God, who is also the true Son of David.

But that which has been said and proved of the communication and impartation of one quality of nature (namely, that being born 2c. is also assigned to and said of the divine nature through the communion of qualities), the same is also to be understood of the communication and impartation of the other qualities, such as suffering, dying, being buried 2c, although they are actually due to and belong to human nature; yet the divine nature in Christ subordinates itself to these and suffers 2c., also according to the saying of Paul, Rom. 8, 29: "We must be conformed to the image of the Son of God" 2c. Item, v. 32: "Who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us" 2c. And in the first epistle to the Corinthians, Cap. 2, v. 8: "For if they had known the glory, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." Item, to Philipians, Cap. 2, 6, 7, 8: "Jesus Christ, though he was in the form of God, for he was like God; yet he took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of another man, and in his deeds was found in the likeness of men, and humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even death.

on the cross." Likewise, the Church sings: Vita in ligno moritur: Das Leben stirbet am Holz 2c.

Therefore, one should certainly believe that everything that is actually due and happens to human nature in Christ is also communicated, assigned and given to divine nature. So that it is rightly and truly said: God is born, nursed or suckled, lies in the manger, freezes, walks, stands, falls, wanders, wakes, eats, drinks, suffers, dies 2c.

There is also a beautiful, excellent saying to the Eberians, Cap. I will only refer to it in this piece,<sup>1</sup> since it speaks thus, v. 7: "You have made him lack a little time of angels 1)". And soon after, v. 9: "But the one who lacked a little time of angels, we see that it is Jesus, through the suffering of death"; but he says: "a little time", that is, until he had tasted death. What could be more clearly said? "He is," saith he, "become lower than the angels." Why? "Because of the pains of death," for he has tasted death; therefore he has become somewhat lower than the angels, whose nature is not subject to death, for they do not die. But he, because he is a lord and creator of the angels and natural God, for he is the Son of God, nevertheless he humbles himself and dies.

On the other hand, it should also be known that idioms, attributes of the divine nature in Christ are rightly shared with and given to the human nature; because it is connected and united with the divine nature without any separation, they are rightly communicated and given to it. Therefore Christ says John 3:13: "No man leadeth unto heaven, but he that is from heaven, the Son of man which is in heaven"; and yet he standeth and walketh here on earth, and speaketh with Nicodemus. Therefore it is seen that what is appropriated and given to Christ, or to human nature in Christ, is rightly and properly due to man.

given to the divine. Item, he says Matth. 18, 19: "Where two or three are gathered in my name, 2) there am I in the midst of them". In these sayings he certainly speaks of his personal presence, that in this person, who is and is called Christ, there must also be both man and God at the same time, or both natures together, undivided, present everywhere, and in truth, hear, create and work all things in all, as the 8th Psalm, v. 7, says: "You have put it all under his feet" 2c. So, where one nature is, there must also be the other, and none can ever be separated or separated from the other in eternity.

But since no human heart or reason can understand, comprehend, or investigate such things by its understanding and wisdom, it should be accepted with faith and believed to be true, because God says so in His Word. If we do this, then we will understand and feel (as devout Christians and godly people who have experienced these things testify) what comfort this article gives in all troubles and temptations of sin and death. Item, we will learn what light it brings to understand the Scriptures; yes, since this article is not understood, it can be seen, yes, it is certain that in this history of the suffering of Christ everything is cold and in vain, and one understands nothing of it, although one chats about it a lot.

And from this it can be understood that Peter says 1. ep. 3, 8.: "Christ was killed according to the flesh" 2c. that the divine nature is not excluded, but was made a part of suffering and dying. For he says: According to the flesh he was given in death. Although suffering and death are proper and are the nature and characteristic of human and mortal nature, he nevertheless says that Christ died, who is both true God and true man. Therefore God and man died. About that, who knows this and understands it.

1) Aurifaber's marginal gloss: lack, says D. M. Luther there. In the Ebräisch this verse reads thus: You let him lack a little time of God; that is: You left him three days of his suffering, as if no God was with him; but where there is no God, there is also no angel.

2) Aurifaber's marginal gloss: To my ram, out of my command, and in my honor, so it goes out well. Doctor Martin Luther.

He cannot be mistaken, says Gregory, if he worships Christ in the grave, dead. For if he worships Christ in the grave, dead, he also believes in him who died and was buried. For the dead and buried Christ was not only man, but also God.

### 31. error of the heretics Lei the article of Christ.

I know nothing more about Christ, said D. M. Luther. M. Luther, which the devil would not have challenged, therefore he must now start again from the beginning and bring out the old errors and heresies.

Sabellius was the first to say: Christ would be God, but there would be only One Person of the Godhead. This is the next and most subtle heresy, that there is only One Person, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This was followed by the Patripassians, who were not very different from them. Then came the Arians, who distinguished the persons, but said that the Son was not God from eternity, but was only called God, just as the princes were called gods. After this came the Manichaei, who challenged the humanity of Christ, saying that it was a ghost, not a true body. Then came the Photiniani, who pretended that Christ was indeed a true man, but that he had no soul.

Thus the devil has challenged Christ through and through, that he has nothing left to challenge, therefore he must start again from the beginning. The Pelagiani and the pope with their followers are the most beautiful heretics, who have a great pretense; for they admit that Christ is God and man, but they deny his custom, use and office, namely, that he is our righteousness without our work. No, they do not want that, but say: we must also do something for it. Therefore, God must allow Himself to be led into the school and reformed and, as Christ says, "Wisdom must be justified by her children," Luc. 7:35.

### Of the resurrection of Christ, that reason cannot comprehend it.

The history of the resurrection of Christ teaches that reason itself cannot

can believe that Christ rose from the dead, because only by means of the oral word, which, so that there was no lack of it, the angel brought from heaven and proclaimed. But he brought it to the weak vessels and instruments, to the women, and to those who were troubled and in anguish. They were fools, both before God and the world. Before God, that they sought the living among the dead. Before the world, because they had forgotten the great stone that lay on the tomb, they prepared Specerei to anoint Christ, which was all in vain.

Spiritually, however, this indicates and means that if the great stone (namely, the law and human statutes that keep the conscience bound and entangled) is not rolled away from the heart, then Christ cannot be found, nor can we believe that he is risen, because through him we are redeemed from the power and right of sin, death 2c., Rom. 8, 2, so that the bonds of conscience can no longer weigh us down. The pope, who killeth Christ in the hearts of men, giveth money enough unto his own, that they say Christ is not risen, but that they boast of works.

### 33. about Christ's resurrection, what it is good for.

Since Christ has risen again, he has taken all things with him, so that all men must rise again, even the ungodly. But that we are still alive and in need of this world is like a householder going overland and saying to his child or servant, "Behold, you now have two golden pennies, which you need for your physical needs and food until I come again.

Also, all creatures are a figure and image of the future resurrection, because towards summer they come to life again from death, grow and green; which in winter no one believed would happen, if he had not experienced and seen it before. Likewise, when he ascended into heaven, he also carried all things with him, sits at the right hand of God the Father, and has transferred us, who are members of his body, with him into the heavenly being, so that we also may

To be lords of all things like Christ, but so that he may remain the firstborn among many brethren.

Therefore a Christian who believes this looks at the sun and everything we need in this world as if they were not there, but always remembers the life to come, in which he is all ready, even though it does not yet appear, even "all creatures wait for the redemption and revelation of the children of God", Rom. 8, 19.

All creatures have been eliminated, and all works, no matter how holy they are, have been purely excluded and cut off as necessary for salvation. Since a work makes blessed, so also apples and pears make blessed. Christian righteousness is not such a righteousness as is in us and clings, as otherwise a qualitas and virtue, that is, which is found in us, or which we feel; but is an alien righteousness, altogether apart from us, namely, Christ Himself is our formalis Justitia, perfect righteousness, and the whole being, I Cor. 1, 30.

#### **34. suffering of Christ and His Church, and how Christ nullifies the power of the devil.**

Is it not a strange thing that the Son of God should sit there and be so miserably mangled, mocked and ridiculed? whom all angels worship, before whom the earth trembles, whom all creatures recognize as their Creator, they spit in his face, strike him on the mouth with a reed, say: "He is a king, he must have a crown and a scepter," Matth. 27, 30, 31, 32. 27, 30. 31. 32. The Lord Christ does not complain about this in vain in the Psalm: "All my bones have been cut in two," Ps. 22, 15. So they have stretched him.

Oh, it is nothing with our suffering: when I look at our suffering, someone would be ashamed to death. We are still to be conformed to the image of the Son of God, and even if we become conformed, it is still nothing. He is the Son of God, we are poor creatures: if we suffer eternal death, it is nothing.

There you can see how the devil has a fury against the Son of God and the human race. Once I saw a wolf tearing a sheep; ei, how goes

he will kill them! Item, 1) When he enters the sheepfold, he does not feed any of them, for he has first slain them all; then he starts and feeds, thinking that he will devour them all. So the devil also thinks: I have now caught Christ, I will also get his apostles by and by; but he does not see that he is the Son of God, and that is also the devil's foolishness, he does not know that after this he should feel so bad, and that he should be paid so badly.

After this the devil is destroyed, so that he must be afraid of a young child in the cradle: for where he only hears Jesus called by a true faith, there he cannot stay; for he remembers: I have strangled this one. Just as if H[ein] Mordbrenner 2) were to come to a place where the Elector of Saxony was, and he found out about it, he would flee and not expect the Elector, for he knows that he has burned him. So also the devil must be afraid of Christ: he would run through a fire before he would stay. This means: "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head," Genesis 3:15. I mean, he bruised his head so that he could neither hear nor see the Christ.

I have often liked the parable in Job about a fishing rod that fishermen cast into the water and put an earthworm on it; then the fish come and want to eat from it, so they eat the iron with the earthworm, and the fisherman pulls the fish out of the water. Our Lord God did the same to the devil: he cast his only begotten Son, the Lord Christ Jesus, as a fishing rod into the world, and put the humanity of Christ as an earthworm on it: so the devil snatches at the man Christ and strangles him, and bites into the iron, into the divinity of Christ; snap! there he and all his power lie on the ground. This is the divine wisdom, that he lets his feet, that is, his Christians, be tortured in the race and be humiliated: then the devil thinks he has it all in his power, but he is still far short.

1) The same idea also applies to Cap. 24, § 90.

2) Duke Henry of Brunswick.

### **Collation of the suffering of Christ with the suffering of His Church.**

Doctor Luther says that the work of the young theologians should be that they confer the suffering of Christ with the suffering of the Christian church, and said: Christ did not say the words in vain on the cross: Consummatum est, that is, all is accomplished; for now it is so, Christ's suffering is fulfilled in his church. For first of all they crowned him and mocked him, when the pope wrote himself King of kings and Lord of lords. Then they crucified him with the monastic vows. After that there is an earthquake, and the sun loses its light. The Pabst's regiment has lost its light, both its eyes are pierced out. Item, the rocks are torn apart, that is, many hard heads are now coming to the gospel, who never wanted it. Now it will be said: "Into your hands I commend my spirit. It rhymes very well; for what the man, the Son of God, speaks or does is a great thing, at which all angels must marvel, yes, the earth trembles at it.

### **To what time and hour Christ gave the paschal lamb.**

According to the Law of Moses, Christ began to eat the paschal lamb with his disciples on Green Thursday evening, when the day began at seven o'clock. After that he instituted the new paschal lamb. And when he had washed the disciples' feet, he went out into the garden: there he was caught about the eighth hour of the night, for such a great and heavy struggle could not last long.

He was led first to Annas, then to Caiphias, when Peter denied him three times before the cock crowed, from nine to twelve. During those hours, until early in the morning, when it began to be day, the Jews plagued, mocked, and spat on the Lord Christ.

In the morning at the earliest the chief priests held council, and heard Christ. After that, when it was day, that is,

About the sixth hour they brought Jesus to Pilate, where they accused him of being crucified and spent almost three hours on it, so that it was almost nine before Christ was crucified.

And this is what St. Marcus says Cap. 15, 25: "They crucified Jesus at the third hour", that is, it was not yet at six. And St. John, Cap. 19, 14, because it was nearer to six than to three, therefore he writes: Christ was crucified at six, that is, according to our pointer, from nine the Jews pressed in Pilate for Jesus to be crucified, and they hardly attained it at twelve. And at twelve, when he had hung on the cross a while, darkness fell: and at last at nine, that is, about three in the evening, he gave up his spirit with a great cry.

"And because it was the preparation day," he says in v. 31, "the Jews hastened that the dead bodies might be taken down from the cross," that is, that Christ lay in the grave the fourth part of the Jews' Easter day; and that is one day. The other day began on Friday, after the sun had set, and lasted all night until the sun set again on the Sabbath day. All this time Christ lay in the grave. But on the Sabbath day, after the setting of the sun, the third day, which the Jews call the Sabbath day, is observed, according to the Jewish way, which is the day closest to the Sabbath at Easter. On the same Sunday morning, when it was light on the same third day, and the sun went out, Christ our Savior rose again from death. And this is what we confess, believe and say in our faith: Risen on the third day, do not say after three days, but on the third day.

### **37. Christ's friendly conversation in the Lord's Supper.**

(Lauterbach, April 11, 1538, p. 61.)

Afterwards he remembered the meal of Christ and the apostles at the last supper, where the Son of God speaks to His own in the most intimate way and bears their weakness.

There were special collations where Philip said: "Lord, show us the Father"; Thomas: "We do not know the way"; Peter: "I will go with you" (Joh. 14, 8. 5.; 13, 37.) 2c. These are vain collation speeches, where everyone has expressed his thoughts. There has been no lovelier collation from the beginning of the world than this.

### 38. of the sweating of blood and other spiritual sufferings of the Lord Christ in the garden.

Someone asked over Luther's table about the sweating of blood and other high and spiritual suffering that Christ had endured in the garden. Then said D. Luther said, "No one can know or remember what kind of suffering it was: if a person were to begin to feel this, he would have to die. You know, many people die of mental illness. Oecolampadius and Carolstadius 2) died of it. Oecolampadius thought: "Behold, how Zwinglius perished so miserably, we have begun the game of the sacrament with each other. So Carlstadt also mourned himself to death: for the three days before he died, in the church at Basel, in his chair, where he used to stand, a great long man had stepped, stood in it and heard the sermon. Those who were standing next to the same chair saw nothing, but because Carlstadt was not sitting in it, they thought the chair was empty; but all the other people in the church had seen the tall man in the chair. When Carlstadt heard this, he lay down and died of sorrow. For heartache is death itself. If a man should feel such anguish and distress as Christ had, and if the soul should nevertheless remain in the body and endure such things, it would be impossible: soul and body would have to separate. Christ alone was able to do this, which is why he broke out in a bloody sweat.

### 39. Christ's own work.

Christ has no money, nor purse, nor earthly kingdom, for the same has all of them.

1) d. i. Table Talks.

2) Oekolampadius died in 1531, Carlstadt in 1541.

he has given to kings and princes. But one thing he has reserved for him, which is neither the work of man nor of angels, namely that he is a victor over sin, death, the devil and hell, and can save and preserve even in the midst of death those who believe in him through his word.

### 40. how Christ becomes ours rightly.

(This is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII. § 365. 360. 361.)

### 41. Christ the greatest of sinners.

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 322. 323. 324.)

### 42. of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem.

(Lauterbach, April 14, 1538, p. 61 f.)

On April 14, Palm Sunday, Luther spoke much in the evening about Christ's entry into Jerusalem. It was a paltry, clerical entry, where Christ, such a great king, sat on a donkey; clothes were his saddle. A whimsical entry according to the prophecy of Zechariah (9:9). For after he had come from Bethany to Bethphage to the Mount of Olives, which was as near as the bridge from hence, a great multitude, because he had just before wrought the miracle on Lazarus, went shouting before him, and followed him. Then he sent in his disciples to borrow donkeys and to ride badly to fulfill the prophecy. I believe that it was not Christ himself who put on the prophecy, but the apostles and evangelists who did so, as a testimony. Christ preached in the meantime and wept. The people honored him with olive branches and palms, which are signs of peace and victory. These ceremonies were later borrowed by the Gentiles from the Jews in their triumphal processions, but the Jews did not adopt them from the Gentiles. For the Jewish people and Jerusalem are older than all the Greeks and Latins; for the Greeks began about the time of the Babylonian captivity, but Jerusalem was before the Persians and Assyrians, much more before the Greeks and Romans. Therefore

the Gentiles adopted many ceremonies from the Jews because they were older. It was nevertheless a glorious, splendid entry, solemn by prophecy and miracles, although it was outwardly poor and despised.

#### **43. of Christ's sufferings, which most grieved him, and still do, the Jews.**

##### **and pagans.**

(Lauterbach, May 12, 1538, p. 79.)

On the evening of May 12, Luther spoke of the greatness of Christ's suffering; because he was completely innocent, he would have been justified in saying, "The prince of this world has nothing on me" (John 14:30), and yet he suffered most grievously and was most shamefully mangled for the sake of our sins. The Jews crucified him by word, the Gentiles by deed. The suffering of Christ is a tremendous prophecy of the wickedness of the Gentiles, for Christ suffers more today in the church of the Gentiles than in the synagogue of the Jews. More bitter is the blasphemy, the contempt, the tyranny, than once among the Jews. For if one confesses in Italy the article of faith and of the last judgment, the pope says: Why do you believe this? Be of good cheer. 1) This and similar blasphemies have not only been spoken by a pope, but it is a common speech in all Italy, which elsewhere no man could utter with impunity.

#### **44. of Christ's future.**

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, June 14, 1538, p. 89 f.)

The prophets have summed up the [twofold] future of Christ. As we know that the last day will be, and yet we do not know what will happen after the last day, except that we know in general that there will be joy and eternal peace of heart: so the prophets know the future of Christ, and yet they did not know what would be after the coming of the Messiah, not other than in general. So also the prophets thought that immediately after the coming of the Messiah the last day would come. To-

1) Fac tibi bonum vultum: put on a friendly face.

first, because they call the time of the Messiah the last time. Secondly, because they have summarized the signs of the first and the second future as if they would occur at the same time. Thirdly, this is also the reason for Paul's question in the [first] Epistle to the Corinthians: whether the day of judgment will come while they are still alive. Fourthly, so does Christ himself, who gives [both] signs at the same time.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, Sept. 12, 1538, p. 131.)

Augustine's saying is very, godly, because he says: Christ has put his single in harmony with our double, and so it makes a perfect number. For Christ's death is called the simple, because he dies only according to the flesh; but our death is the double, because we would be eternally damned according to body and soul because of our sins.

(The first four lines of the last paragraph in Walch are transferred to Cap. 24, § 75, where they belong.)

#### **45 Christ preached from a book.**

(Lauterbach, Oct. 11, 1538, p. 147.)

After that it was said that D. Jakob Schenk did not preach from a book. He [Luther] said: I do it not for necessity's sake, but as an example to others, and no one may be ashamed of the book in the pulpit, because Christ, the high Master, Luc. 4, [17] has left us the example of preaching from the book.

#### **46. Christ has gone to hell.**

When the article "descended into hell" was mentioned in our Christian faith, D. Martin said: "This is my simple opinion, and I believe that Christ went to hell for us, to break and destroy it; as is proved in the 16th Psalm, v. 8 ff, and Acts 2:24 ff. 2, 24. ff. is proven. Although foolish and quarrelsome spirits and clever ones might take cause to dispute, and pretend that the word infernus, hell, is taken and understood for a grave, as it is written several times in the first book of Moses about the creation. But here the Ebrew word *nobet*, which is pit, is not written; but scholah, which is Gehenna, hell. For the ancients made four different kinds of hell.

**47. bon Christ's resurrection.**

Anno 30, April 9, Martin spoke of the resurrection of the Lord Christ through the Word and the preaching of the Gospel, which does not happen without earthquakes, just as Christ was wiped out of the grave and resurrected with a great earthquake. Even today the world is still stirring. And a tumult arises when Christ's righteousness and holiness alone are preached and proclaimed. But such an earthquake is salutary, comforting and fun for the God-fearing and true Christians, and more to be desired and desired than peace and rest against God, with an evil conscience.

The Jews let them dream and thought that Christ's kingdom would be a worldly kingdom; as also the apostles, Joh. 14, 22.: "Lord, what will it become that you will reveal yourself to us and not to the world?" We meant that the whole world should see thy glory, that thou shouldest be emperor, and we twelve kings, among whom the kingdoms should be divided, that every one should have among him six disciples for rulers, earls, and lords; which would be the two and seventy disciples, for so many were they. Thus the dear apostles had already divided the land according to Platonic delusion and human reason. But Christ describes his kingdom much differently, as follows v. 24: "He who loves me will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our abode with him" 2c.

**48 Epitaphium Salvatoris nostri JESU Christi, quod fixum est Hierosolymis ad sepulchrum Christi.**

(Not from Luther.)

**49. another epitaph, still in Jerusalem at the tomb of the Lord Christ is found.**

(Not from Luther.)

**50. Christ our glory and praise.**

Our greatest glory, honor, and praise is that we have Christ, the Son of God, born of our flesh, yet without sin, seated

all creatures in heaven, on earth and in hell. But whoever wants to have him as Lord will have the devil as his enemy and adversary.

**(51) Whether they were right who said and spread the miraculous signs of the Lord Christ, when he had forbidden them.**

To this the Doctor answered: When Christ speaks outside of His office, He speaks as a God, as when He speaks of His person, and says Joh. 16, 15: "All that is of the Father is Mine"; Joh. 14, 1: "If you believe in God, believe also in Me" 2c. But when he speaks according to his office, as sent by the Father, he speaks as a man and servant, not of his person, as when he says Matth. 20, 28: "I have come to serve" 2c. So also here, when he is about to perform his miraculous works, he speaks as if sent by the Father. And he is well pleased to reveal it, so that he may give us an example and a lesson that we should not seek our glory in what we do good, but only in God. Therefore John testifies in his entire gospel that Christ honored the Father, not himself; this is what he made us preachers believe. So also is that of his ministry, when he says: The Son does not know about the hour.

**After his resurrection, Christ revealed to the apostles everything that had happened to him during his suffering.**

This is what D. Martin said to someone who asked him and wondered how the evangelists could have written about things they had not known and could not have known or remembered. When they wrote: Christ woke up the three disciples who were sleeping in the garden. They also wrote that the angel appeared to Christ, spoke to him, and comforted him. Likewise the words of Christ when he prayed, which they had not heard. Item, what happened during the night in Caiphas' and Herodis' house, which they neither saw nor heard, because they had fled.



**53. Christ's humility and kindness.**

(Cordatus No. 1638.)

It is certain that Christ had the sweetest intercourse with the apostles, served them at table 2c. In the end, the good people were accustomed to this and let it happen. He came to serve. This they granted him. The example is set high for us.

**Christ leads his kingdom wonderfully.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, § 85, last paragraph.)

**55. crucifix of Christ.**

(Contained in Cap. 30, § 32.)

**56: One should believe in Jesus Christ alone. 1)**

(Cordatus No. 210 and No. 211. Anno 1531.)

There is no stronger argument against the Jews than the seat of David, because they have not had dominion for 1531 years now. There is nothing else that presses them harder than the seat of David. And Pauli's arguments against the Jews are not a joke. Although no religion is so foolish in the sight of reason as the Christian religion, I believe in one Jew, who is called Jesus Christ; I do not believe in others, for the Jews have been rejected and given a wrong meaning.

2) In every way, he who stands in the holy place, preaches in the pulpit and in public, should teach. And it is much better for one to lack rhetoric than dialectics, which teaches; but rhetorics, with its eloquence alone, adorns the doctrine that one teaches. The color is rhetorica, the crossing out dialectica. If we cannot have color against the pope, we can still design.

**Christ alone should be in a Christian's heart.**

(This § is in Luther's preface to the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 1524, § 1.)

**58. Christ is law and freedom, sin and righteousness, death and life.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 2. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 307.)

**59. why Christ had come.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the letter to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 45.)

**60. Christ's special work and own ministry.** (This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 46.)

**61) Which people will benefit from Christ.**

The fact that Christ came and became man does not help the hypocrites, who live and are secure without fear of God; nor does it benefit those who are obviously godless despisers: likewise the despairers, who think that there is no consolation. Grace to wait on, when the law has frightened them. But to those alone it is of use and comfort who have been troubled and frightened by the law for a while, and yet do not despair in such serious and heartfelt terror of the law, but come with comforting confidence to Christ, the throne of grace, who "redeemed them from the curse of the law, when he himself became a curse for them," Gal. 3:13. Those who do this attain mercy and find grace.

**62. Christ must remain eternally, and all who believe in him.**

(Cordatus No. 413.)

There is talk of future persecution. But we know from the second Psalm: Christ they must let live, and though we die, we are not dead; but if Christ dies, I also die. But I take comfort in the fact that God's word, which endures forever, says: "I live, and you also shall live" [John 14:19]. I have been baptized into Him, therefore I know of none but Christ.

**No one wants to have Christ as his Lord.**

(Cordatus No. 417.)

My sermon is in vain and similar to the one who sings in a forest, for he sings to the trees.

1) Very similar to Cap. 7, § 3.

2) Very similar Cap. 52, §1, at the end.

men And only the echo resounds again. Thus we preach to the glory of God, although no fruits follow. And although many' blaspheme, yet it is good to preach Christ for the sake of less.

**He who knows Christ well is a master of the Scriptures.**

Cabbala was good until Christ; therefore, because Christ has now come and the grave is open, it is all over. But our red spirits say that there are still many things hidden in the holy scriptures that have not yet been revealed. This is false and not true, for the grave is open and Christ has come forth. Therefore he that knoweth Christ, and knoweth him aright, is a magister in the scriptures, and shall remain a magister.

**65 You should never be afraid of Christo.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, §155.)

**The dead Christ is not forgotten.**

Many a dead person has been forgotten, can we not also forget the dead Christ? said a Jew once; which is a devilish speech. Yes, dear devil, it is called Sheflimini, that is: Sit at my right hand. Therefore Christ, his suffering and death must be preached in the world as it stands.

**67 Christ wars with great lords.**

(Cordatus No. 513.)

To those who speak of the persecution of mighty tyrants, I answer, Let this be done to Christ, who will not war with beggars, but with kings 2c. The kings of the Assyrians, Babylon 2c., they went there, for such must not end it, however great they are. All the prophets have spoken against them, and they have cried out against them, as Daniel's words prove. This is what the Turk does to us, Ferdinand 2c. God's deception 1) is to strike one prince with another, and with me the pope.

**68. Christ often revealed Himself to His disciples after His resurrection from the dead.**

(Cordatus No. 436.)

As often as Christ sat and ate with the apostles after his resurrection, so that they could feel that the divine majesty was sitting with them and dwelling in him bodily, they often had to think: How we have held on to Christ like peelers and evil-doers, because it is said of Peter [John 21:17] that he became sad. Therefore what he says [Joh. 16, 22] had to happen: "I will see you again" 2c. If he had not done this, he would never have brought the apostles to him.

**Where Christ abides, there also abide those who believe in him.**

(Cordatus No. 438.)

If we were not baptized, if we did not believe in Christ, the devil would leave us alone. But we will hold fast to Christ, no matter how much the devil may be angry with us. Where Christ abides, we will abide; if he goes to hell, we will go with him.

**70. a different.**

(Cordatus No. 440.)

We have more opportunities for joy than for sadness, because we believe in the living God, and Christ lives and we should also live [John 14:19]. But sadness is innate in us, and the devil is the spirit of sadness, but God is the spirit of joy that saves us.

**One flees from Christ, but runs to Satan.**

(Cordatus No. 469.)

The Son of Man came to save sinners, and sinners would rather follow the devil, who promises only a pittance and hardly gives it, but they flee Christ, who certainly promises and gives ten times a hundred thousand guilders.

1) Teuschen, i.e. secret being in a good and evil sense, Müller III, 156 (Wrampelmeyer).

**Christ must "receive" His word Himself; we are too weak to do so. 1)**

(Cordatus No. 478.)

Satan has often said to me: How if your teaching against the pope, the mass, the monks 2c. was wrong? And he has often hurried me so that I have broken out in a sweat. I finally answered him: Go and talk to God, who has commanded to hear this Christ. The Christ must do everything. Therefore, whoever wants to be a Christian must let Christ answer for everything.

### **73. a different.**

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 50.)

**The devil is hard on those who love and confess Christ.**

I think that the devil will have assailed and tormented our dear Paul, because he has so faithfully and diligently emphasized, taught and confessed Christ: and so vehemently insisted on him, as through him alone we must be saved who believe in him, out of pure grace and mercy, without all our merit and good works, they go before or after: even the false teachers, who taught against this, punished severely and by name; as fine epistles testify.

### **75 St. Paul's person.**

Then Magister Veit Dieterich asked him, saying, "What kind of person do you think Paul was, Doctor? Then the doctor said, "I think Paul was a despised person who had no reputation; a poor, scrawny little man, like Master Philip.

**The Christian's golden art is to know Christ rightly.**

Psalm 51, v. 8, it is written: "Behold, thou delightest in the truth that is in secret: thou hast made me to know the secret wisdom. This is a secret hidden from the world, and will remain hidden:

the truth that is hidden, and the secret wisdom; not of the lawyers, physicians, philosophers and the wise men of this world: no, but your wisdom you have made me know. This is the golden art that Sadoletus cannot do, although he writes a lot about this psalm.

Of this art, which the world's wisdom regards as foolishness, even as nothing, Paul says in 1 Corinthians 1, v. 18 ff: "For the word of the cross is foolishness to them that perish: but unto us which are saved it is the power of God. For it is written (Isa. 29:14), "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise" (that is, it will be nothing and come to nothing) "and I will reject the understanding of the wise. (Isa. 33:18:.) "Where are the wise? Where are the scribes? Where are the worldly wise? Has not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? Because the world through its wisdom did not recognize God in His wisdom, it pleased God to make blessed those who believe in it through foolish preaching 2c. Because the Jews ask for signs, and the Greeks ask for wisdom. But we preach Christ crucified, a vexation to the Jews and a folly to the Greeks. But to those who are called, both Jews and Greeks, we preach Christ, divine power and divine wisdom. For divine foolishness is wiser than men are, and divine weakness is stronger than men are 2c. For Christ Jesus was made unto us of God wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; that" (as it is written Jer. 9:24.) "whosoever shall boast, let him boast of the LORD."

Erasmus, Sadoletus, the papists, Walen 2c. see that I abolish the error of the rabble and the common man. This is not to be suffered by them; for they hold that one should never follow the people, and for the sake of common peace one should always believe what the people believe. Although the faith of the people is nothing at all, and no faith to be respected, for it is certain that they think nothing of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. But he who has started the game loves the truth, therefore he will

1) Cf. cap. 24, § 101, para. 1.

be the enemy of lies. Therefore, the boys will have to go to the ground. Whether we have to put something on it for the sake of Christ, let it always go. For "God's judgment begins at the house of God," 1 Pet. 4:17; we must be the first, but they must follow, and after that no end; so they shall know.

#### **To know Christ surpasses everything that is on earth.**

You should not take the whole world for it', said D. M. Luther. M. Luther, that you know that Christ is Christ, that is, our only Savior, High Priest, King and Lord, whom I did not recognize for a long time in my monastic life. Since we are already dying, Christ still lives; if he lives, we also want to live for sure. For this saying stands firm and certain, and will also remain true forever against all hellish gates, since it says John 14:19: "I live, and you also shall live. Now Christ, whom we preach, is God, therefore the whole world is nothing against this Christ.

#### **78. a different.**

All the wise men of the world mock and ridicule us Christians for leading and carrying on the cause of the Lord Christ with such earnestness; but it shall surely fall upon their bosoms at the last day.

(Here 6 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 1, § 5.)

And if I would only leave behind me the fact that I now practice and teach with the highest diligence that one should beware of speculation, and take hold of Christ alone in the most simple and certain way, then I would have done and accomplished much.

#### **79. teaching of Christ and the apostles.**

When one said that St. Paul had taught many things more clearly and distinctly than Christ, M. Luther replied: "If this saying in Paul, Rom. 5:12, were not written: 'Sin came into the world through a man, and death through sin, and reigns also over those who have not sinned as Adam did,' then one could hardly say, 'I have sinned.

The first two words of the Bible, "original sin" and "original sin", are the same as the first two words of the Scriptures.

He further said that after his resurrection, when he sent the Holy Spirit, the preaching of Christ went out into all the world, resounded and penetrated mightily. As he commanded the disciples shortly before he ascended to heaven, Marc. 16, 15: "Go into all the world" 2c. Item Joh. 16, 7. Cap. 14, 26.: "It is good for you that I go, for the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, will teach you all things and remind you of all that I have said to you. He will guide you into all truth." This Master, the Holy Spirit, spoke and worked through the apostles, and presented the doctrine of Christ more clearly, so that their preaching penetrated powerfully and produced more fruit than when Christ preached. As he himself had previously proclaimed, "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and shall do greater works than these." Joh. 14, 12. Item, when he said Matth. 28, 19.: "Go, teach all nations, and baptize them in the name" 2c. This is said: My people, the Jews, to whom I am promised, have not wanted nor can they hear my preaching in a small corner (in Judea) of the world. Now all nations in all the world shall and must hear your preaching. This and no other: "For all authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me, and I will be with you to the end of the age", Matth. 28, 18. 20.

But I think that Christ preached gently and carefully, not wanting to penetrate with power (as he could have done, because he preached so powerfully that the people were astonished at his teaching), for the sake of the fathers to whom he was promised, so that circumcision and the law, together with the divine service, might be done away with and abolished in silence, with honor and patience on the part of those who thought highly of the fathers.

#### **80. Christ preached in vain.**

(Cordatus No. 435.)

Christ preached in vain and yet had the pious women given to him [Luc. 8, 3.], and yet once coined, Matth. 17, [27.] for need or out of poverty.

**81. Christ once coined.**

(Contained in the previous §.)

**82) That John calls Christ the Word.**

He wanted to show that Christ is the person who spoke to the fathers at all times, Is. 7. Behold, I myself, who spoke, am now present; and Joh. 1, 1.7.: "No one has ever seen God, but the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has proclaimed it to us. Do you now want to know who is the one who has spoken to his believers in all ways? "The Word," says St. John, "which was in the beginning before the creation of all creatures, by which all things were made."

**The prophecies of Christ are described with dark words. 1)**

The prophecies that God's Son should take on human nature are so obscurely described that I think the devil did not know that Christ should have been conceived by the Holy Spirit and born of the virgin Mary. Therefore he says to Christ in the wilderness, when he tempted him, Matth. 4, 6.: "Are you the Son of God?" Call him the Son of God, not because he thought that he was the Son of God in kind and nature; but according to the scriptural way, which also calls men the children of God, Psalm 82:6: "You are all the children of God."

This is why such prophecies about Christ, his suffering, resurrection and kingdom were not revealed before the time of his future (except to the prophets and other highly enlightened people), because everything was saved and directed to Christ, who was the only right master to open the understanding of the Scriptures. Therefore Moses commanded his people Deut. 18, 19: "You shall obey him"; and God the Father says Matth. 17, 5: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; him you shall hear."

That Peter and the other apostles (as can be seen in the apostles' stories) do not call Christ God in their sermons in clear words, is because they did not want to anger the pious Jews, who were still weak in faith, nor give them cause to avoid and persecute their sermons, and thus fast a suspicion against them, as if they wanted to proclaim a new God, and reject the old true God of their fathers and now no longer accept him. Nevertheless, they draw on, and remember with clear distinct words, the ministry of Christ and his works, that he is a prince of life. Raises the dead, justifies and forgives sin, answers prayer, enlightens and comforts hearts 2c. So that they may sufficiently indicate and confess that he is true God; for no creature can do these works, but God alone.

Sometimes the apostles use dark sayings about the divinity of Christ, as 1 Cor. 10, 4: "They were drunk with the spiritual rock that followed with them, which was Christ." Item v. 9: "Let us not tempt Christ." By these words Paul proves that the Son of God existed before, that is, from eternity before He took on human nature, He has always presided over His church, enlightened it, governed it, protected it, strengthened it and preserved it against the power of the devil and the evil world. Thus, John 8:58, Christ Himself says: "Before Abraham was, I am," clearly indicating that He existed before He became man.

**Christ's kingdom will be wonderfully built and preserved.**

Our Lord Christ rules and preserves his Christianity wonderfully, not by human wisdom and power, like worldly kings, princes, etc., yes, he hides his divine wisdom, power and strength, so that they are nowhere to be felt nor seen, and he is foolish to speak according to reason, to build and preserve his kingdom.

He also has servants and officials, 2 Cor. 5:18, 20, whom he sends out into all the world, not armed with weapons of the flesh, but commanded.

1) The first lines of this § were used in the old edition for an entry of Cap. 24, § 63, which was then followed by a section from the Church Postilla.

preaching his word to them, enlightens and strengthens them with the Holy Spirit. They do nothing but preach the word. In this way Christ destroys the devil's kingdom and builds him a church that the gates of hell cannot overcome, Matth. 16, 18. As the 8th Psalm, v. 3, sings: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings you have given a power or kingdom. So put to shame great potentates, kings, princes, 2c., the pope, who now also cannot continue with their religion, power and wisdom, who dare to destroy his word and people, Jer. 1, 18. 19. Therefore they finally go to ruin over it, as the said Psalm sings further: "Thou hast prepared such power for the sake of thine enemies, that thou destroyest the enemy and the avenger."

But a strong faith belongs to it, which keeps to the word, and does not allow to err nor to be annoyed that the great leaders on earth are against this teaching, call it heresy, and persecute it as the worst and most harmful people, who spread it, accept it and confess it. But they do not know (although, unfortunately, many now deliberately persecute and blaspheme the recognized divine truth), "that they rebel and counsel against the Lord and His anointed", Ps. 2, 2, yes, "they think they are doing God a service by it", Joh. 16, 2.

#### 85. word of Christ Matth. 11.

It is frightening to the world, and annoying and mocking to all worldly wise men, that Christ says Matth. 11, 25: "I praise you, Father and Lord of heaven and earth, that you have hidden these things from the wise and understanding, and have revealed them to babes" 2c. But it is very comforting for us Christians, whom the Lord has bound together with a strong and firm bond, so that we are one body, have one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and one Father, Eph. 4:4, 5, 6. Therefore Christ's kingdom alone is directed to destroy the works of the devil and to justify and save sinners (not the worldly wise, righteous 2c.) who feel their misery and sorrow and desire his grace and help from the bottom of their hearts. For this they will bring him into the

praise and preach his word, and confess and spread it before the wicked, ungodly world, that his kingdom is therefore a spiritual, eternal kingdom, not a corporeal, transient kingdom. Therefore we also dwell with our bodies on earth, but with our hearts in heaven, "waiting for the redemption of our bodies, and longing for the blessed hope and glorious appearing of our Savior Jesus Christ," Phil. 3:20.

Afterwards, Martin thought of this doctrine, that Christ's kingdom would be led wonderfully, and he said: "Christ leads his reign wonderfully and foolishly, according to reason. He hides himself and presents himself as weak, which makes it seem as if he is powerless and has no authority or power. Nevertheless, he puts to shame the most powerful, cleverest and holiest in the world, emperors, kings, princes, pontiffs, cardinals and bishops, with their courtiers and followers. But it is highly necessary to be sure of the things.

#### 86. christ holds over his kingdom and protects it, the devil also; but with unequal Armor and weapons.

The devil challenges Christianity and fights against it with the greatest power and cunning; he attacks it with tyrants, heretics, false brothers, and arouses the whole world against it. On the other hand, Christ resists the devil and his kingdom through a few, small, simple, despised people, with the greatest weakness and foolishness, as it can be seen, and still retains the victory. Therefore he says Matth. 10, 16: "Behold, I send you out as sheep in the midst of wolves." As if to say, "You, my messengers and disciples, will be ill received by the evil world, not only earning ingratitude and contempt with your faithful service, but also being persecuted for it; in sum, they will deal with you as wolves with sheep. Now it is a very unequal, strange warfare, when one sheep has ten, even a hundred or more wolves against it; as happened to the apostles and disciples of Christ, when they sent Christ into all the world to preach, when always one after another was put to death.

Lions, and even more ferocious monstrous animals

should be sent among wolves. But Christ desires to show his supreme power and wisdom in our greatest weakness and foolishness, as the world sees it, and thus to lead the matter out, so that all who oppose his messengers will eat death and go to the devil. For he alone, the LORD of hosts, works miracles, preserves his sheep in the midst of wolves (if they devour one, he sends ten others in its place), and tears the wolves' mouths asunder; so that we may see from this that our faith does not rest on the power, wisdom and deeds of men, but in the power of God.

#### **87. common question in the world of Christo.**

The meanest and noblest question among those who are called Christians is this: Whether Christ is Christ? That is, whether men are redeemed from death, justified, and saved through him alone?

The wise men of the world, the learned, and the greatest multitude on earth doubt it. The pope and his followers dispute it and say no to it, as their teaching and life show. In the same way, the red spirits do not want to let Christ be Christ, so that one can obtain forgiveness of sins through him alone, and become pious, righteous and blessed before God, through faith in him alone. We, who have and confess the word of God, say yes to the fact that we are accepted and saved by God through Christ alone: we know, believe and confess that it is the truth; therefore we preach it, therefore we must also suffer ourselves, Psalm 116:10.

So there are always three sects in disagreement about this article. The first, who doubts it; the second, who disputes it, denies it and persecutes it; the third, who believes it to be certain and true, even confessing it before the evil world. The former is a great multitude, the latter a small group.

#### **The prophets' knowledge of Christ.**

The prophets knew that Christ, when he came, would save those who believed in him from the eternal curse, and therefore also true, natural, and true, natural.

God, as several prophecies clearly indicate; as Isaiah, Cap. 7, 14, calls him Immanuel, that is, God with us; Jeremiah, Cap. 33, 16, says: "He will be called the LORD, who is our righteousness" 2c.

But as far as the coincidences and circumstances are concerned, how or by what means he should save the human race from the eternal curse, methinks, all the prophets actually did not know. I think the same and other pious hearts in the people of Israel are preserved in faith, as our children, who badly and simple-mindedly believe that Christ is our Savior and God, also have happy, lovely thoughts about it.

**(89) It does not follow that Christ has done this and that, therefore we also may do it.**

Now some pretend that Christ drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple by force, therefore we may also exercise the same force against the bishops and enemies of the Word; just as coining men and other riotous spirits are supporting themselves in the peasants' revolt. Anno 1525. No, said D. Martin, Christ has done many things that we should not and cannot imitate him. He walked on water, fasted forty days and forty nights, raised Lazarum from death after he had been in the grave for four days 2c. We will leave that and the like.

Much less does he want us to stand against the enemies of the truth, but gives the contradiction Matth. 5, 44: "Love your enemies, pray for those who insult and persecute you" 2c. But we are to follow him in the works on which he hung a public commandment; as Luc. 6, 36: "Be merciful, as your Father is merciful." Item Matth. 11, 29: "Take my yoke upon you and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble in heart" 2c. Item Luc. 9, 23: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."

#### **90. christ's name.**

Nevertheless, the name of Christ remains under the papacy. But I fear, unfortunately, that it will still come to this, that one will call Christ

so that the word of Christ will be fulfilled Luc. 18, 8: "When the Son of Man comes, do you think that he will also find faith on earth? Therefore I do not believe that the last day will come with such a clear light of the gospel as it now appears, praise God. There will follow a terrible darkness after this bright sun, and yet under the name and shine of the light, which can soon come. Blessed are those who have fallen asleep in the Lord.

#### **The kingdom of Christ has remained under the papacy.**

One of the greatest miracles that happened on earth is that Christ's kingdom remained under the papacy, since for several hundred years nothing else was heard, nor held up to the poor people, but the law of the pope, that is, the doctrine and commandment of men, so that it was no wonder that Christ's name and word were completely unknown and forgotten.

God has wonderfully preserved the Gospel in the church, so that it is told to the people from the pulpit, from word to word: so also in the papacy the children's faith, the Lord's Prayer, baptism, and the sacrament of the altar have remained. These have stuck to the hearts that should have seen them; this has been a special great power of God. God has also often awakened fine, God-fearing, learned men, revealed His word to them, and given them the courage to publicly punish the unrighteous teachings and abuses that had been established in the church, even with writings, as John Huss and others. Thus God receives His word, not by human wisdom, force or sword, but sends those whom He has chosen to cast out the devil in the midst of wolves.

#### **92. difference of the kingdom of Christ, Pabst and Mahomet.**

Christ's kingdom is a kingdom of grace, mercy and all comfort, as Ps. 117, 2. is written: "His grace and truth rule over us forever. The kingdom of the end of Christ is a kingdom of lies and corruption, Ps. 10:7: "His mouth is full of cursing, falsehood and deceit, his tongue is full of evil, his mouth is full of evil, his tongue is full of evil, his mouth is full of evil, his mouth is full of evil, his mouth is full of evil.

causes toil and labor." Mahomet's kingdom is a kingdom of vengeance, wrath and desolation, Ezek. 38.

#### **The kingdom of Christ also includes those who are weak in faith.**

The weak in faith also belong to Christ's kingdom, otherwise the Lord would not have said to Petro: "Strengthen your brothers", Luc. 22, 32. Item Rom. 14, 1: "Receive the weak in faith." And 1 Thess. 5, 14: "Comfort the fainthearted and carry the weak."

If the weak in faith did not belong to Christ, where would the apostles remain, whom the Lord often punished for their unbelief, even after His resurrection? Marc. 16, 14.

#### **94 Christ is the only physician against death, which few desire.**

(Cordatus No. 849. 850.)

The devil is the master of death. He can make a tree of death out of a leaf, and he has more vessels full of poison than all the pharmacies, and if one does not help, the other does. But as a drink of water quenches thirst and a morsel of bread satisfies hunger, so Christ is the remedy for death. But it will not come to pass, as Simeon says [Luc. 2:30], "For mine eyes have seen thy Savior."

A thirsty man is greedy for drink from the heart, and of the dear Christ no one wants to be greedy who can satisfy forever.

#### **95. Christ has overcome the world.**

We know, praise God, that Christ has overcome the world together with its prince, the devil, so that sin cannot rule over us now, nor death devour us. We should be much happier about this than the children of the world about temporal welfare, happiness, wealth, honor, power 2c. For the Scriptures do not fail to bear witness to this.

Now we have, through the Scriptures, certain signs and seals, Holy Baptism, the Lord's Supper, absolution, so many beautiful, glorious, divine promises that we have no reason to doubt them.



yet it will not go away. Therefore we may earnestly pray, "Lord, strengthen our faith," Luc. 17:5; for the defect is in us (not in Christ, who has accomplished everything, and has sent us the letter and seal of his grace), that we so waver and falter, and so coldly think that he is our King, High Priest, Bridegroom 2c. He who could grasp this would know the noble art, would be a fine doctor and a blessed man.

### Why the Son of God appeared.

The Son of God came into the world to redeem us from the devil's power, sin and death, to make us righteous and blessed, and we still flee from him as from the devil. Moreover, if we want to be Christians, we pay little or little attention to the gifts of God, which he gives us abundantly to enjoy for the preservation of this short, fleeting life, and we strive with great diligence for the evil gifts that the devil offers us (which, compared to the eternal goods that Christ gives us, are small, despised crumbs, even if they are great money and goods), and which we obtain and possess against God and right.

(Cordatus No. 474, the following paragraph.)

The practice of theology must be experienced, even if it is only in the last hour. But blessed are those who experience it in life, like Schlaginhausen, Weller and me.

### The temple of all the gods, except Christ, called the Pantheon in Rome.

In Rome there is a round temple in which the Romans have placed the images of all the gods they worship and adore, so they have called this temple the Pantheon 1) (of all the gods), except for Christ, which image was not placed in it. For what is great, mighty, wise and holy cannot stand Christ, even the whole world rages and rages against him, Ps. 2:1, 2, nor does he remain for ever, and all idols together with those who make and worship them fall to the ground. Ps. 115. therefore more and greater power is needed.

1) Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1004, §11.

be behind him, because the wise men of the world and the great and mighty lords believe that they want to destroy him, that is, his word and church, to the ground; but they shall and must leave it, and have hellish fire for a reward.

This temple (pantheon) was subsequently given by Emperor Phocas (the murderer of the pious Emperor Mauritiu and the first founder of the Pabst primacy) to Pope Bonifacio the Third in 606 to make it to his liking: he baptized it differently, called it the church of all saints instead of all idols, and did not include Christ, from whom all saints derive their sanctity, thus establishing the invocation of saints and new idolatry.

To this Bonifacio, the third one, D. M. Luther interprets his name in his Chronica thus: Bonifacius is a papal name, means so much as a good form or reputation; because under a good appearance or form he does vain evil, contrary to God and men.

When I was D. M. Luther was in Rome, I saw this church: it had no windows, but only a round hole at the top, from which it had light, and was vaulted high: it had such thick marble stone columns or pillars that our two could hardly encompass. At the top of the vault were painted all the gods of the pagans, Jupiter, Neptune, Mars, Venus, and whatever else they were called. All these gods were one with each other, so that they might deceive and cheat the whole world; but since Jesus Christ is coming, they do not want to suffer him, nor has he beaten them. Now the popes have come, and have driven him out again; but who knows how long it will last?

### 98 The bet does not know Christ and his own.

(Cordatus No. 48.)

As Christ himself, so are we in the world, namely invisible, 2) because the world does not recognize us who believe in Christ, as it does not recognize Christ, who is certainly in the world according to the word: Behold, I am with you.

2) The et before quod is to be deleted. The second sicut, which D. Wrampelmeyer objects to, is correct.

### 99. knowledge of Christ.

The righteousness of our works does not consist in fears and mortal misery; indeed, it causes heartache to those who rely on it. Nothing on earth makes man certain (it is called the work or the righteousness of God's law, much less holiness chosen out of human devotion or discretion) that sin is forgiven and not imputed: only the knowledge of Christ, through which man receives comfort and strength of faith in all afflictions and mortal distresses. Without this knowledge of Christ, I cannot suffer any conscience at all; indeed, the devil drives me through sin, so that the world becomes too narrow for me; only the knowledge of Christ straightens me out and satisfies me.

### 100. What Christ requires of us.

(Cordatus No. 817 and No. 823.)

God demands nothing else from the believers than: This do in remembrance of me. But if you say, "Yes, Lord, I will be struck on the mouth over this," He answers you [Ps. 50:15], "Call upon Me in time of need, and I will save you." And this is an easy service of God. Of such ease of his service he says that you should seek first the kingdom of God, and after that be of good cheer, for everything else will fall to you. He also promised us help in the cross, so what can we lack?

If I had as much faith as I should, I would have slain the Turk long ago and made the tyrants mad. I have been so troubled with them, but I lack faith. Meanwhile God says to me [2 Cor. 12:9], "Be content with my grace, for my power is mighty in the weak."

### 101. by the grace of God shown to us in Christ.

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 16.)

### 102. joy in Christ is hindered by the devil.

We should rejoice in Christ without ceasing, as St. Paul exhorts us, so that we may be completely joyful and full of joy.

We would be healthy, and could not become either sad or sick. But the wicked Satan hinders such joy wherever he can, goes about without ceasing, tormenting and distressing us, either without means, by his fiery darts, or by wicked poisonous mouths, even by ours. I encounter this very often.

### 103. will I not wash you 2c., Joh. 13.

These words, Joh. 13, 8. where Christ says to Peter: "If I do not wash you, then you have no part with me", are not to be understood that Christ baptized his disciples at that time; because Joh. 14. is clearly expressed that he himself baptized no one, but his disciples, and they among themselves baptized one another, at Christ's command. Also, the Lord did not speak these words about washing water alone, but about the right spiritual washing (but the cause is taken from this physical one), by which he alone, no one else, washes and cleanses Peter, the other disciples and all believers from all their sins, and makes them holy and righteous. As if to say, "I am the only true physician; therefore, if I do not wash you, you will remain unclean and dead in your sins.

But with this way he also saw the priests' way and ceremonies and wanted to follow them, who, according to the law of Moses, washed their hands and feet before they went into the temple. So does our true eternal priest. As if to say: Before I begin my new kingdom and go into the new temple, and you follow me, I will first wash and cleanse you. But that Christ washed not his own feet, but the feet of the disciples, when the high priest in the law washed not the feet of others, but his own feet, this is the cause: he was unclean and a sinner, like other men, therefore he washed his feet, and offered not only for the sin of the people, but also for his own. But our eternal High Priest is holy, innocent, undefiled, set apart from sinners: therefore it was not necessary for him to wash his feet, but he washed us and made us clean from all sins by his blood.

Above this he wanted to indicate by this foot washing that his new kingdom, which he had

would not be an external worldly kingdom with a difference of persons, one higher and greater than the other, as in Moses' kingdom, but one should serve the other through humility. As he says Luc. 22, 25. 26.: "The worldly kings rule ... But not so do ye: but let the greatest of you be as the youngest, and the chiefest as a servant." Which He Himself also showed by this ministry of foot-washing, as an example to us, as He says John 13:14, 15: "If I your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. An example have I given you."

#### 104. miracles of Christ and the apostles.

(Contained in Cap. 61, § 6.)

#### 105. Christ's highest humility.

Whoever reads the Passion diligently and pays attention to it will see the great humility of the Lord Christ, so that it could not have been greater. But the fact that he humbled himself so deeply is not only due to us, that we should follow his example, as St. Paul very finely points out Phil. 2, 5: "Let every man be of the same mind as Christ was" 2c., but is more due to the devil, that the Lord Christ thereby deceived the trusting, cunning spirit, so that he would be misled about such great humility, and not think that he should be the seed of the woman who would crush his head. As the promise, Genesis 3:15, made to the first parents, reads: "I will put enmity between your seed and the seed of the woman"; as if he wanted to say: I will deal with you, you poisonous serpent.

In 1533, Doctor Luther interpreted this saying of Paul, Phil. 2, 6, in such a way that Christ "would not have considered it robbery to be like God," namely, that St. Paul wanted to say: Christ is God, but he does not want to be, but wants to be your servant; and that alone does it.

#### The greatest miracle that has happened on earth.

The greatest miracle that has happened on earth is that the Son of God of the most ignominious

died on the cross. It seems miraculous to us that the Father should say to his only begotten Son, who is a true, natural God, "Go, be nailed to the gallows of the cross and be hanged.

Now one should not separate the Godhead from mankind. But I presume that it may be so; nevertheless, the eternal Father's love for his only begotten Son is inordinately greater than Abraham's love was for Isaac. For he is the only beloved Son, as the Father himself testifies from heaven, Matt. 3:17: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." And yet he is so miserably cast down, as "a worm and no man, a mockery of men, and contempt of the people," Ps. 22:7.

Blind reason is offended by this; think: If he is the eternal Father's only begotten son, how does he deal with him so mercilessly? Does he not deal more kindly with Caiphas, Herod, Pilate, and the worst evildoers on earth, than with his Son? St. Paul says that the Jews, that is, the works saints, are offended by this sermon, and the Greeks, that is, the worldly wise, consider it foolishness, 1 Cor. 1:23. But for us Christians it is the greatest comfort, because we know from it, and certainly believe, and do not doubt, that the merciful God and Father so loved the poor, damned world that He did not spare His only begotten Son, but gave Himself up for us all to the most shameful death, so that all who believe in Him might not perish, but be saved, John 3:16. 3, 16. Rom. 8, 32. Therefore we consider this sermon to be our highest wisdom and true golden art, and a divine power by which we are saved, 1 Cor. 1, 24.

This example is especially meant for those who are afflicted with high spiritual temptations (which everyone cannot bear, such as: Sadness and melancholy of spirit, fear and trembling before God's wrath, judgment and eternal death, and such poisonous, fiery darts of the afflicted Satan), always have before their eyes and comfort themselves with this: that although they feel such heavy and unmistakable suffering much and often, they are not rejected by God for this reason, yes, that He loves them above others, because He has conformed them to the image of His only begotten Son.

They do not doubt that because they suffer with him, he will also deliver them from it, just like him. "For all who want to live godly in Christ must suffer persecution", 2 Tim. 3, 12, but one more than the other, according to whether each is strong or weak in faith; "for God is faithful, who will not let us be tempted above our ability", 1 Cor. 10, 13.

**A wonderful thing is the faith of Christians.**

Our faith is a strange thing, that I and others, who want to be saved in another way, should believe in the man Jesus Christ, that he is the true, natural Son of God, and yet he had to die an ignominious death on the cross, hanged between two evildoers. As he himself said to his disciples shortly before his suffering Luc. 22, 37: "It must yet be fulfilled in me, which is written of me, that he is reckoned among the transgressors; since we have never seen him", 1 Petr. 1, 8. that he is like a stone lying in the sea to us, since we know nothing of it. But because he says in the gospel Joh. 14, 6: "I am the way, the truth and the life, no one comes to the Father but through me"; item, Matth. 28, 18. 19. 20: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me", therefore "go and teach all nations, baptizing them ... and teach them to observe all that I have commanded you." Well then, if he says that he is Lord over all, who has authority in heaven and on earth, then he is and will remain so.

He proved it at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg a year ago, when the greatest and most powerful leaders in Christendom, both spiritual and secular, were assembled against him, and were furious and angry to destroy his word completely and to exterminate all of us. But if we did not know that he was Lord over all, he would have proved his majesty, so that we should praise and give thanks to him without ceasing, and be sure that he is able and willing to save us from all danger and distress, however great and severe they may be. But what shall I say? This great

The miracle of this Diet has been forgotten as if it had never happened. The world is no good at all; it is of the devil, as it goes and stands.

**108 Against the Obstacle of Reason.**

We Christians do not allow ourselves to be challenged that reason, the devil's whore, according to her blindness, allows herself to think that there is no more unrighteous, foolish faith than that of the very Christians who believe in a crucified Jew, Jesus Christ. Well, let them lie and mock as long as they can, in the name of their idol, the devil. We have and praise it as the highest grace of God that we recognize and believe in Jesus Christ, who was crucified and died for us, because we know that "no other name has been given to us men, whereby we may be saved. 4, 12. Therefore condemn as blasphemous abominations and lies of the devil all other faiths and religions, as invented by Pabst, Mahomet and others, are certain that God has given away and rejected the founders of these superstitions and false religions in a wrong sense.

**109. difference between the resurrection and ascension of Christ.**

When one of the doctors asked Luther: What is the difference between the resurrection and the ascension of Christ? he said: Christ is set over all things by the resurrection, even after mankind, as it is written in the eighth Psalm, v. 7, 8, 9. And the Lord Christ Himself said after His resurrection Matth. 28, 18: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to Me," although according to the Godhead He was from eternity; but through the Ascension He receives dominion and government over all things. This is the difference, as that I give a likeness of it: A young prince, king or prince, is heir and lord of all the land and people of his lord father, but he is not permitted to rule or reign until his time. To go to heaven and sit at the right hand of the Father Almighty is to be like God, to sit in equal majesty and power, which is called a divine power, and to rule over all.

### 110 Ascension Day.

It was a strange thing to see that Christ disappeared before the disciples' eyes and ascended to heaven; and the good disciples will have thought in part: We have eaten and drunk with him, and now he is visibly being lifted up from us into heaven; if only it were true? For they were not all equally strong in faith, as Matthew writes in chapter 28, v. 17: "When they saw the Lord, they fell down before him, but some doubted."

I know Doctor Jonam very well, and if he were to appear now in the air and disappear before our eyes, it would truly give me strange thoughts. But the Lord will be alive for the forty days from the resurrection until the ascension, when he has shown himself alive with many proofs, Acts 1:3. 1:3, taught them all they needed and strengthened them in their faith, reminding them of what he had said to them before, so that they did not doubt his person. Even though it was difficult for them. For when the Lord stood in the midst of them in the evening of Easter day, and said, Peace be unto you. "they were frightened and thought they saw a ghost", Luc. 24, 36. 37. "And Thomas would not believe before that the other disciples had seen the Lord, because he had seen the nail marks in his hands" 2c., Joh. 20, 25. And Acts 1, 7. 1, 7. when he had talked with them forty days about the kingdom of God and was now about to ascend, they asked him: "Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?"

But afterwards, when they received the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, their minds were much changed, and they were no longer afraid of the Jews, but stood up fearlessly, and preached of Christ with all joy before all the people 2c. And Peter, Apost. 3:6, said to the lame man, "Silver and gold have I none; but what I have I give thee, in the name of JEsu Christ of Nazareth: arise, and walk." And yet afterwards the Lord had to show him by a vision, Apost. 10, 9. ff. that the Gentiles also have the promise of life through Christ.

Although he had heard from the Lord before, shortly before his ascension, Marc. 16, 15: "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creatures"; and Matth. 28, 19: "Teach all nations"; and to the Galatians, Cap. 2:14, Paul punished him because a complaint had come against him. I say this to show that the apostles, after receiving the Holy Spirit, did not soon know everything and were sometimes weak in faith. Paul (since all of Asia turned away from him, also some of his disciples departed from him, and many false spirits, who had a great reputation, sat against him) says with a sad heart 2 Thess. 3, 2: "Faith is not for everyone"; item, since he 1 Cor. 2, 3. "I was with you in weakness and fear and great trembling"; 2 Cor. 7:5: "We were always in trouble, struggling on the outside and fearing on the inside": he will not always have been strong in faith, so that the Lord had to comfort him: "Be content with my grace, for my power is mighty in the weak", 2 Cor. 12:9.

This is comforting to me and to all Christians, for I also believe, but that it would be better, 1) and yet teach others the faith: I know that my teaching is right, but I am still far short of faith. I sometimes think: you preach God's word, the ministry is commanded to you, and you are called to it without your will, you confess and praise Christ, which does not come to pass without fruit, for many do better; but when I see my weakness, that I eat, drink, and at times am also cheerful and a good collationist, then I begin to doubt, and say: Oh, who only could believe! 2) That is why the secure, presumptuous spirits, as heretics (and all false Christians), are peevish, harmful people, who, when they have once looked at the Bible above or heard some sermons, soon make themselves believe that they have the Holy Spirit, understand and know everything. Oh, pious hearts are much differently minded, praying every day, even every moment: "Lord, strengthen our faith," Luc. 17:5.

1) The meaning of this sentence is: "I should probably have stronger faith."

2) Cf. Cap. 12, § 19; 3, § 32.

**Christ alone is to be heard.**

(Cordatus No. 816. s)

If Christ comes and speaks to you (if you repent of your sin) like Moses, "What have you done?" then strike him dead. 1) But if he speaks to you like God and your Savior, stretch out both ears.

**112. lamentation of the godly over their unbelief.**

Is it not a miserable plague that we make our sin so great and grievous, forgetting our baptism, yes, of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who gave and sacrificed Himself for it, for which "God hath made us, that He should be our righteousness," 2c., 1 Cor. 1:30, which, of course, the devil will have to leave unpunished?

He who is rich and powerful defies and insists on it, and even if he is a wicked man, he does not worry that he will lose his property and power because of it. A lord, prince remains lord or prince over land and people, even if he is not pious because of his person. So a child is a child and heir to all his father's goods, and does not prevent himself from becoming unclean, courting his mother's bosom, or insulting his father. How is it then that we are so fainthearted, so despondent, and nowhere so wise as the children of the world? Luc. 16:8, so that we cannot also be moved and say (when we feel the power of sins through the law, and the terror of death makes us sweat with fear): What is it now that I have sinned? Is God, who keeps faith forever, Ps. 146, 6, therefore a liar? who through Paul, his chosen armor, speaks Rom. 5, 20: "Grace is much more powerful than sin"; and Ps. 117, 2: "His grace and truth rule over us forever". This would also mean to praise and extol our inheritance, not before the world, but before God, who is pleased with it and makes it the most pleasing service to Him.

1) A heroic saying, by which is meant to be said: Although someone wants to attack you in Christ's name, do not accept him; Christ is not an angry judge, but a kind savior. Cf. in § 113 the saying, "It is not Christ who terrifies, but the devil."

Our righteousness is not like the worldly righteousness of which the lawyers speak; but we are called and are righteous because Christ sacrificed himself for us and made us clean from sins, holy and righteous by his holy blood; item, because we have been baptized, have his word and believe. If the devil therefore come, reproach thee with thy sin, and afflict thee, and put thee to death; turn him away from thee unto Christ, who is thy righteousness and life, and let him debate with him. But thou keepest his word. The children are best of all; they trust their fathers, and say plainly, It is my father; and though they sometimes do it, and are wicked, and do evil, and are reproached for it, yet they dispute not whether he be father or no father; therefore they do best.

**113. a different.**

(The beginning of this § contained in Cap. 58, § 9, para. 5, therefore omitted. The following Cordatus No. 574. 2)

It is the most insolent vice and the greatest deception of Satan that we trust men more than God. I do more good to my wife and all of you than to Christ, knowing that no one has done such things for me as he has. And although he has done so great things for me, I fear him more than I love him. As soon as I say, "Yes, I am a poor sinner," Christ answers, "I died for you, that is why I baptized you, that is why I teach you every day. How patiently he bore the apostles' lack of understanding, and how kindly he dealt with them, we must diligently take heed. Christ, compared with all who are by nature the most kind, is yet alone the lamb, those the lions. The evil spirit reverses all this with the highest art, and makes of the kindest Christ a severe judge. But know this, that it is not Christ who terrifies, but the devil. This believe me, as when GOD speaketh, for the Holy Ghost speaketh to man, by a man, without [special] revelation. Pommer has with words that are not directed to it

2) Cf. cap. 2, § 58.

I have often been so comforted by the words of the Holy Spirit that I am still comforted by them today. This is how the Holy Spirit instructs and comforts people when we speak without thinking. 1)

#### 114. name JESus Christ.

I have and know nothing of Jesus Christ, because I have neither seen nor heard him bodily, but only his name. But I have learned so much about him from the Scriptures, praise God, that I am content to let him suffice me, and for this reason I do not desire to see or hear him in the flesh. Moreover, in my greatest weakness, in the terror and feeling of the burden of sin, in fear and trembling before death, in persecution of the wicked world, I have often experienced and felt the divine power, which this name has demonstrated in me, who was otherwise abandoned by all creatures, snatched me out of the midst of death, made me alive again, comforted me in the greatest despair, especially in the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, that I, if God wills, will remain by the name, live and die. . And before I would allow in my life that Erasmus or another, be he called and be he who he will, should be too close to my Lord Christ with his godless and false doctrine, however delicious color he paints it, to adorn and decorate it, before I would not live. Yes, it would be more tolerable for me to suffer all torment and torture, together with my wife and child, and finally die the most shameful death, than to see such things and keep quiet about them.

#### How a believing soul talks to Christ.

(Contained in Cap. 48, § 35 and already printed: Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1509.)

#### The blasphemy of Christ and his word makes it all.

When people blaspheme Christ, persecute and condemn His Word as surely and boldly as the papists and their followers, blinded by the devil, are now doing

The Jews, who are obdurate, thirsty and foolish, drive out and murder many pious people as the worst heretics; but some (as the red spirits and enthusiasts, called Anabaptists, Sacramentans, Antinomians, or others who will come after us) falsify and pervert the good word: so it is in the end, and must break in a short time. As happened to the Jews. When they ascribed Christ's teachings and deeds to the devil and blasphemed him on the cross, the whole creature trembled, for it could not bear it. The sun lost its light, the curtain in the temple was torn, the earth shook, the rocks were torn, the graves were opened. And when the Lord had swept his threshingfloor and gathered the wheat into his sheds, he set fire to the chaff 2c. So will he do now at the end of the world, when the number of his elect is fulfilled.

#### 117. no one leads to heaven 2c., says Christ John in the 3rd chapter.

As if he wanted to say: Without me, no one can become pious and righteous before God by his own strength, merit, self-chosen holiness, not even by the works of the law, nor can he enter the kingdom of heaven. For I am and remain in heaven, and yet for this reason I came down from heaven, that I might take you up with me. From this it follows that only those who believe in Christ obtain forgiveness of sins, are justified before God and inherit the kingdom of heaven, that for this reason he came down from heaven into the world, that he took on human nature and through his suffering and resurrection redeemed us from the power of the devil, sin and death, and made us heirs of the kingdom of heaven; as he further says Joh. 3:14, 15: "As Moses lifted up a serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up," that is, crucified and slain, "that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

In these three words (gone to heaven, come down from heaven, and be in heaven, which mean three different times) he briefly summarizes his omnipotence. 1. "Coming down from heaven" is that he descends to heaven.

1) The conclusion of this section is contained in Cap. 1, § 5, last paragraph. The preceding paragraph follows directly from Cap. 58, § 9.

He appeared on earth, became man (equal to us in all things, but without sin), let his glory be seen through teaching and miracles, and finally accomplished the work of redemption of the human race. 2) "To go to heaven" means that he will no longer appear on earth in bodily form. 3. to be in heaven is that he has never left the right hand of the Father, that is, the Godhead, but has always been and still is in heaven, that he has never left or will never leave the human nature he has assumed.

**If God is for us, who can be against us? Rom. 8.**

Now Christ our Lord and God has swallowed up death for our comfort and salvation forever. Now that death has been swallowed up forever through Christ, sin, which is the sting of death, has become blunt, so that it now has no edge or point to prick us, that is, to frighten, accuse and condemn us. So also the law is eternally unable to strengthen sin, that is, the law cannot drive us, nor convince us that we are sinners; yes, those who are in Christ and walk in the Spirit, not according to the flesh, as Paul says Gal. 5:16.

In this way the devil is also captured, stripped and judged, and all power is taken away from him, so that he cannot continue to rule over us forever. So also all the fury, raging and raging of the blind false world, the devil's bride, has become a mockery and laughter; for what can it do more than kill the body and promote us the more temporally to eternal life and bliss? Therefore all misfortune, be it sickness, poverty, affliction, misery, sorrow, all kinds of suffering, is far too little and small, even if it lasts a hundred years and even longer, compared to the future glory that will be revealed to us on the blessed day of our redemption, Rom. 8:18.

This is not the case with us and in us, but we feel the contradiction quite rightly; that is why faith is necessary, which neither sees nor gropes, but sticks to the word. But hope waits

The faith that has been grasped through the word will be saved through patience. In his time faith will become a public and eternal vision, the invisible will become visible (as in the beginning of creation the world, which was not yet visible, became a visible and essential world), and man will have eternal life, bliss, joy and happiness. Happy is he who understands this and would like to believe it!

**119 Christ is the only consolation of his believers in their cross and suffering on earth.**

Scripture testifies that all the godly must suffer persecution, 2 Tim. 3, 12, and enter the kingdom of God through tribulations, Acts 14, 22. 14, 22. Therefore St. Peter admonishes the believers to "resist the devil, who walks about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour, firmly in faith", 1 Petr. 5, 8. Further v. 9: They are not the only ones who are challenged by the devil and the evil world, but "should know that their brethren have the same suffering from time to time in all the world". Such is the feeling of devout hearts who are serious about holding fast to the word of Christ and persevering in his grace and knowledge to the end. Let us not speak of the poor and afflicted consciences, who (especially in this last gruesome time, when the furious devil is pouring out all his wrath and fury) suffer innumerable times to and fro, under the godless tyrants in the papacy and in Turkey, in various ways: Who, in their distress and anguish, have no other consolation than to have Christ, the Son of God, as their Savior and Advocate with the Father, to keep His word, and to have a heartfelt longing and desire for His blessed appearing, when He will finally redeem them and abundantly satisfy all their sufferings for eternity.

Then one will look at the other, will confess us to each other, and say: Behold, how do we come together here? Who would have thought of this wonderful, blessed change? On earth we were the most miserable, unworthy, well-suffering people, had to be heretics and rebels, and



as a curse of the world and children of the devil let the tyrants execute us. Where are they now, the angry nobles, the great, mighty kings and lords, who wanted to exterminate Christ, his word and poor little people to the ground? who spat at us, mocked and ridiculed us, trampled us underfoot, threw us into the towers, chased us out, inflicted all plagues and tortures on us, had us executed by fire and sword? Where are the holy spiritual fathers who banished, cursed and handed us over to the devil as the worst blasphemers and deceivers of the world? They are in the abyss of hell, "since their worm does not die and their fire is not extinguished," Isa. 66:24. On the other hand, we who have heard Christ, according to his Father's command, have believed in him, have held fast to his word, and have borne our cross for a little while, hardly even for a moment, compared to the great glory that is now revealed to us, now live in Christ in unspeakable eternal joy and blessedness, and praise him together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, with all the dear angels and saints.

#### 120. Apart from Christ, one should not remember God.

No other God is to be remembered except Christ, of whom the Father testified: "This is the one you shall hear", Matth. 17, 5. The God who does not speak through Christ's mouth is not God. In Judaism, God would not hear anywhere except at the mercy seat, Exodus 25:22: so He will not hear anyone except through Christ. But as the majority of the Jews did not ask for the mercy seat, but ran from time to time, burned incense here and there on the high mountains and hills, or under the green trees, and sought God in various places; in part also out of great devotion, their sons and daughters, to God (yes, to the devil, as the 106th Psalm, v. 37). Psalm, v. 37, says) in honor of God and to serve him with it: the same happens in Christianity; the great multitude is drowned in their thoughts and carnal devotion; one seeks God in St. Jacob's, another in Rome, the third in the monastery, and so on. This is called

the prophet Isaiah Cap. 53, 6: "going astray and looking to his own", self-chosen, not to God's "ways". For whoever seeks God apart from Christ will never find Him, and will do as he pleases. Whoever does not follow this word of Christ ("No one comes to the Father except through me", Joh. 14, 6.) is eternally lost.

(Here a section of 26 lines is omitted because. contained in Cap. 2, § 84, paras. 7-9.)

#### The enmity between Christ and the devil started in paradise.

No wonder that Satan is hostile to Christ and opposes his word, kingdom and people with all his power and cunning. There is an old hatred and enmity between them, which began in paradise. So they are also of a perverse kind and nature. He smells Christ over several hundred miles. In Constantinople, he hears that we teach, speak and preach against his kingdom here in Wittenberg; he also senses what harm comes to him from this, which is why he rages and rages so horribly.

But it is more to be wondered at that among us men (who are of the same kind and nature, and so firmly bound together by the bond of love that one should love another as himself) there should be such great ill-will, envy, hatred, anger, dissension, discord, revengefulness, that one should murder the other over it. Who is closer to the husband than his wife? to the son than his father? to the daughter than her mother? to the cord than her sister-in-law? and again. Item, brothers and sisters could not be closer related to each other: nor is it rare to find unity, love and friendship among them. The pagans also noticed this and complained about it, but they did not know that all this is the work of the wicked devil.

#### Christ is an unworthy guest in the world.

(Contained in Cap. 4, K 42.)

#### What Christ is for a king,

Christ does not pay much attention to the worldly and domestic regiment, because he is not

He did not come to be a worldly lord, but for this reason he became man, that he might be a king, to destroy the devil's kingdom and to make the people blessed. As he himself says: "The Son of Man came to save that which was lost", Luc. 19, 10. But he is foolish enough to do so.

**Christ and the law cannot dwell together in one conscience.**

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 5. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §44. 45.)

**In Christ we have everything.**

Oh dear God! said D. Martin, that we might trust in you and give thanks to you, who have cared for us in this way, yes, who have given us and bestowed upon us everything in Christ. For this is the great unspeakable mystery, which is hidden from all worldly and carnal wisdom, namely, that God, the heavenly and almighty Father, has died to us in His majesty, has manifested everything and given it to the Son, who is now our flesh and blood, yet without sin. To the same he directs us. If we alone hear and accept him, we shall have all things in him. For our sake he should be crucified so miserably and horribly by the most holy people, who had the greatest name. For Annas is as much as John; Caiphas as Peter; Judas as a king of the Jews. They had to take offense at your Christ and become knights at him. Summa, those who have had the greatest name in the world have been the worst scoundrels.

**126. Apart from the humanity of Christ, one should not seek grace or forgiveness of sins.**

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 857.)

**In what matters one may dispute without danger from the majesty of God.**

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §58.)

**The Christians' art and wisdom.**

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 877.)

**The first thing to do is to get to know Christ.**

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 84. 85. 86.)

**Knowing Christ in the midst of temptation is difficult.**

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to oie Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 87 and 88.)

**131. Christ's burden that he has borne.**

Christ had to bear the sins of all the world, and all the blood that has been shed since the beginning and will be shed in the future. He had (I mean) a burden on him, under which he would have had to sink, if he were not true natural God, and did it all for our sake; but few among us thank him for it.

**Christ must have a big mouth and wants us to accept his words.**

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 709.)

When Christ speaks a word, he opens his mouth, which is as wide as heaven and earth, even if he only speaks of a herb. He said this on the occasion of the words [Gen. 1:28]: "Grow and multiply, and fill the earth."

Item, he said at another time: If the emperor speaks a word, that can do something; but if Christ speaks, he fasts heaven and earth at one bite. Therefore, when he speaks, the man's word must be regarded as different from the word of man, for he is truly God himself.

**Christ has interpreted the law.**

When Christ preached Matt. 5, he consulted, punished and refuted the false interpreters and interpreters of the law, and set right again Moses, whom they had adulterated, saying, Thus and so shall ye understand Moses.

**Christ and the pope are rushed to each other.**

(Cordatus No. 71.)

I have attached Christ and the pope to each other, so I don't care about anything else. 1) Although I come between the door and the hinge, and must be pushed.

**The devil will have to let Christ remain.**

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 5, para. 2.)

**136. Christ is to be sought in the Holy Scriptures alone.**

(This section is contained in Cap. 1, § 5.)

**137. with Christo one should remain.**

The world begins to rage again, to become senseless, mad and foolish against Christ. Let us go with the man to failure and rise with him; let us see what they will gain and what we will lose, for he says: "Where I am, there shall my servant be also", John 12:26.

**138. appearance of Christ from earth.**

Christ came once on earth and was seen and heard with miraculous signs and preaching, and so he will not come again. I do not want him to send me an angel. And if an angel would come to me and let himself be seen in a visible form, I would not believe him. I will abide by God's word alone, as He has revealed and given it to me through His prophets and apostles, and will not hear or accept any other voice.

He continued: "Nevertheless, methinks there are still many Christians, and I believe there are many more of them here than at the time of St. Paul in Corinth. But I think that the end of the world will be the same as the end of the world at the time of the flood, when there were only eight people in the ark who were preserved. For even though there are sinners with us now, they do not persecute the Word.

1) i.e. I continue not to worry about any /thing.

**139. Of the Preference of God's Word.**

Of the merit of God's word, Luther said: "Christ has once visibly come to earth and has lived among us and made us see his glory; he has accomplished the work of redemption of the human race out of God's deliberate counsel and providence. I do not desire that he should come yet once, nor do I want him to send me an angel. And even if an angel would come from heaven and visibly present himself to me, I would not believe him, because I have my Lord Christ's letter and seal, that is, his word and sacrament; I abide by it and do not desire any new revelation.

And that D. Luther himself told this story: that he once prayed fervently in his little room and thought of how Christ hung on the cross, suffered and died for our sins; there was a bright glow on the wall and a glorious figure of Christ with the five wounds appeared in it, and looked at him, the doctor, as if it were the Lord Christ himself in the flesh. When the doctor saw it, he first thought it was something good, but soon he thought it must be the devil's ghost, because Christ appeared to us in his word and in a low, humble form, as he had hung on the cross and been humbled. Therefore the doctor said to the image: "Get up, you devil, I know of no other Christ than the one who was crucified and who is presented and preached in his word. And soon the image had disappeared, which had been the devil in the flesh.

The doctor said that a virgin in Wittenberg had been ill, the old economist's friend, who had also seen a vision as if she saw Christ in a glorious and beautiful form: now she had almost worshipped such an image, because she would not have meant anything else than that it was the Lord Christ. When a messenger was hurriedly sent from the college to the monastery, and D. Luther was sent for, he too

The devil had admonished her that she should not let the devil make a monkey out of her. Thereupon, she spit in the face of the image; the devil soon disappeared and the image was transformed into a large snake, which ran to the virgin in bed and bit her ear, so that the drops of blood stood on her ear and flowed down, and the snake was soon gone. Luther himself saw this with his eyes along with many others.

#### 140. Christ alone is to be defied and insisted upon.

Well then, we have trusted in the man, the Lord Christ, the Son of God, who will certainly not leave us. Our life and limb are upon him: where he abideth, there shall we abide also: else know I nothing that I can contend against. Therefore, if Christ lives, he will know that we do and suffer all things for his sake, preaching, teaching, writing. As the world also knows, and we also know: on him we dare, he also will help us; but it must also break, and cannot stand thus.

#### Christ and Satan cannot get along.

1) Christ and Belial cannot be reconciled nor reconciled with each other, and humanly speaking they cannot let up on one thing: neither gives way to the other, it is an eternal enmity between them. For, the papists admit that they are wrong in indulgences, remember everyone: Qui semel malus etc.. He who is once a prankster is always thought to be one. If the indulgence falls, the mass falls; if the mass falls, the monasteries and convents fall, and so on.

**142 These verses were made at the colloquium held at Worms in 1545, that the Pope and Luther cannot be reconciled with each other.**

(Not from Luther.)

1) according to the sense contained in Cap. 27, §105

#### 143. Christ is an evil steward.

Christ keeps house in an evil and unwise way, because he becomes poor and a beggar, so that he has no place to lay his head, suffers hunger and thirst, heat and frost, and makes others rich and blessed.

#### Christ and Satan never compare, one must give way to the other.

Because the devil is a prince and god of the world, of the Lord Christ, of his word and of those who have it pure and unadulterated and hold fast to it, he must and will also receive it, of whom it is written Ps. 110, 4: "You are a priest forever" 2c. and Ps. 2, 6: "I have appointed my king on my holy mountain" 2c. And it is impossible that Christ and the devil can get along with each other in one bed, one must cast out the other. Thus we Lutherans and Papists cannot dwell under one roof with each other, neither can suffer the other, one part must give way to the other. The Jews and the apostles were also under one roof, but the Jews had to give way.

And said further: This time of ours is the same as it was in the time of Jude Maccabaei, who protected his people from violence, and yet could not subdue the enemies, but they kept the regiment. And his own have done him the greatest harm, that I believe he has often desired death in such disloyalty and ingratitude; for these two pieces make one weary.

#### 145. Apart from Christ, everything is wickedness.

All that is in the world, apart from Christ, may be so high and delicious, may seem so angelic, and may be called holiness, honorable life, virtue, discipline, honor; but it is nothing more than a cover of shame, under which lies hidden the highest wickedness, yes, the devil himself. Although it is not evil in itself that in the world there is wisdom, discipline, honor and honorable life 2c. But if one wants to draw such a thing so that it 2) should also be valid before God, then a loud disgrace will be created.

2) "it" inserted according to Stangwald.

cover it, so that the abominable sin is covered, which is called blaspheming God and persecuting His word. It is not evil to be sensible, learned, wise and virtuous, for these are fine jewels and gifts of God: but this is the devil, that they misuse such glorious gifts of God, such beautiful virtues, art, respectability and modest living as a cover of shame, and under the same appearance blaspheme and persecute God.

It is quite a fine jewel and special adornment around a chaste virgin; but if this chaste virgin would approach and murder father and mother, then the beautiful virtue and chastity would only be a cover of a great villainess, father and mother murderer. So these also seem to be pious and holy, and yet under such appearances they are so wicked that they are beyond all measure, so that nothing on earth can reveal and expose such wickedness, but only the gospel of the infant Jesus. As the old Simeon said to the mother Luc. 2, 35: "O Mary, your Son will make all the world, and the best, most pious people, into nothing but knaves, scoundrels and murderers, who are now coming in, so that they will be worshipped for wisdom and holiness, so that they will break out and prove themselves to be the worst enemies of God and of true Christians. That one will say: Fie on you, kitten, how you have such a smooth bellow and sharp claws: you do as cats do, licking in front and scratching behind.

**Christ's kingdom is preserved by God alone against all devils and the world's rages.**

(Omitted because contained in Cap. 26, § 2, sub. 3.)

**147. Christ is the highest article.**

The highest article of our Christian faith is Christ, which neither Zwingel nor Oecolampadius had and understood, nor have all the other heretics and red spirits.

**The little animal Ichneumon is the image of the Lord Christ.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 14, 1538, p. 112.; and April 23, p. 69.)

Luther asked what the crocodile was. It must certainly be a lindworm, a large

Lizard, 18 cubits long, a beast of Egypt, which is said to be moved by the highest joy when it can eat human flesh, so that it also sheds tears of joy. And yet this monstrous beast is killed by the Ichneumon. Therefore the Egyptians worshipped both as gods. Thus 1) Ichneumon also arms himself against the viper, a very poisonous serpent, with clay, puts on a clay [leymen] armor and defeats the dragon; this is our Lord God's game, who does not proceed with violence but with wisdom, and a model of Christ. That is how powerful God is in the creatures. But we do not know the land animals: the unicorn, the rhinoceros, the leopard, the giraffe, the tiger, the ostrich. God is wonderful in His creatures.

(April 23) On this day he said much about the Ichneumon, a small animal that miraculously killed both the crocodile and the viper, as Pliny writes. This animal is an example of Christ, who, although weak, nevertheless defeats his enemies.

**Christ is the believer's salvation and wisdom, otherwise it is a poor thing with human wisdom.**

The Lord Christ alone is our victory over the devil: he who does not have him is lost. Nevertheless the world despises the Lord Christ, and still wants to be wise; so the devil thinks, "This is a right venison for me. Extra Christum non est salus: A Christian alone is safe from the devil, if he holds Christ for his wisdom, sanctification, righteousness and salvation.

Alas for our poor cleverness! Before we become wise, we lie down and die. That is why the devil is well pleased: when a man is thirty years old, he still has carnal wickedness, not to mention spiritual wickedness. Nevertheless, it is a wonder that we can do such great things in such weakness. But our Lord God gives it. He gave Alexandro Magno

1) Instead of iäeo in Lauterbach we have chosen the more appropriate reading ita etiam in Bindseil II, 108, because iäeQ seems to have arisen by repetition from the preceding sentence.

Wisdom and fortune, and yet calls him a youth in the prophet Jeremiah, Cap. 49, 19, a young man, where it is said, "Who knows who is the young man whom I will prepare against them?" 1) A young spoon, he shall do it, he shall come, and shall turn back the city of Tyrum. But Alexander did not forget his stulties, for he often got drunk and stabbed his good friends when he got drunk; indeed, he drank himself to death at Babel afterwards.

Our youthful years are nothing: when one reaches the age of twenty, what does he understand? People are not as strong now as they were a long time ago. Solomon was not much over twenty years old when he became king, but he must have been instituted by Nathan; so our Lord God also appears to him, and says: He should ask what he wants, and God will give it to him; then he desires wisdom: this pleases our Lord God very well, as the text says 1 Kings 3:5 ff. Now one would desire a box of money, even my most gracious Lord himself. Well, they say, if I had money, I would get it.

(Here, § lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 43, § 33, para. 2.)

#### 150 Christ soon grew tired of this life, and so did his Christians.

Christ did not want to be long here on earth in the preaching ministry, but handed over the kingdom and rule to his Father, and appointed apostles. Of the same (as well as the others) Paul writes Phil. 1, 23: "I desire to be dissolved" (that is, to die). They also have enough of this life. So now we also cry out, we are tired and weary of this life, we also desire that God take us to His heaven only soon, or come with the last day, and put an end to the game (since the falsification of doctrine and other vices have become rampant). Our Lord God must be a humble man, so that he can provide the world with people.

1) This scripture is rendered by us in German.

#### Christ humbled and humbled himself deeply.

(Contained in Cap. 7, §105.)

#### 152: How Christ distributes his merit. (Cordatus No. 519. 2)

A merit is a work for the sake of which Christ has given a reward, but Christ gives us because of His promise. As when a prince says: Come to me to my castle, I will give you a hundred guilders. Here I do a work by going to the castle, for the sake of which the florins are certainly not given to me; not for the sake of any merit, but for the sake of the promise.

#### 153 The Christians' Consolation.

(Composed of Cap. 1, § 54, para. 1. u. Cap. 7, § 71.)

#### 154 Christ's preaching has not been like this, as now at the time of the Gospel.

(Contained in Cap. 12, § 26.)

#### Hearing Christ is the greatest worship.

When one asked, "What is the greatest service that pleases God?" D. Martinus said. Martinus: Hearing Christ and being obedient to him is the greatest and highest worship; otherwise all is useless. For he has it in heaven much better and more beautiful than we can do it; otherwise Saul's sacrifice and service would also have pleased him, since he said, "Your service and sacrifice only provoke me to anger," 1 Sam. 15, 22. ff, and was nevertheless from the outside the most beautiful and best service. Thus says the fortieth Psalm, v. 7: "Thou wilt not have heave offerings and burnt offerings, but they shall be obedient unto thee. Just as the men of war say in wars: Obedience and keeping to the letter of the articles is the victory.

#### Christ alone is the comfort and hope of Christians.

(Contained in Cap. 7, §1, penultimate paragraph.)

2) Cf. Cap. 14, § 45.

**157. Christ is a bishop of our souls.**

The best help for Christians is, said D. Martinus, that Christ is a high priest and bishop of our souls. Martinus said that Christ is a high priest and bishop of our souls, since conscience always says that he is a strict judge when it feels God's wrath against sin. Apart from Christ and his word, no one can help himself.

**In what God's consolation stands.**

People's comfort, said D. Martinus, and God's comfort are two different things. Man's consolation is in outward visible help, which can be grasped, seen and felt. God's consolation is in the Word and the promise alone, since there is neither seeing, hearing nor feeling. A baptized and believing person must be very dear to our Lord Christ.

**159. Christ does not shrink.**

(Contained in Cap. 13, 815, para. 4 from the end.)

**160 The Lord's Giving of Christ.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, 8113.)

**What the world thinks of Christ.**

Christ must be the world's joke, mockery and ridicule. Pilate would not have had Christ crucified, if he had not been overawed. The Pharisees, Judas and Pilate, that is three persons for the death of Christ. The Pharisees had Jesus killed out of envy, avarice or greed; Judas out of greed for money; Pilate out of ambition and fear. The first one is the most evil.

**162) Apart from Christ there is no consolation and how he chides the believers. 1)**

Outside of Christ, no one can comfort, advise or help him; but in him there is all comfort and joy, through faith in the Word. How could our Lord Christ rebuke us more simply than by calling us sheep? A sheep lets itself be reproached, but nevertheless gives wool or milk, and lets its life with patience.

**God is not only the God of the Jews, but also the God of the Gentiles.**

St. Paul wrote the epistle to the Romans solely for the sake of the anguish, namely, that God is not only God of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles, that is, that He is gracious to all who believe in Christ and wants them well. Adhere only to Christ, for apart from Him there is no knowledge of God, nor blessedness, comfort and help.

**That Christ would save the Jews and the Gentiles.**

It was said to D. Luther in 1543 that Christ said to the Gentile woman, "He has not come but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and yet he helps her as a Gentile and heals her daughter; therefore he must speak against his own conscience. Luther answered and said: "Christ was not sent to the Gentiles, but when the Gentiles came to him, he did not reject them: he was personally sent only to the Jews, therefore he also preached in the Jewish country, but through the apostles his teaching went into the whole world. Thus St. Paul calls the Lord Christ "a minister of the circumcision, because of the promise which God made to the fathers, since God kept His promise truly, and the Jews can boast of God's truth, but the Gentiles shall boast of God's mercy", Rom. 15, 8. 9, and is not forgotten by us, the Gentiles. God has not spoken to us, so we have had no king nor prophet with whom God has spoken, but St. Paul says otherwise in one place, Apost. 13, 46: "To you alone it was preached, but since you were unwilling, behold, we turn to the Gentiles."

This still annoys the Jews today, because they think that the Messiah is theirs alone, and it is a beautiful and glorious name that Moses says 5 Mos. 7, 6: "You are a holy nation. But David also promises Christ to the Gentiles in his Psalms: "Praise the Lord, all the Gentiles," Ps. 117:1, not only to the Jews. There it is solved. After that

1) Cf. § 157 of this Cap.

All the promises made to Abraham are also true. But the dear apostles understood it with difficulty. They were good rough fellows, they could not have done otherwise: they must have thought they wanted to become great lords; they had already divided the people among themselves from time to time. As the two disciples who went to Emmaus when Christ died said, Luc. 24, 21: "We hoped that he would redeem Israel. But this opinion had to be mortificiret. They could not think otherwise, the good fellows. The Lord Christ still treats them kindly, and he is much too kind to them. It is written in the legend of St. Peter that St. Peter always had a little cloth with him to wipe himself, and that he finally got red eyes; and I will believe it. When he was asked why he was crying, he said that when he remembered the most pleasant company of Christ with the apostles, he could not refrain from tears. Christ must have been a good, kind man: and so he still deals with us daily, but we do not recognize it. But after that, on the day of Pentecost, they will be taught differently.

#### **Christ cannot be unlearned.**

Christ is incomprehensible, no one can learn him in this life, so that he would understand what and who he is, because he is God. I cannot explain my own actions, movements and thoughts, how could I explain the majesty of Christ?

#### **166 Of Christ's Kingdom.**

(Cordatus No. 1759.)

Since Christ reigns in his kingdom, he says: I baptize you, I give you the sacrament, receive, eat, drink, I preach to you. But in the worldly kingdom the ruler says: Do this, and I will give you this 2c. A king seeks his advantage, but Christ ours, with the gentlest words, but those are the cruelest oppressors. The harsher they are, the better. But in Christ's kingdom, the more gentle 2c.

#### **How to signify Christ.**

(Cordatus No. 1416.)

Christ's history is to be regarded in three ways, first, as a history, second, as a gift, third, as an example. The stories are the most reliable examples of faith and unbelief.

#### **168. repugnant works of Christ and the devil.**

(Cordatus No. 659.)

Christ and the devil are different in work and office, for the latter is the author of life, the sustainer of righteousness, the creator of heaven and earth; the latter, on the other hand, is the lord of death, the author of sin, and definitely the destroyer of all that Christ builds up. In short, all evil and all sickness are works of the devil. But when God ascribes evil to himself in the Scriptures, he did so for the sake of the Manichaeans, who set up two gods, one good and one evil.

#### **Christ bears the curse of the law.**

The malediction and curse of the law was borne, taken upon Himself, and abolished by Christ alone, and all this is found there; so that those who have the spiritual blessing and benediction bear and suffer the bodily curse and malediction are persecuted and well afflicted; the wicked here generally go empty-handed.

#### **170) Above the article of Christo, one should hold.**

(Contained in Cap. 12, § 35, sub. 2.)

#### **171. forgiveness of sins.**

Forgiveness of sins does much, therefore God can forgive the church under the papacy, especially because baptism has remained pure, as well as the sacrament and the text of the Holy Scriptures. Even if they have been tainted by glosses and jugglery, as accidentia, the essence has remained for itself, which has adhered to the hearts that should have caught it, there has been especially great power and authority.



(This paragraph Cordatus No. 1403.)

The article of forgiveness of sins is in all creatures.

(Here three lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 13, § 55)

(From here to the end of the § at Cordatus No. 134.)

Grace does not take away nature, but changes it, and uses it for the glory of God, e.g. the gentle nature of a person who is kind and calm by nature, like Hausmann, uses it in the preaching ministry, so that the sensitive people, who cannot stand anything, have a preacher who presents everything sweetly to them, on the other hand, when God needs a messenger, who seriously lectures his things and dares to rebuke the recalcitrant 1) he uses the wrath of a fierce man, a man like Cordatus, who is harsh in words and manner, so that those who are not converted by the gentleness of the one may be converted by his harshness, or perish, so that they have no excuse. Thus [God] also uses for the best those who are scheming, devious, those who have great intellect, the boasters and the like, so that everything may bring salvation to His elect.

#### 172. write or speak Bon GOD's grace.

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 16.)

#### 173. How God's grace is fasted.

(Contained in Cap. 1, § 5, sub. 3.)

#### 174. strokes make you angry.

After the plague we get angry, like the Jews after the thunder and lightning at Mount Sinai. As we Germans also say, "The sick man was never worse than when he recovered. Therefore it must all come by grace, if we are to be saved.

#### 175 David's fame from his piety.

Why does David praise and exalt his piety, purity and innocence so highly, since he has

was a murderer and adulterer? Answered D. M. Luther: You must look well at the little word (*meam*) "my"; for when David speaks: My piety or righteousness, give him a right Correlativum, my righteousness, namely, against my enemies, there I am pious, for you, my God, know that I have a good cause.

So it is with baptism and absolution: if we go away, we are also pious; yes, before men, but not against God; if he wanted to act seriously with us, we are not yet pious. So my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, must now also be pious against the one of Brunswick, and say: You know my piety against my enemies, not against God; for we have a good, just cause, they are evil.

#### 176: Reason's annoyance at Christ's weakness.

Reason, when it sees Christ born a little child, lying in its mother's womb at the breast and sucking, cannot recognize Him as a Savior and Beatificator of the world: so do the enthusiasts in the Sacrament of the Altar. Just as Christ was wiped out of the grave with a great earthquake, so also today there is and will always be a tumult and tumult in the world, when Christ's obedience, holiness and merit are preached, praised and believed that he alone is our Savior. But such an earthquake is more salutary and pleasing to pious, godly hearts to see and hear than Christ lying in the grave and resting: if there is peace and tranquility in Christendom, it is an evil sign.

#### 177 Christ was silent until his thirtieth year before he entered the ministry.

Christ abstained from preaching and teaching until his thirtieth year, and always kept silent, neither letting himself be heard nor heard in public. However, since he had so much and so many impiety, abominable idolatry, theft of God, false worship, so many

1) Instead of in moriMros iLLvioriseros will have to be read, as D. Wrampelmeyer conjicirt correctly.

He had to see and hear blasphemy, so many harmful heresies and sects among the people of God. Yet he was able to refrain from doing so until he was publicly called to the preaching ministry.

### 178. Christ's words are powerful.

(Cordatus No. 542.)

The words of Christ are very strong, have hands and feet, and pass over all the counsels, cunning, and wisdom of the wise, and he puts them to shame with the simplest words and thoughts, that we can do nothing nor escape, as, "Pray unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." There he neither forbids nor commands anything, but yet he concludes them with their own words, saying, "If you have caused Caesar to be so [far] broken down that you must have his coin, give him what is his. [Matth. 22, 20. 21.]

### 179 Ways of Preaching in the Papacy.

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 1322.)

In the past, it was considered feminine and childish to mention Christ in the pulpit. Scotus, Bonaventure, Occam, Aristotle and Plato ruled. 1)

People were somewhat ashamed and shy, indeed, they considered it to be almost inconsistent, effeminate and a disgrace to call Christ on the preaching chair. And the names of the prophets and apostles were never remembered, nor were their writings taken up, but the rule and manner of all preachers was this: First, to hold forth a theme, saying, and question from Scoto or Aristotele, the pagan master. Secondly, they divided the same. Thirdly, they went into the Distinctiones and Quästiones. And the same preachers were

1) Most likely, the following paragraph is only an Aurifaberian adaptation and extension of the preceding one.

The best of them did not insist on the Gospel, did not even deal with a few words of the Scriptures, and the Holy Scriptures were even covered up, unknown and buried.

### 180 Christ's intercession and preaching are certain.

(Contained in Cap. 7, § 95.)

### 181 Believing in Christ alone makes you blessed.

There it is, said D. M. Luther, there it is. Whoever believes in the man called Jesus Christ, God's only Son, has eternal life; as He Himself says John 3:16: "God so loved the world that He gave His only Son, that whoever believes in Him should not perish but have eternal life.

If others do what they want, they are still lost, and neither Moses nor the law helps here; indeed, Moses and the law kill man, and do not give life, but death. Therefore it is all up to the Son, who brings eternal life. He who has the Son of God has eternal life; he who does not have the Son of God does not have life: for the Son must please God, and God cannot be hostile to the Son. Where the Son is, there he looks, and is well pleased with him. Therefore, in short, it shall be the son alone before God, and nothing else. If you do not believe in the son, whether you are a monk or a nun, a Carthusian or a barefoot, you are already judged.

### 182. honor of god.

It is God's honor and glory that He has made His Son man, our flesh and blood; which mystery no man can sufficiently consider or conceive. And yet we are so cold and ungrateful. Fie on the shameful fall of Adam, that I should not love this Lord, who has redeemed me from eternal death so dearly!

## Chapter 8.

# Of the Holy Spirit.

1. of the ministry of the Holy Spirit.
2. when the Holy Spirit has begun to fulfill His ministry.
3. what the Holy Spirit is.
4. the ministry of the Holy Spirit.
5. with what the Holy Spirit comforts, and why he is called a comforter.

Why the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of Truth.

Why the Holy Spirit is called a witness.

8. testimonies of the Holy Scriptures that the Holy Spirit is also God, and yet another person than the Father and the Son.

### 1. of the ministry of the Holy Spirit.

(Cordatus No. 1036 and No. 1159.)

The spirit is one and the same, but it has two offices, for the spirit of grace makes God pleased with us and us pleased with God. But it is the spirit of prayer that prays for us and the whole world that good may come and evil may depart. The spirit of grace teaches others, the spirit of prayer asks that the name of God be sanctified, that his kingdom come 2c.

Notice that it is one thing to have the Holy Spirit and another to have the revelation of the Spirit. Before Christ, many had the Holy Spirit, but they did not have the revelation of the Spirit.

(The following is contained in Cap. 13, § 35. The following paragraph in Cordatus No. 1310.)

The Spirit is always first in teaching, but not in hearing. He is preceded by the word and followed by the spirit.

### 2. when the Holy Spirit has begun to fulfill His ministry.

(This § is found in the house postilla in the sermon on the holy day of Pentecost. Pentecost. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XIII, Col. 2057, § 21; Col. 2058, § 22; Col. 2059 f., § 26. 27; Col. 2051, § 9. 10; Col. 2052, 8 11; Col. 2053, § 14.)

### 3. what the Holy Spirit is.

The Holy Scriptures testify, and the Nicene Symbol confesses and teaches from the Holy Scriptures, that the Holy Spirit is the one who gives life, and who is worshipped and honored at the same time as the Father and the Son. Therefore, the Holy Spirit must also be true, eternal God with the Father and the Son in one being. For where

If he were not the true, eternal God, then the divine power and honor, that he makes alive and is worshipped and honored with the Father and the Son at the same time, could not be attributed to him either; as the holy fathers have vigorously claimed and preserved this from the Scriptures against the heretics.

### 4. the ministry of the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit is an eternal, almighty God, as we believe and confess in our Christian faith: to Him the Lord Christ gives special names, and calls Him 1) a Punisher, who punishes the world for sin 2c. 2) A Comforter. 3) A spirit of truth. 4) That he proceeds from the Father, and thus is true, eternal, almighty God with the Father and the Son. 5) That he testifies of Christ 2c.

### 5) With what does the Holy Spirit comfort? and why is He called a Comforter?

(This § is found in the sermon on Sunday Exaudi in the Hauspostille. Walch, St. Louis ed. Vol. XIII, Col. 622, § 2 and 3; Col. 623, § 4.

### Why is he called a spirit of truth?

(In the house postillon on Sunday Exaudi. Walch. St. Louis ed. vol. XIII, col. 623, § 4.)

### 7. why is he called a witness?

(In the house postillon on Sunday Exaudi. Walch. St. Louis edition, vol. XIII, col. 625, § 9; 625, § 10.)

### 8. testimonies from the holy scriptures that the Holy Spirit is also God, and yet a different

#### Person, because the Father and Son.

(In the house postillon on sund. Trinitatis. Walch. St. Louis edition, vol. XIII, col. 673 f., §§ 22. . 23. 24. 25.)

## Chapter 9.

### Of sin, and its difference, nature and punishment.

1. difference of hereditary and real sin.
2. sinning against the recognized truth.
3. sin in Holy Spirit.
4. sinning from ignorance whether it is sin, and from the difference of ignorance.  
The greatest sins committed against God.  
The greatest and most wicked sin is to despise God's word.
7. how to get rid of sin.
8. the greatness of sins, how to recognize them.
9. that all people are under sin.
- (10) How human reason stands, both against sin and grace.
11. hypocrites do not confess their sins from the heart.
12. the cause of sins.
13. the punishment of sins.
14. what sin sorry, or not.
15. the punishment of sins.
16. difference of the Pharisees and tax collectors sin.  
Let no one despair because of his sins.
18. example that God forgives sin.
19. God does not leave unpunished any sin that is not recognized and confessed, especially in the first table, which is not considered sin but virtue.
20. the fall of the wicked, and how they are taken in their ungodly nature and false doctrine.
21. sign that GOD has forgiven us our sins.
22. what belongs to the fraternal forgiveness.
- 23) Believing in the forgiveness of sins makes you blessed.
24. Christ forgives righteous sins.
25. sins punished by the Holy Scriptures.
26. sin against the gospel.
27. forgiveness of sins is for and for remained.
28. against the temptation of sins.  
Forgiveness of sins is in all ranks and offices.  
Forgiveness of sins must be above everything by all means.
31. of the regiment and housekeeping.
32. difference of sin and sinner.
33. description of the spiritual regiment.
34. who are forgiven their sins.
35. where forgiveness is sought, and how it is to be grasped.
36. security of sinners.
37. corruption of human nature, that one asks nothing about spiritual things.
38. hatred and court.
39. lutheri dogs.
40. forgiveness of sin comes by grace, without any works.
41. argument of one who wanted to abolish original sin.
- 42 Recognition of sin.
43. sins are distinguished.
44. sin must be confessed.  
No evil-doer goes unpunished.
46. following the people.  
Great saints have also been sinners.
48. difference of punishments, and cause of sins-
49. from original sin.
50. blasphemy sin.
51. sin grows and takes over.
52. sinners should not despair.
53. how sin is forgiven.
- 54 Of original sin in Christians.  
Original sin corrupts everything.
56. to sin willfully.
- 57) Whether the offended should ask forgiveness from the one who offended him.  
(58) Everyone seeks his own benefit, because nature is corrupt.
59. what is the soul of man.
60. twofold case.
61. image of God's mercy.
- 62 From the presumption.
63. whether bad fornication is sin.
64. from an evil conscience.
65. from a tender conscience.

#### 1. difference of hereditary and real sin.

None of the Fathers in the Church thought of original sin, except Augustine, who distinguished original sin from real sin, namely that original sin is evil lust and desire, and a root and origin of all real sin. And even though the wages of sin is death, as St. Paul says Rom. 6, 23, such lust in believers is not a mortal sin, but only a daily sin, which God forgives them and does not cause them to commit.

The people of the world are not to be reckoned with because of their faith in Christ, and because they resist it with the help and assistance of the Holy Spirit.

St. Paul writes and points out the difference between mortal sin and daily sin to Romans 8, v. 13, where he says: "If you live according to the flesh, you will die. But if ye by the spirit of the flesh kill business, ye shall live." Here you have a very clear distinction in saints and epicureans.

## 2. sinning against the recognized truth.

Many papists do and argue against the known truth, as well as the heretics and fanatics. But we have a rule given to us by the Holy Spirit, as St. Paul says Titus 3:10, 11: "Avoid a heretical man, when he has been admonished once and again. And know that such a one is reprobate, and sins, as one who has condemned himself." And Christ Matth. 15, 14: "Let them go, they are blind and blind leaders. Thus Doct. Pommer used to say, "If a man is blind, he cannot see. For if it is a bad error, done out of simplicity, one gives way to the admonition and lets himself be taught; but if it is a stubborn will, one does not give way, but remains stubbornly on it. Just as Pharaoh was hardened and hardened and did not recognize his sin or humble himself before God until he was thrown into the Red Sea.

(This paragraph at Cordatus No. 1564.)

I think that if Moses had used the signs in Egypt for one, two or three years, they would have been used like the suns 2c. That is how ungrateful the world is.

1) D. Carlstadt also had such a stubborn mind: when he promoted someone to the doctorate in Wittenberg, he had an oration and said: "I stand here and promote this one, and know that I do wrong and commit a mortal sin: but I do it for the sake of two florins, which I get from it. But he introduced the saying of Christ, Matth. 23, 10., where he says: "You shall not be called masters"; from this he wanted to prove that neither Magistros nor Doctores should be promoted. Since in the same place the Lord Christ admonishes us that we should beware of sects and cults and let the Lord Christ alone be master in divine matters. Otherwise, children would not be allowed to call their parents father and mother, because God also allows Himself to be called Father. What was to become of it? Since the word, Carlstadt has also fallen and fallen into various errors and remained in them.

Therefore, a distinction should be made between those who sin out of simplicity and those who sin wantonly out of hardening.

## 3. sin in Holy Spirit.

(Cordatus No. 339.)

There are six sins against the Holy Spirit, which, although they amount to one, are different in their deeds, or rather misdeeds. The first is presumption, 2. arguing against the known truth, 3. hardening, 4. despair, 5. begrudging his brother grace, and the sixth: impenitence to the end. 2)

## 4. sinning from ignorance, whether it is sin, and from the difference of ignorance.

It was asked of the saying Augustini: Whether that alone is sin, which happens willingly? From this it follows that what is done out of ignorance is not sin. Then said D. Mart. Luther said, "Augustine speaks of the will in a worldly and common way, as the right-wingers are accustomed to speak of it, not theologically; as he then interprets and explains this saying himself in the recanting books. Moreover, anyone who sins in error does so willingly, without constraint; it is a deliberate error. But the papists do not sin in error, but knowingly with will; for they now know, especially the most distinguished among them, that our doctrine is right and founded in God's Word, as they themselves confessed and said at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530. 3)

For when the Confession of the protesting estates was read before the emperor and all the estates of the empire, Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria (who was vehemently opposed to the teaching of the Gospel) said to Doct. Eck: "Doctor, can this thing also be overturned from the Holy Scriptures? Then Doct. Eck, the theologian, said: No, it cannot be overturned with the Holy Scripture, but with the Fathers. Thereupon the Bishop Albrecht of Mainz, Cardinal, had said to the Duke of Bavaria

1) This narrative in another version also Cap. 67, 8 9.

2) For the continuation of this, see Appendix No. II. 3) Cf. Cap. 27- § 150, towards the end.

See, how fine our theologians hold with us; those, the Lutherans, have to prove their thing in the Scriptures, we have it outside the Scriptures!

The same bishop Albrecht also said at this imperial diet (since several committees had been formed by princes and theologians to reconcile and compare the Lutherans and the papists): "Ah! what is the point of much concord! see, the Lutherans have one article, even if all the others were not right, so one cannot refute the same, namely of marriage. And V. Luther said, when he told this: Haec testimonia ipsorum valde nos confirmant: These testimonies of them strengthen us very much.

But theologically, according to the Holy Scriptures, everything is called and is willingly sinful; for we are all sinners by nature, conceived and born in sins, completely corrupt and poisoned, have an evil will from Adam, which is always contrary to God, unless it is negated and changed by the Holy Spirit through the Word. Neither the philosophers nor the jurists know or understand anything about this, therefore they are excluded from the theological circle and the judicial obligation to recognize and judge the doctrine apart from God's word.

But there are three kinds of ignorance: one is called insurmountable; the other gross; the third assumed. The insurmountable one is when I know nothing about the rights described, whether they are divine or human. And this one excuses and makes all peoples and nations innocent. For although they neither know nor believe that God is triune in person and became man, they are excused for this insurmountable ignorance by reasonable, worldly-wise people, but it does not apply in theology. For St. Paul says Rom. 3, 23: "They are all sinners" 2c., and Rom. 5, 12: "Death has come to all men", and also rules over those who have not sinned, that is, even over little innocent children and infants.

Gross ignorance is when one does not want to learn; he is cheaply ignorant, that is, he is excused in something, but not at all.

But assumed ignorance is when

one willfully does not want to know a thing, which the lawyers call *dolum malum*, bad trickery, because one does not want to know it; as our papists are now.

### 5. the greatest sins committed against God.

The greatest sins committed against God are those committed against the first tablet, understood in the first three commandments: but no one understands nor feels the sin, except the one who has the Holy Spirit and the grace of God. Therefore, everyone is sure, and since such have angered God and become the devil's own, they still think they are well off with God; even if they falsify, persecute and condemn His commandment and word, they still think in their mind that they are doing God a favor and special service. As, an example:

Paul did not weep otherwise, he did God a favor by helping to defend the law; for he considered the law of God the highest, noblest and greatest treasure on earth, just as we now consider the gospel. And he wanted to put life and limb on it and leave it above, and in short defend the law; and he lacked nothing at all in understanding, wisdom and power, if he had need of it. But before he looked around, and when he thought his cause was best, he received another command, and it was said to him, that all his works, doings, diligence and zeal were against God. And yet he had the best reputation and appearance among scholars, wise men and saints, so that everyone had to say that Paul acted rightly and did godly, good works, because he was zealous for God's honor and His law.

He also had the arguments and the reason for himself, which could not be overturned nor refuted by reason. But God found a solution and struck him on one ear so that he fell to the ground and had to hear: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Apost. 9:4, as if to say, "In order that you may think you are serving me, you are persecuting me with hostility. And that it may be true, read this lesson: Thou boastest that thou hast my word, and understandest the law, and dost earnestly desire it.

and everyone falls to you, you take the testimony of the rulers and scribes, and you go along safely in the delusion. But I have commanded in my law: "Whoever uselessly uses and abuses the name of God shall die"; Paul abuses and uses the name of God uselessly; therefore I punish him justly. The first part of this final speech proves the work and the deed, because Paul persecutes God's Son, the true Messiah or Christ, who is and is called the name of God.

Paul could not solve and resolve the argument, therefore he had to crawl to the cross, be ashamed, and say: He had not understood the divine word and law correctly, and confess his great sin, abuse, also unbelief and lack of understanding, even blindness, and pronounce judgment on himself, it would have been right for him. Therefore he also says, "Lord, what do you want me to do?" Behold, thou art a master of the law and of Moses, and askest first what thou shalt do.

#### **The greatest and most wicked sin is to despise God's word.**

Without this, we have many other things upon us which are repugnant to our Lord God, and which are a grievance to him, such as anger, impatience, avarice, belly care, rutting, evil lusts, fornication, hatred and other vices: these are vain great abominable deadly sins, which go and abound with power everywhere in the world: yet such sins are nothing against the abominable contempt of divine word, which is so great and base, that in truth avarice, adultery, fornication, 2c. are not so wicked, indeed, they would all remain so if we loved and valued God's word. But, alas, we experience the contradiction that all the world is drowned in this sin. Peasants, burghers, and those of the nobility do not give a hoot about the gospel, but snore against it and consider it no sin, even if they despise it or persecute it. So I see my wonder in the church, that among the listeners one yawns out there, the other out there, and among such a large crowd there are hardly ten or twelve who are there because they want to notice something from the sermon.

In addition to the fact that this sin is so common, it is also a really terrible, infernal, devilish sin, in that it is also a really terrible, infernal, devilish sin, in that it everyone considers it a minor thing if one is in the sermon and does not diligently pay attention to it. Yes, most people go along like this, and let themselves think that the wine or beer tastes just as good under the sermon as at other times; no one cares about it, and much less does anyone make him feel guilty that he regards the good word so lightly. This does not happen in other sins, such as murder, adultery, and theft, which the newcomer follows, if not soon, but in his own time, so that the heart is shocked and wishes it had not happened; but not hearing the word diligently, even despising, persecuting, and falsifying it, no one has a conscience about it.

Therefore, it is such an abominable sin that the country and its people must finally be destroyed, for because it remains unrecognized, no repentance, forgiveness or correction can follow. This is what happened to Jerusalem, Rome, Greece and other kingdoms. Germany still has to answer for it, because sin always cries out to heaven and does not let God rest, so that he must be angry and say: "I gave you my dear Son, my highest and dearest treasure, and would have liked to talk to you, to teach you and instruct you for eternal life; but I have no one who will listen to me, so I must let the punishment go. As the Lord himself testifies in John 3:19: "This is the judgment, that the light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their works were evil. As if he wanted to say, "I will gladly keep silent about the sins of all others, but this is the judgment that breaks the neck of the world, namely, that I have sent my word, and they do not ask anything about it. Otherwise they are full of sins, and I would gladly help them by my word; but they will not. If they will not hear my word, they will hear the devil's word, and I must let it come to pass; but they will see how it will go with them.

The same thing happened to the Christians in the morning in the beautiful, large countries,

which the Turk has now brought under him; Hungary is almost gone as well. We Germans, and other nations, also do not want to hear the gospel nor suffer, therefore they must hear and suffer the devil's hordes, the Anabaptists and sacrament abusers. Also it shall happen, where one despises the word of God, and does not want to hear, there hear the Turk with his Koran, the red spirits and all devils, who preach all kinds of error: because it is the highest and greatest sin, so also the greatest and most severe punishment belongs to it.

#### 7. how to get rid of sin.

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 68.)

#### 8. to recognize the greatness of sins.

(This § is in the great interpretation of Brie to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 69.)

#### 9 All people are under sin.

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 70.)

#### (10) How human reason stands, both against sin and grace.

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. I. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 74.75.)

#### Hypocrites do not confess their sin from the heart.

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 76.)

#### 12. the cause of sins.

When Martin was asked, "Where does sin come from and what is the cause of it?" he said, "Holy Scripture shows that it comes from the devil, whom our parents obeyed against God's word, disobeyed God, and thereby fell into terrible punishment. For through the same sin, not only are our bodies so weakened that they have become mortal from immortal, but the mind, heart, spirit and will have been destroyed.

is utterly depraved and wicked. For man has lost the right true knowledge of God; so the will is so utterly depraved that it desires and wants nothing, for that is evil, which is, as Paul says, "hostile to the law of God," and takes pleasure in sin, yes, is an "enmity against God, and is not subject to the law of God, for neither is he able," Rom. 8:7.

#### 13. the punishment of sins.

The punishment of sin is death, both temporal and eternal, as St. Paul says Rom. 6, 23. Therefore it cannot be sweet, but bitter, because God says: "The day you eat of it, you shall die of death", Gen. 2, 17.

#### 14. what sin sorry, or not.

(Cordatus No. 135.)

Sinning against the Ten Commandments is tolerable, but sinning against the mercy of God is intolerable; but so sin those who persecute Christians for it, because they do not defend themselves or take revenge.

#### 15. the punishment of sins.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 29, 1538, p. 182.)

Then they spoke of the fierceness of the plague, which killed people by very short attacks, and at that time three people died in two houses in Wittenberg. Luther said: Punishment follows sin, as Paul says to the Corinthians (I. 11, 30.): "That is why there are so many weak and sick among you, and a good portion sleep." It will certainly have been a good distemper. So also Paul says 2 Cor. 13, (3.): "Forasmuch as ye seek to know him that speaketh in me, even Christ." So also the extraordinary sins of ungodliness and ingratitude will provoke God's utmost wrath.

#### 16. difference of the Pharisees and tax collectors sin.

(Cordatus No. 1344.)

Christ knew best how to distinguish between sins. That is why he hates the envy of the Pharisees very much and punishes it severely.



But to the Magdalene he proves to be kind and friendly. Those do not want the word, this one seizes it. Let us be sinners, and only not envious.

**Let no one despair because of his sins.**

Because of our sins, that we are great sinners, we shall not despair nor despair. For God, who has publicly proclaimed the forgiveness of sins to all who recognize and confess them from the heart and has offered it to everyone, excluding no one, will not be otherwise minded, but remains true to His word forever and ever, and keeps faith.

**18. example that God forgives sin.**

We must not make or think ourselves more pious nor more pure than the avenger and murderer was on the cross before conversion. And if the apostles had not thus fallen, I believe that the forgiveness of sins would not be believed. Therefore, when it comes to the reckoning, I say: Dear Mr. Peter, I have not denied Christ my Lord as you have done, even though I am a great sinner. So the forgiveness of sins remains.

Even though the apostles were sinners, the Lord Christ always excused them, as when they plucked up the ears, Matth. 12, 1. ff. But he vexes the Pharisees with the giving of interest, as he has always been almost sharp and mocking against them. And he always comforts the disciples, as Peter, when he says: "Do not be afraid, you will see men again", Luc. 5, 10.

**19. God does not leave unpunished any sin that is not recognized and confessed, especially in the first table, which is not considered sin but virtue.**

(Cordatus No. 1743. 1745. 1)

The judgment of God is revealed and certain, that he who does not believe will be condemned. Accordingly, we too can condemn the ungodly, such as Zwingli, David his son Ab-

1) Cf. cap. 44, § 3.

salon, when he says: Oh my son Absalon! because he knew that he had died in public turmoil, and because he had defiled his father's bed. [Ps. 58, 12: "God is still judge on earth", that is, no evil goes unpunished.

Let God make me fall into all sin, only not into that which I do not recognize for sin; for nothing offends God more than when one does not want to have sinned, like Saul. But there are sins that are not recognized against the first table, others are against the second. Some are restored to repentance by preaching, like David. But when they say [Deut. 29:19]: ["It is well with me, because I walk according to my heart"; "That the drunken woman may go with the thirsty"; likewise Num. 16: "Is this his spirit?

**20. the fall of the wicked, and how they are taken in their ungodly nature and false doctrine.**

(Cordatus No. 1746. 1757.)

Our Lord God catches the wicked when they are most secure, and in the most trivial matters, like the pope through indulgences.

What falls from heaven is diabolical, what stumbles on earth is human.

**21. sign that God has forgiven our sin.**

(This § is from the sermon on 22 Sonnt, nach Trin., Hauspostille. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, Col. 2504, § 33.)

**22) What belongs to the fraternal forgiveness.**

(This § is from the sermon on 22 Sonnt, nach Trin., Hauspostille. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, Col. 2505, § 34.)

**23. believing for the remission of sins makes you blessed.**

(Contained in Cap. 24, § 120, last paragraph).

**24. Christ forgives righteous sin.**

Being a monk, I often wrote to D. Staupitzen, and once I wrote to him: O my sin, sin, sin! Thereupon he gave me

this answer: You want to be without sin, and yet have no right sin. Christ is the forgiveness of righteous sins, as murdering parents, blaspheming publicly, despising God, breaking marriage 2c., these are the righteous sins. You must have a register, in which righteous sins are written, if Christ is to help you: you must not deal with such pile-up work and puppet sins, and make a sin out of every bombardment.

#### **25. sin, as the holy scripture punishes.**

The Holy Scriptures do not deal primarily with gross outward sins, such as publicans, harlots, and knaves, for even the heathen can recognize and judge such sins; but deal most of all with spiritual harlotry and idolatry, which are done contrary to the first three commandments of God, which in the sight of the world have the appearance and title as if they were virtues, and are held to be respectability and piety.

#### **26. sin against the gospel.**

Among our people, God's word is despised to the highest degree; among the papists, it is blasphemed, and thus both parts sin most abominably against the first table of God's Ten Commandments (although God is less irritated and angered by transgression of the other table), which gives an evil indication. Therefore, since God does not help us, we are lost. On the other hand, I am comforted, first of all, by the great hope of the Turk, who relies on his power, and by the poverty of [King] Ferdinand. Now it is God's nature and way that he is wont to remove the mighty from the throne. On the other hand, I am also comforted by the fact that the Pope and Franzos are inviting the Turk into our country: therefore, God help us. And if the Turk comes, he may lead some away; he must leave Ezechiam and Jesaiam alone.

#### **27. forgiveness of sins is for and for remained.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, §171.)

#### **28. against the temptation of sins.**

(Contained in Cap. 11, §15.)

#### **Forgiveness of sins is in all ranks and offices.**

(The first sentence Cap. 7, § 171; the rest contained in Cap. 2, § 24.)

#### **Forgiveness of sin must be above everything by all means.**

The law does not do justice in any state or art; it is impossible that everything could be done according to the law. As we also see in the children's art taught in schools, grammatica, there is no rule so common and straightforward that it does not have its excerpts. For this reason, forgiveness of sins is spread and set throughout life in all deeds, works, and arts. For the fact that a poem, poem, or song is exempt from common rules, and is not straightforwardly presented as another bad speech, that is forgiveness of sins.

This is called punctum mathematicum, which is indivisible and identical, so that it does not lack even the tiniest and smallest dot, which is impossible to find; just as the righteousness required by the law cannot be found anywhere. The physicum punctum, however, as it is called in schools, that everything does not happen so exactly and in the same way, is forgiveness of sin, since one must have patience, since it does not happen everywhere as it should.

Although the same dot, which they call mathematicum, is nowhere to be found, one must shoot at the purpose and target as much as possible, but one does not hit it, and still gets far enough away. Nevertheless, it means that one must sometimes see through one's fingers, hear and not hear, see and not see. So I told M. S. the other day that he should tell his pupil: he should learn the punctum physicum and have patience, nothing would come of the mathematico puncto, that everything should be done in a straight line, and as they say: you can't turn everything into bolts.

M. Luther talked about this at one time with M. Veit Dieterichen: The jurists with their art must also often seek the forgiveness of sins, because they do not meet it all the time. And

If they make unjust judgments, and the devil torments them in conscience, they could not resist him, even if they had Bartholom, Balduin and all the scribes for themselves: but with the *ἐπιειχία*, that is, with the forgiveness of sins, they may protect themselves. They must "strike first" and hit what they can, and then say to our Lord God: "Dear Lord God, let it go like this, we can't do better; if it is wrong, forgive it. Because it is not possible to do justice, seu punctum mathematicum; therefore no jurist, even in the very best conclusion, can stand against the devil, if he does not take theologiam to his aid, so that he comes and says: Dear Lord God, I have given a judgment in this matter, it is our rule so; if it is not right, forgive it. And this a jurist must do also in civil matters, not only in spiritual ones; because they cannot meet punctum mathematicum, or the actual law.

But a theologian must have it and be sure to say: It is written in God's word, and nowhere else. This the jurists cannot do; they do as the uncertain organists do: when they strike on an organ, if one pipe does not agree rightly, they take the others; if one voice is not right, the other is right. But theology meets the punctum mathematicum, which says: There is one righteousness, which is Jesus Christ; he that believeth on him is righteous. Of Christ we theologians preach and say: This our doctrine is right; so also say the prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah. We do not want to have forgiveness of sins, because the teaching is not mine, but God's; as the Lord Christ also says: "The words I speak are not mine, but my Father's", Joh. 14, 10.

### 31. of the regiment and housekeeping.

Luther thought of this at one time: In the administration of the household and the police, the law must be that one does not want injustice to occur. However, when it does happen, the remission of sin must come to it, for otherwise it will be corrupted. A man must do many things to his wife and

children, and yet must not disregard the law. So it is in all estates. In all creatures the forgiveness of sins is shown. The trees do not all grow straight, the waters do not all flow straight, nor is the earth the same in all places. Therefore this judgment is true: He who cannot see through his fingers is not fit to govern. That is, one must be able to tolerate much, and see through one's fingers, and yet not let all things go. It means: Nec omnia, nec nihil.

### 32. difference of sin and sinner.

(This § is found in the fourth sermon on the Passion of the House of God. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, Col. 1815-1817. 8s 30. 31. 32.)

### 33 Description of the spiritual regiment. 1)

(This § is from the sermon on Sunday Quasimodogeniti in the house postil. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XIII, col. 541, § 5 and § 6; col. 542, 8 8; col.543, § 8; col. 550, 831; col. 545, 815; col. 543, § 9; col. 545, § 16.)

### 34. who are forgiven their sins.

(This § is from the sermon on Sunday Quasimodogeniti in the house postilla. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XIII, Col. 543 f., 8s 11. 12. 13.)

### 35) Where forgiveness is sought and how it is to be obtained.

(This § is from the sermon on Sunday Quasimodogeniti in the house postilla. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XIII, Col. 546, § 20. § 21; Col. 649, 8 27. § 28.)

### 36. security of sinners.

When God said through Adam to Cain, who had slain his brother Abel, Gen. 4:7: "Is it not true that if thou art righteous, thou art acceptable; but if thou art not righteous, sin resteth at the door?" thus He touches and points out the safety of those who sin, and speaks to Cain as to the

1) This § and the two following are all from the same sermon, which is divided into 13 different pieces and mixed up, with omissions and additions, formed entrances and final speeches, as this has also been done many times by Aurifaber, e.g. Cap. 8, §§ 5. 6. 7.

greatest hypocrites and poisonous barefoot monks. As if Adam wanted to say: How was it for me poor devil in paradise? I also wanted to hide it with the fig leaves, and hid myself behind the trees; but, dear fellow, our Lord God cannot be deceived, the fig leaves do not. It must have been very painful for good Adam and it must have hurt him that he had to cast out his firstborn son and put him under ban and under guard. He chased him away from him and drove him out of his house, saying: "Turn away from me and don't let me see you anymore; I know well what I lost in paradise, I don't want to lose anything more for your sake; I will now keep God's commandment and order with greater seriousness. And will first have preached more diligently and more earnestly.

### **37. corruption of human nature, that one asks nothing about spiritual things.**

Human nature is so depraved that it has no desire for heavenly things and eternal life. Just as a young child born into the world does not ask anything about how things are in the world, and if it is promised and offered treasures, riches, money and pleasures from all over the world, it pays no attention to anything, but only grasps at its mother's breasts. So are we carnal men: if the preaching of the gospel beckons us heavenly treasures and goods, which are acquired and promised to us through Christ, we pay no attention to them, nor do we take any comfort in them, but only have our pleasure and joy in temporal and perishable things. This pestilence, sickness or destruction is not understood nor felt by human nature.

### **38. hatred and court.**

(Cordatus No. 1440.)

There are two deadly sins, hatred and pride. Hate is murder, pride is a lie. That to which the Germans call envy is a lesser sin, as are avarice and anger, for, like zeal, it means only that one does not begrudge a thing. The bitterness of the mind is not connected with the fact that one always thinks how he wanted to take revenge.

### **39. lutheri dogs.**

D. M. Luther often used to say: I have three evil dogs: Ingratitudinem, Superbiam and Invidiam (ingratitude, pride and envy); whoever these three dogs bite, he is bitten very badly.

### **40. forgiveness of sins comes by grace, without any works.**

St. Augustine and Gregory are under the delusion that our works should be propitiatory for satisfaction, not for salvation, that is, we could propitiate God with our works so that enough would be done for sin, but we would not be saved by it. But St. Paul clearly teaches in explicit words that forgiveness of sins comes from the promise made by grace, which cancels sin, and makes the conscience satisfied and calm, that it is now satisfied with God, and turns to Him all good things, as a child to its Father, in all confidence, and may come before Him and speak with Him, Rom. 5:1. Otherwise, and without this, the Church would have no certain comfort. If God had not preserved His Church under the forgiveness of sins, no one would have been saved. And although the same has not been taught, yet the text of the Gospel, the sacraments, baptism and absolution remain.

The greatest consolation is when one is challenged because of a particular sin, to say to him: "Dear brother, if you had not committed the sin, you would still have to rely on the mere grace of God, shown to us in Christ, and be forsaken or lost; therefore do not despair.

### **41. from the original sin argument of one who wanted to cancel it.**

(Cordatus No. 1185.)

A certain gusher brings these reasons against me: no law is given to the righteous [1 Tim. 1, 9.], Adam was righteous, therefore no law was given to Adam; and so he wanted to abolish original sin. But the supersentence is wrong [used]; for the same.

is only about the righteous after the fall, or about the holy ten commandments, not about the commandment [Gen. 2, 16. 17.], which was given to Adam in paradise.

#### **42 Recognition of sin.**

(Cordatus No. 1318.)

This is the highest impiety of the world, that it does not want to believe that it is God who justifies, and all men ascribe righteousness to themselves, and no one wants to confess what God Himself obviously says about all; for when He says: God justifies the impious, He calls us all arch-villains. For what does the wicked not dare to do? Everything, if he has the opportunity. He who has not done the evil that another has done, has done something that the other has never done. No one is pure, but confession is lacking. What is done is done. He who has stolen, let him steal no more. [Eph. 4, 28.]

#### **43. sins are distinguished.**

(Cordatus No. 1319.)

Crimes in office [publica crimina] are much more serious than those committed by private individuals. For what is a thief who is hanged compared to the sins that H[archduke] G[eorg] commits? Every day he kills many souls, and yet he wants to be just.

#### **44. sin must be confessed.**

Magister Paul, 1) who had secretly given his stepson to a farmer in the Mark, and had a dead carcass put into a coffin and publicly buried in Wittenberg, as if the child had died, because of which he was also imprisoned and lay in the tower; he sent D. M. Luther a psalm that he had made, and wrote to him next to it that he wanted to pray for him that he might be set free again. Then the doctor said, "Oh, dear Lord God, how I would like you to be free; but your loose, useless excuse will disgrace you, for the circumstances are too important, great and much; over and above that which accuses you, you will be disgraced.

also the deed and the work itself. It would be better to confess the sin and ask for mercy and relief from punishment; for confession of sin and iniquity deserves and obtains mercy, not only from God, but also from people, who have mercy on the one who confesses it. But it is lazy to confess one's sin, and one is ashamed of it.

So David did: after he had committed adultery, he kept silent for a whole year, as if nothing mattered to him, although his heart would often have told him and he would have felt it; but he did not heed it. The nature and manner of sin is that it makes a man dumb, then Satan comes along and makes him completely obdurate. So he goes in impenitence, where God does not reveal sin to him through the law, so that he feels his wrath against sin, and in turn, he is corrected and comforted through the gospel. Oh, rather let us confess and repent; for we have a gracious God who does not let us lack Him; He will gladly forgive if we only recognize and confess it.

#### **No evil-doer goes unpunished.**

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 19.)

#### **46. following the people.**

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 19, last paragraph).

#### **Great saints have also been sinners.**

(Cordatus No. 653.)

Let David be a great example of divine mercy; he tore a lion in two and slew a devil on Goliath. He had God's testimony about this, and then he fell over two pigtailed; fie on you, and he became a murderer and hopeful. I think that he has come out of it. He was almost the greatest of all the saints, with the exception of the Baptist, after him is Elijah. I mean, Moses, Aaron and his sister also became detached. But when God said [Deut. 32, 51]: "Because you did not sanctify me at the Haderwaffer", if he had not taken the forgiveness of sins, he would have died immediately and been condemned.

1) Mag. Paul Heinz from Liibben. Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 402, July 26, 1537.

#### 48. difference of the punishments and cause of the sin punishment.

They talked about the causes of the punishment, which is done out of God's justice; partly through the authorities, partly also through various plagues and misfortunes, but also both through repentance, that one corrects oneself, and through the gospel. Then said Doct. Martinus said: "The punishments are very unequal, one is greater and more severe than the other. It is a godless opinion and delusion of those who pretend that all sins are equal, as Sebastian Frank teaches. St. Paul's sin is much different than Neroni's.

#### 49. from original sin.

These thoughts of Erasmi's are the greatest and most dangerous torture and challenge, for he thinks that God is unjust when the pious are wronged. For if God were just, he thinks, and ruled according to justice here on earth, giving to each one as he deserved; then it would not be evil for the pious, nor good for the wicked. This is an epicurean and godless delusion and thought, which comes from the fact that they think that nature is neither mad nor corrupt. They do not see that our knowledge, reason, understanding, will, powers, inwardly and outwardly, in body and soul, are completely evil and corrupted by original sin; therefore they think that God is such a man as they and their bewitched eyes think. They all have blue spectacles before their eyes, and through them they also look at God as if He were such, and cannot look at Him otherwise. For they do not see what great misfortune and evil original sin has caused us, and how it has corrupted our judgment, knowledge, understanding and senses. Reason thinks that this alone is original sin, that one has evil desire and disorderly lust for the female sex. That is why all scribes and scholastic theologians say that carnal lust and desire are original sin; but unbelief, hopefulness of heart, despising God, scorn, blasphemy, murmuring against Him when things go bad, they know and understand nothing about it, nor do they consider it a sin.

#### 50. blasphemy sin.

(Cordatus No. 479.)

Whoever the devil says that Christ is not merciful to him, makes God a liar who points us all to Christ for the forgiveness of sins, and this is to answer him: Even if I am a sinner, Christ is righteous.

#### 51. sin grows and takes over.

In the 86th year of Abraham's age Ishmael was born to him, and before he was 99 years old Sodom and Gomorrah perished. So soon sin increased and prevailed in the five cities. Just as with us man's wickedness has grown and risen so high in such a short time that I believe the world will not be able to endure beyond five or six years. Sodom and Gomorrah perished in the 488th year after the flood. I am telling you this terrible story so that you may learn the right use of it, namely, to frighten those who are hopeful, proud and presumptuous in their hearts.

#### 52. sinners should not despair.

Therefore let him who has fallen into sin not despair, but amend, repent, and cease from sin, and let him do it no more. Judas, in betraying Christ, committed a great sin, but not unto death; whereupon he repented, and was not restored by faith, and the sin grew greater and greater, and followed that he despaired.

#### 53. how sin is forgiven.

First, sin is forgiven, not that it is no longer present or felt, but that it is not imputed. Secondly, the law is fulfilled, not that enough of us is done for it, but that we are forgiven for what we cannot do; 1) for the righteousness of our works has heartache. In the article of forgiveness of sins is the knowledge of Christ, which alone can comfort and raise up: without this I can

1) The preceding are St. Augustine's words.

If I suffer no conscience at all, the devil drives me through sin, so that the world becomes too narrow for me; only the knowledge of Christ raises me up again and sustains me.

#### 54 Of original sin in Christians.

Original sin, after baptism, is like a wound that begins to heal. It is a real wound, but it is healed, and is in constant use and practice of healing, even though it still festers, hurts and aches. Thus, although original sin remains in the baptized until we die, it is killed daily and without interruption; its head is removed so that it cannot condemn and accuse us Christians.

At Eisleben, M. Luther said to Doct. Jonas, when a barber cut off his hair and took off his beard, that original sin in man was like a man's beard; which, even if it were cut off today, so that one would be smooth around the mouth, nevertheless the beard would grow again in the morning. Such growth of hair and beard did not cease while a man lived, but when one strikes it with a shovel, it ceases. So original sin, also remains in us and stirs while we live, but it must be resisted and such hair must always be cut off.

#### Original sin corrupts everything.

Anno 1541 D. Luther said of the original sin: We would have a blessed life, if the Venenum originale, the original sin, were not, the Vritis sieut Dii: You will be like God, Gen. 3, 5. Our Lord God says: Do what I command you and let me rule; so we want to be gods and want to rule. Then we are well able to do it, and so we direct it that all misfortune and heartache come upon us.

#### 56. to sin willfully. 1)

To err and sin is still okay, but to want to sin willfully, knowingly and deliberately is too much.

#### (57) Whether the offended should ask forgiveness from the one who offended him.

Luther answered and said, "No, for Christ neither did this himself nor commanded it. It is enough if he forgives him in his heart, and if he is asked, forgives the guilt, and does not desire revenge or punishment, but asks for him. I once also wanted to ask some who had offended me, as M. E[isleben] and D. H. S[churf]; it happened that none of them was at home, and I refrained from doing so. Therefore, I now thank God that it did not happen.

Then one of them said, "Is there anyone so pious among those who are offended that he does not bear the words of reproach and abuse with impatience and does not hate the one who offends him? Luther said: "If someone does wrong, he must also confess it; but should I not remember what is public, what Carlstadt, Münzer and Grickel have done to me? Who would deny it to me? I have done them no harm, but all good.

#### Zedermann seeks his own benefit, because nature is corrupt.

All natural inclinations are either against God, or without God; therefore none are good. I prove it thus: For all the affections, desires, motions and inclinations of man are corrupt, as the Scripture says: All men are false and indebted to God, that is, the nature of man is evil. Experience also testifies to this; for we see that no one is so pious as to marry, to beget children alone, to love them, so that they may be brought up and taught in the right knowledge of God. No great hero has done great deeds for the sake of the common good, but out of a desire for honor, and is condemned for that reason. From this it follows that such natural innate desires and inclinations are evil? Are they evil?

Luther answered: "It is true that such emotions and inclinations are evil, but God tolerates and suffers them, and allows them to exist in those who believe in Christ. Thus he creates a man from man's seed in his own image; through authority he makes peace, and pleases him with all these things,

1) Cf. Cap. 13, § 51 the beginning of the fourth paragraph.

like a carnival play, not for the sake of our worthiness, but for the sake of God's mercy and forgiveness.

#### 59. what is the soul of man.

I would like to know what the soul of man is, because the body, when it is dead and the soul has gone out, is nothing else but a stone. I cannot understand it: we will not see it before what we were before the fall, because when we will see the opposite image.

#### 60. twofold case.

Falling and sinning happen in two ways: First, out of weakness; this is forgiven if one recognizes it, confesses it, and abjures God. The other, out of stubbornness and stubbornness; this is not forgiven, if one recognizes it and is sorry for it. But that they which have fallen shall be received again into grace, if they repent, is proved by the examples of Adam, David, and St. Peter: for the Holy Ghost is given by the word. Therefore, if those who have fallen hear God's word and repent, they receive the Holy Spirit again: but those who do not hear it are lost, like Saul, Jude 2c. David asks that he not lose the Holy Spirit again, for he knew well what a great thing it 1) is; therefore he asks: "Do not take your Holy Spirit from me again", Ps. 51, 13.

#### 61. image of God's mercy.

(Cordatus No. 77 and No. 78.)

With mere words, God could not have brought His mercy so close to us, namely forgiveness of sins and all other things, so that He blesses us to believe them, if He did not also impress it upon us in great and strong examples by His word, first on Adam, then on others, such as David who broke marriage, Job who cursed, likewise Jeremiah and many others. 2)

"Cursing" reads harder in German than in Hebrew. But it means only this much,

as when one says, "That some misfortune may befall you," or 3): I wish that [it] may not go well with you.

#### 62. presumption.

(Contained in Cap. 13, § 47.)

#### 63. whether bad fornication is sin.

(Cordatus No. 1501.)

Since Paul says [1 Cor. 6:9] that both fornicators and adulterers will not possess the kingdom of God, it is strange that to this day people are found who ask whether simple fornication is a mortal sin. 4) Therefore, I answer such people that they may read for themselves what is written. But if they want me to be their judge, I certainly cannot judge differently from what the Scriptures say.

#### 64. from an evil getbifsen.

D. M. Luther once said about the table that it was a tender weak thing around an evil conscience, because it could not save itself. As also the pagans said of it: *Conscia mens pravi de se putat omnia dici*: An evil conscience always draws to itself everything that is spoken. And D. Luther then told this story: Someone had entered a hostel and wanted to spend the night there, who would have liked to steal. As the guest and the innkeeper sat at the table, the light began to run because there had been a knot in the wick. The host pointed to the light with his hand and shouted: "Thief, thief! The guest, who was a thief, jumped up from the table, took hold of the words, and wanted to hit the innkeeper; his conscience drove him there. For if he had not been a thief, he would not have followed these words.

Item, he said, "There was a preacher who scolded adulterers in the pulpit, saying, "I have long punished adulterers with words, and now I will punish them with deeds; for I know an adulterer among this multitude of my hearers, and I see him before my eyes, and know him so well that I will punish him also with

3) Instead of "vol" in the original, "vel" will be read.

4) Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. 1, 1225, z 60.

1) Thus Stangwald. 2) Cf. cap. 2, K11, para. 2.



And he lifted up the stone, and stood as if to cast at the adulterer. Then there were one or twenty of them down under the pulpit, and they all cowered, and feared every one that he would throw at him, and would run out of the church. Then the priest said, "I wept that there were only one adulterer among you; so you should all be adulterers. That is what conscientia, conscience, does. Then he told the story of the woman who had stolen the brush: when she saw other women talking to each other, she did not think otherwise, because they were talking about her stolen brush 2c.

### 65. from a tender conscience.

I think that if the apostles had lived at such a time as we are living now, when sin and vice are overflowing everything, their consciences would have been much too tender, they would not have been able to suffer it. But we have bear skins, wild boar skins; we do not feel it so hard. Whoever has a hard 1) skin over his heart, it might well break. Well, we may well pray and become pious.

1) delicate?

## The L". Chapter.

### Of the free will.

1. from the name of free will.
  2. what free will creates?
  3. free will ability.
  4. a different one from the free will.
  5. 6. Whether man's will in conversion and justification also does and works something to this end?
- The will of man does nothing for salvation.

8. the name "free will" is hostile.
9. of the incapacity of the human will.  
Man for himself is not able to do anything.
11. most terrible wrath of God, when he lets us have our will and takes his word.
12. right doctrine of free will against God.

#### 1. from the name of free will.

(Contained in Cap. 10, § 8.)

#### 2. what free will creates?

(Cordatus No. 1016.)

Staupitz said of free will thus: I used to confess every day and resolved every day that I would start to be pious and remain pious, and I missed it by far every day. I don't want to lie to God any more, I can't do it. I want to expect one good hour that God will meet me with his grace, otherwise it is lost. For the will of man produces either presumption or despair, and cannot fulfill nor accomplish the law. It is a great mountain over which I must go, and the presumptuous flesh says, I will go over. The knowledge of sin answers: you cannot go over; but despair:

I will leave it that way. This is how it is with the law; it makes people either presumptuous or despairing. But in order that they may despair in truth and for their salvation, for this purpose we preach the law, and after that also faith, so that people may not become sluggish.

#### 3. free will ability. 2)

(This § is from the explanation of the first book of Moses. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. I, col. 480 ff, §§ 140-152.)

2) Förstemann remarks: "These two different redactions seem to be based on a Latin text. Stangwald says: "This is taken from the great orumentary of D. M. L. about the 1st book of Moses\* 2c. This indication remains always very uncertain." This remark shows that Förstemann had no idea of how arbitrarily Aurifaber dealt with the pieces taken from Luther's own writings, apparently to make table speeches out of them. If he had known this, he would have approved and accepted Stangwald's statement without further ado.

#### 4. a different one from the free will.

Oh, dear sirs, said D. M. Luther, why should we boast and say so much about our free will, as if it should also be able and do something in divine and spiritual matters, however little that may be? For if we were to look at it and consider it rightly, and were able to do so, what terrible misery the devil has wrought in us men through sin, which is innumerable and unspeakable; we would be ashamed to death; indeed, if we recognized it rightly, we would be frightened with great sorrow, fall down immediately and die.

For first, he led us into original sin and brought death upon us. After that, not only death follows sin, but also all kinds of misfortune; as we experience daily that in the world there is all murder, lying, deception, stealing, robbery and other disgraces, vices and plagues; so that no one is safe for a moment, neither of his body nor of his goods, all of which is in danger.

Over such misfortune is a greater one, as it is written in the Gospel, that the devil leads into men, possesses them, makes them mad and foolish; so that because of sin the human race is no different than a stinking, shameful, secret chamber of all devils. So shamefully has he brought us humans to ruin through sin that we could not have been more shamefully brought to ruin. For eternal death and God's wrath are upon our necks: after that we are never safe, and are afflicted in body and soul here on earth. Let this be a terrible, miserable and horrible devil's kingdom.

Now what can such a corrupt and poisoned man, who is the devil's tool, even cloak, think of doing good, much less do that can please God, especially in divine and spiritual matters that affect our souls' salvation? 1) In worldly matters, which concern body and goods and this temporal life, governing land and people, keeping house and the like, 2c. he can do something that has a semblance and appeal to God.

1) See the 18th article of the Augsburg Confession. Likewise, the "Instruction of the Visitors," Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1667 f.

But "everything that does not come from faith is sin," says St. Paul Rom. 14:23.

But we do not yet know what we have become after the fall of our first parents and what we have brought with us from our mother's womb; namely, a nature that is completely crazy, corrupt and poisoned in body and soul and in all its powers. There is nothing good about it, as the Scripture says. 2) And this is my final opinion, as can be seen in all my writings, especially against Erasmus Roterodamum, the most distinguished of all scholars in the world. Whoever wants to deny man's free will, that he is able to do something in spiritual things and can contribute, even in the slightest, has denied Christ. I stand by this, and know that it is the certain truth. Even if the whole world were against it and decided otherwise, the decree of the high divine majesty would remain in force against all the gates of hell.

(The following up to the end of § is from the house postilion, sermon on 4 Sonnt, according to Epiphaniä, Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XIII, Col. 1623 f., § 15 and § 16.)

#### 5. whether the will of man in conversion and justification also does and works something for it?

One spoke to D. Martin: "Doctor, some new theologians claim that the Holy Spirit does not work in those who resist Him, but only in those who will and give their will to it, therefore man's will is also a cause and contributor to faith. From this it follows that not only does faith justify, nor does the Holy Spirit work through the word alone, but our will also does something to it. Luther answered and said: "By no means, the will of man works and does nothing everywhere in his conversion.

2) Aurifaber's remark: There you see, dear Christian, that what some, especially the synergists, chatter and pretend is a lie, as if the dear man of God had changed and softened his hard opinion of free will, as they baptize it, because it is straight against their error. Still, they boast of D. Luther's discrepancies. Yes, behind them.

and justification. Non est efficiens causa Justificationis, sed materialis tantum, but suffers only and is the materia in which the Holy Spirit works (as a potter makes a pot out of clay), even in those who resist and are recalcitrant, as in Paul. But after he (the Holy Spirit) has worked in such a resisting will, then he also makes and creates that the will cooperates and agrees with him.

Against this he said: St. Paul's example is a special work of God before others, since he was converted, therefore it cannot be taken for a common rule that it must also be kept with all others. Luther replied: "Just as St. Paul was converted, so the others will also be converted at all times: for we all resist God, but the Holy Spirit draws us men, if He wills, in His time, through the ministry of preaching, therefore the oral word should always be held in high esteem and heard; for those who despise the oral word soon become heretics.

But here one should diligently distinguish the ministry of the Holy Spirit. Sometimes the word is preached orally, and yet the Holy Spirit does not work immediately: for this reason one should not despise it, but always hear it with pleasure outwardly; God will work well through it in his time. In the meantime, he moves the hearts inwardly and blows where he wants, works and makes the word in the heart strong and active, if it pleases him, but not because of the ministry of preaching, which God wants to have unnoticed. For God has decreed that no one should believe, nor can believe, except through the ministry of preaching, that one may hear His word, for this is the instrument and the tube through which God the Holy Spirit stirs the heart, awakens and works true repentance and sorrow in conversion and right faith.

Just as no one can beget children, with God and honor, except in the state of marriage; although not all married couples have children, but it is God's work alone, as the 127th Psalm, v. 3, says: "Children are a gift of the Lord, and the fruit of the womb is a gift": so the Holy Spirit does not always work through the word, but when it pleases Him. That we therefore

In our conversion and justification before God, we do nothing inwardly, nor do we work with our powers and free will, not even the smallest thing, but only suffer, and allow the Holy Spirit to shape and create us through the Word, as a potter does his clay.

The sayings in the Holy Scriptures about failure (such as: "No one can come to me unless the Father draws him", John 6:44) can be seen as if they deter us. But it is not so: for they only show us that with our powers we can do nothing, nor are we able to do anything good before God, and remind the godly that they pray; if they do so, they are provided.

#### **6. another of the free will, whether it does something in the conversion of man, besides God's Spirit.**

(This § is in the church postil. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 555, §§ 7. 8. 9. 10.; Col. 557, § 12; Col. 558, § 14; Col. 559, §§ 16. 17.)

#### **7. man's will does nothing for his happiness.**

(This § is in the church postil. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XI, 1268, § 61.)

#### **8. the name free will is hostile.**

(Lauterbach, Jan. 10, 1538. p. 7.r)

The third question: whether man has a free will? Luther answered: "This name, free will, was very detestable to all the fathers, although they and we admit" that God gave man a free will. But here the question is whether that freedom is within our powers. It should be called a fickle, changeable will, because God works in us and we act in a passive way, as the potter can make a vessel out of the same mass "for honor" or for dishonor. Thus our free will is suffering, not active, because it is not in our powers. Then he told him to read the Bible and Philippos' [Melancthon's] *locos communes*.

1) This § follows Cap. 36, § 1.

### 9. another, of the incapacity of human will.

Is it not a miserable pity, said D. M. Luther, that a man should not be able to do so much? When God Himself beckons to him and says: "Dear one, you have two ways before you; take and choose one, Sir. 15:15 ff. Wouldst thou rather have my grace and eternal blessedness given and carried home in vain, without all thy cost and labor; or stand to gain it by thy works, and yet not obtain it? Yea, exhort and entice unto grace, and against it with everlasting wrath and punishment, if we accept it not.

How should or can he do more, if he does not help anyone, that he offers his mercy so abundantly, irritates and gives, admonishes and admonishes, punishes and strikes? He himself would gladly let go of justice and put a stop to it, so we want to have justice without mercy, and yet also have our own idol with us.

### 10. man for himself.

Dear one, how shall he know how to govern who knows nothing of God, who was conceived and born in sins (as we all are) and is by nature a child of wrath and an enemy of God? Eph. 2, 3. How shall we find the right way and stay on it, if we can do nothing else, as the prophet Isaiah says Cap. 53, 6. but walk astray? How is it possible that we should resist the devil (who is a prince and god of this world, and of whom we are all prisoners), since we are not able with our strength and power to do so much that only a small leaf would not hurt us, or even that we could forbid a powerless fly? What do we poor miserable people want to boast of great comfort, help and counsel against God's judgments, God's wrath and eternal death, when we experience every day and every hour in ourselves and others how we can neither advise, help nor seek comfort in small, physical hardships?

Therefore, only shoot freely: As little as a natural sheep can help him in the very least, but must be bad of all good deeds.

Much less can a man govern himself, find comfort, help and counsel in matters concerning salvation, but must rely on God, his shepherd, alone, who is a thousand times more willing and diligent to do whatever needs to be done for his sheep than any pious shepherd in the flesh. Item, because the nature of man is completely corrupted and condemned by original sin, from within and without, in body and soul, and flees from God when it feels its sin rightly: where then remains free will and human powers? Where then are the laws of man and the preachers of works who speak to man? Do your best: we must also do our part; send yourself to the grace of God, and you will become a child of blessedness. Yes, we are unprepared and unskilled with our abilities, powers and works: when it comes to the meeting, it does not hold the sting.

How should one reconcile himself to God, whom he does not like to hear, flee from Him to a man, be more faithful and loving to a sinner than to God? What a fine reconciliation is this? Just as the children of Israel did at Mount Sinai, when God gave them the Ten Commandments, Exodus 20:18. This indicates that nature and free will cannot stand before God, for they are afraid that He will strike them with clubs, and consider Him to be nothing but a devil, an executioner and a bully, who can do nothing but rage. Oh, he who has nothing more than free will and good works, let him go to hell, he will gain nothing, it must be something greater than our holy life.

Therefore I say that the spiritual powers are not only corrupt, but also completely destroyed by sin, both in men and devils; so that there is nothing else but a corrupt mind, and such a will, which is indeed hostile and contrary to God, which neither thinks nor strives for anything else, but only for that which is contrary and contrary to God. It is true, and I also admit it, that the natural forces in man are still somewhat uncorrupted. But what are these natural forces? Namely, that man, who otherwise would be in the

ungodly being was drowned and became the devil's own, but nevertheless has a will, reason, free will and power to govern the house and the world; item, to govern ships and other such things, which are subject to man without God, Gen. 1, 28. 29. For such natural works and powers are not withdrawn from man, as there are, to beget children, to have government and authority, to keep house 2c., although God by His omnipotence must also be involved; but are much more confirmed by the Word of God, as is written in the above-mentioned place. But the sophists have drawn it into the spiritual realm and being, and may well have found something of it in the dear fathers; but the Romanists, who have less sense than horses and mouths, have drawn it into these spiritual things, and thus mixed spiritual and worldly things together.

Therefore it behooves us to sweep out such filth as the sophists have brought into the church, and to put aside and get out of the way such vexations. We allow that such sayings are true and right, as long as they are understood and interpreted as they belong, namely in this temporal and physical world kingdom. But if one wants to draw them into the spiritual realm, where one has to do with God and before God for the sake of one's conscience, then we say no to that, because there is nothing pure or good about us, but what we are and have is all drowned in sins. Everything that is in our will is evil, and everything that is in our mind is only vain error and blindness. Therefore man has and does nothing else in divine matters, but vain darkness, error, wickedness, perverse evil will and lack of understanding: what then can he do good, love God? 2c.

### 11. most terrible wrath of God, when he weighs down our will and takes his word.

Alas! said D. M. Luther, how could there be greater wrath, than when God lets us go according to our conceit, mind and will, takes away his word, that he no longer punishes and lets men, yes, the devil himself be our master? What else can there be but dissension and disunity of doctrine, whereupon from disunity of doctrine follows also outward disunity, strife and sedition; as it was said in Joseph's time, how abominable dissension and sedition were among the Jewish people, hard before the birth of Christ. What is much praised about free will and human powers, about the natural light of reason? What is it but blindness and darkness? What can it be better than fencing against faith and God's word?

I therefore reject and condemn as vain error all doctrine that praises our free will, as it strives against the help and grace of our Savior Jesus Christ. For since apart from Christ, death and sin are our lords, and the devil is our God and prince, there can be no strength nor power, no wit nor understanding, that we might send or strive for righteousness and life; but must be blinded and captive, belonging to the devil and sins, to do and think what they please, and contrary to God with his commandments. Well, that may be a fine freedom for me.

### 12. right doctrine of free will against God.

(This § is Walch, old edition, vol. XVI, 2044 f., § 43. 44, except for the last 6 lines).

Laurentius Valla is the best whale I have seen or experienced in my life: De Libero Arbitrio bene disputat, quaerit simplicitatem in pietate, et in literis simul; Erasmus eam tantum in literis quaerit, pietatem ridet.

## Chapter 11.

### Of the holy catechism.

The catechism must remain.

2. the catechism is necessary in the church, especially for the children.

3. 4. The Catechism is the best and most necessary teaching in the church.

5. the catechismi summa and content.

The catechism is necessary in the church.

7. 8. contempt of catechism will bring ghastly darkness and heresy.

9. the catechism must reign.

10. of the ten commandments virtue and vice.

Misuse of God's name against the other commandment.

How to honor and take hold of God.

13 Short sayings of the Catechismi, as taught by D. Luther in his house.

14. from the first three commandments of God.

(15) Upon the first commandment draw all things, and be comforted thereby.

16. sin against the first commandment.

17. what the ten commandments are kept for in the world.

18) What the punishment of original sin is.

19. how to preach the ten commandments.

20. of the order of the ten commandments.

21. brief content of the ten commandments of God.

22. what reason understands in the ten commandments of god.

The first commandment of God.

Why the Ten Commandments should always be taught.

25 From the Catechismo, so come out to Augsburg.

The mind and content of the first commandment.

27. the power of the first commandment.

#### The catechism must remain.

(Cordatus No. 486.)

"You are a priest forever" [Ps. 110, 4]. He wants to remain a priest, even if the papists do not want to. He has already fought two battles, against Muenzer and Zwingli, both of whom they call martyrs, and our catechism will prevail.

#### 2. the catechism is necessary in the church, especially for the children.

(Lauterbach, May 12, 1538, p. 82.)

After that, it was said that in Pomerania the [catechism] examinations were neglected in schools, homes and churches. Luther said: "Oh, the sermons in the church do not edify the youth, but the interrogation of the catechism in the home, the explanation and interrogation at confession is very effective. This is burdensome, but necessary. The papists have fled these discomforts, have to think only with the interest register. And so the army of Christ and the church have been neglected.

#### The Catechism is the best and most necessary teaching in the church.

(Lauterbach, May 26, 1538, p. 85.)

Luther: My advice is that one should not dispute about hidden things, but should be a

stay in God's Word, especially in the Catechismo, because in it you have the most correct way of the whole religion. For God Himself has given the Ten Commandments, Christ Himself has prescribed the Lord's Prayer, the Holy Spirit has set the articles of faith in the most correct way. These three things are so arranged that they could not be put in a finer, more comforting and shorter way: but people despise it because it is a small thing, because boys and little children recite it every day.

#### 4. a different.

(Cordatus No. 694.)

The Catechism is always to be preached as the most perfect doctrine. I wanted to preach it daily and read from the book, but our preachers and listeners know it so well [ad unguem] that some are annoyed to preach it, and others, hearing it, are ashamed of this little teaching and strive to be seen, and when they hear the peasants and noblemen say: Our pastor always fiddles on one string, 1) they seek better and higher things.

1) Norat. urs potzt. 5, 356: (ut eitUurrosäus) Liästur, okoräu, yul smxsr obsrat suäsm. (Wrampelmeyer.)

### 5 Des Catechismi Summa und Anhalt.

1) The Catechism is the true layman's Bible, in which the entire content of Christian doctrine is comprehended, so that every Christian needs to know it for salvation. As the Song of Solomon is called a song about all songs, Canticum Canticorum; so the Ten Commandments are God's Doctrina Doctrinarum, a teaching about all teachings, from which God's will is discerned, what God wants from us, and what we lack.

On the other hand, the symbol or confession of faith in God, our Lord Jesus Christ, is 2c, Historia Historiarum, a history above all histories, or the supreme history, in which the immeasurable marvels of the divine majesty are presented to us from the beginning to eternity, how we and all creatures were created by God; how we are redeemed by the Son of God (through His incarnation, suffering, death and resurrection); how we are also rejuvenated by the Holy Spirit, sanctified and made a new creature, and all together, gathered into one people of God, have forgiveness of sin, and are eternally saved.

Third, Oratio Dominica, the Lord's Prayer, is an Oratio Orationum, a prayer above all prayers, the most exalted prayer, which the most exalted Master taught, and in which he comprehended all spiritual and bodily distress, and is the most powerful consolation in all temptations, tribulations, and in the last hour.

Fourth, the reverend sacraments are Ceremoniae Ceremoniarum, the highest ceremonies, which God Himself founded and instituted, and in them assures us of His graces. For this reason we should hold the Catechism dear and valuable, and teach it diligently to the youth, for in it the right, old, true, pure, divine doctrine of the holy Christian Church is summarized; and what is contrary to it, consider it to be innovation and false doctrine and insanity, which has also lasted so long.

1) This § seems to be only another, extensive redaction of Cordatus No. 1453, which we have communicated in the second paragraph of § 20 of this chapter. For the first paragraph, compare Cordatus No. 1714, in our second appendix.

and as great a semblance and reputation as ever it wants, whether it be old or new; we should beware of this.

### The catechism is necessary in the church.

Doct. Mart. Luther said about tables: "We must have baptism, the passion of Christ, the Lord's Prayer, faith and ten commandments, and the article of justification, how one should become pious, righteous and blessed before God in the church, otherwise it may be as it pleases. For the world does not want it; for if anyone has learned the faith, it should be me; but we see that the world does not believe, therefore it does not believe. And if the catechism would not help the preachers in any other way, it would still be good so that the common people would no longer fall for the ceremonies. In my youth and throughout my life, I did not hear the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer preached.

### 7. contempt of catechism will bring gruesome darkness and heresy.

Future heresies will darken this light, for we have the Catechism, praise God! pure in the pulpit, as it has not been in a thousand years. For from all the books of the fathers, one could not gather as much as is taught by God's grace now, in our times, in the little Catechismo. There have, indeed, been great eclipses, and Doct. Carlstadt was awarded a doctorate, since he had never seen the Bible. 2) I read the Bible alone in the monastery in Erfurt, then God wonderfully sent it, against all people's thoughts, that I had to go from Erfurt to Wittenberg, there I was well deposited, 3) and have now become a wonderful monk, who deposited the devil in Rome, the Pope, by God's grace; yes, not I, but God through me, his poor, weak instrument, which no emperor nor potentate could have done. Therefore, he can easily drive out and overthrow the Turk by some means. For the fact that the emperor is tempted to do something against us means something; his melancholy will be something.

2) Cf. Cap. 1, § 25, the last para.

3) Cf. cap. 67, K 6.

Good. Perhaps he has seen and noticed the malice and impiety of the papists, which makes him angry that they are dragging out the concilium for so long.

### 8. a different.

Whoever is not satisfied with the Catechismo, when the Catechismum is preached, is being preached to by the devil, said D. Mart. Luther.

### 9. the catechism must reign.

(Here 13 lines are omitted because contained .in Cap. 1, § 14.)

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 484.)

Opportunity makes a preacher. I cannot take my sermons from my own posts, I cannot let myself be bound by words, but I still preach the same content. The occasion of some person or private business gives me the content of the sermon, and my servants, who were once dear to me, were kept only so that they might answer me when they were asked how I had been, and [to see] whether they knew how to answer when they were asked.

If I were younger, I would cut off a lot in my posts and make them shorter, because I have used too many words in them. No one can follow or achieve the same long speeches and chatter, nor is it suitable or rhyming at all times: everything must be adapted to the circumstances, but the catechism must remain and reign.

### 10. of the ten commandments virtues and vices.

(Cordatus nos. 1420-1424.)

The Decalogue [the Ten Commandments] is a book which contains so perfectly the virtues against God and man, and the sins opposed to them, that none is equal to it in the world.

The virtue of the first commandment is godliness, that is, fearing and believing in God. The sin, on the other hand, is ungodliness; of the second commandment, confession of doctrine and preaching, the sin of blasphemy; of the third, outward worship, which is useful for teaching, as hearing God's word. Of the

same the worship that shows our faith. The sin that opposes this is contempt for religion and the Word.

The virtue contained in the fourth commandment is obedience to superiors, parents, and authorities, and it [virtue] is distributive justice [i.e., that we give everyone his due]. The opposite sin is sedition. The virtue of the fifth commandment is kindness, not anger, not seeking revenge, the sin is cruelty; of the sixth [virtue] is abstinence, not committing adultery; the sin is unchastity; of the seventh [virtue] is charity, the sin is covetousness, theft, fraud in trade and commerce.

The virtue of the eighth is truth, not damaging the good reputation of anyone, the sin of impersonating evil; the ninth [virtue] is righteousness, the sin of covetousness; the virtue of the tenth is abstinence, the opposite sin contained therein, evil air.

The ten commandments are to be interpreted and understood as commanding [affirmative], according to the words of 1 Tim. [1, 5.], "The principal sum of the commandment is love." So also, "Thou shalt love GOD thy LORD," 2c. [Matth. 22, 37.]

### Abuse of God's Name Against the Other Commandment.

These words: "I am the Lord your God, you shall not have strange gods beside me"; item: "You shall not take the name of your God in vain"; they seemed to me to be futile, useless and ridiculous in the light of the Gospel. When I first read them, I thought: "Who doesn't know that? But now I see, praise God! what they want; yes, they are much more wonderful than all men can understand and reason out, they are who they want. Carlstadt, Zwingel, Pabst, and all the others, who talk a lot about them, do not believe in their hearts that they are true, so that they may remain true: In the name of God, all misfortune arises. I mean, the hordes and enthusiasts prove it honestly. If God's name were not misused in this way, things would be better on earth now; but because there is neither measure nor end to misuse, everything goes badly, as we see and experience.



### How should one honor and take hold of God? 1)

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 366.)

The first commandment teaches faith in the promises and fear because of the threats, and since God is known from his deeds, he adds the execution from Egypt, just as it is otherwise said that God raised Christ from the dead; through such things we grasp the true God. Here belongs what he says: Whoever sees me (my deeds and my works) sees also my Father. "Your God" is the one who helps you, who cares for you; but not the gods of the Gentiles, who have eyes and do not see. Promises have benefits, threats punishments, as is the downfall of the Egyptians; and "strong" to help and punish; "a zealot" who wraths the apostate. An example is Sanherib, who wanted to conquer Jerusalem with his power. Secondly, he is also a zealot against his own whom he loves, whom he helps, whom he comforts and protects. This seizes faith, but fear deals with it, lest we give offense. "He that visiteth" is a terrible threat, which is rightly to be impressed upon our souls, and reason fiercely contends against it; but since the law is passed in the parents, Ezek. 18, [v. 20. ff.], their children do not perish, and the promise which follows is beyond all human comprehension. "Thou shalt not make [any image nor likeness] unto thee" [Ex. 20:4], that is, I will not be worshipped in thy way. This is how our Philip interprets it, he believes it is the same thing and good. 2)

1) This § follows, as with Cordatus, so also with Stangwald, after § 26 of this Cap. and begins there thus: So then we serve God the Lord with faith in His fear 2c.

2) putat idem esse et bene quidem. Regarding these last words, I must confess that they are not clear to me. - This passage, according to the words of Cordatus: Thus our Philip interprets it, seems to be not by Luther, but by Phil. Melancthon. Whether this number of the Cordatus is an excerpt from one of Melancthon's writings, which is completely included here in the Table Talks, or whether the presentation in the Table Talks is an extension from the Cordatus, I am not able to determine. - In Rebenstock II, 40 a. and Bindseil II, 42, the above passage (in excerpts) forms the conclusion of a memorial to the preacher Johannes Mantel in Mühl

3) With faith in his fear, for he says, "I am the LORD your GOD." If he is our God, he will take care of us, feed us, protect us, help us and save us. But the gods of the heathen have eyes and do not see, ears and do not hear; therefore the heathen and the Maulchristen do not believe that God cares for them, yes, they have no right God, but a deaf, blind God and idols. But we have a God who cares for us, hears us and helps us, and punishes the wicked; therefore we should believe and trust in him, and expect and hope for help from him, and also fear him, so that we do not anger or offend him.

But he testifies that he cares for us, because he brings his people out of Egypt, protects and shields them. Although he is slow in doing so, and had well afflicted them before. But God is wont to do so, that is His way, that He may thus try us, test our faith, and finally snatch and deliver us from temptation and distress. It is also a horrible example of God's wrath that he destroyed all Egyptians at once. But the human heart is so hard and iron that it does not fear God, even though he punishes with great severity and cruelty.

And here also other deeds of God are to be shown and told, that he fed his people in the desert and protected them from the enemies and fiery serpents; item, the calf servants were punished very severely, likewise those who doubted to take the promised land. These and many more countless examples, even in distant times, if we would only consider them, show us that God cares for mankind. But we pass by finely.

hausen. Instead of the last words of Cordatus, which are incomprehensible to us, we find the following: "Thus Christ speaks to Philip, who asks him to show him the Father: When you look at Christ and his good deeds, you grasp the Father." Assuming now that the relation of Cordatus is the original and correct one, we see here that the Latin Table Talks made Philip the apostle Philip out of Philip Melancthon and then also trimmed the text accordingly. - With regard to the last words of the Cordatus, it is also doubtful whether these are to be regarded as words of Luther or as words of the Cordatus.

3) The first words of the following paragraph are to be regarded as an answer to the question contained in the heading of this §.

do not ask about it, nor do they think about it. So great is the wickedness of man's heart that it does not respect God, its Lord and Creator, and even despises Him. And yet some are so rude and impudent that they may praise, extol and extol the powers of free will, as if it were also able to do something in God's affairs and to cooperate.

"Strong." The word also testifies that God cares for us, that He helps and punishes, for it is not to be understood of God's strength, power and might, so that He created all things; but in that He now rules, helps His own, protects and shields, takes vengeance against the wicked; as David in the 71st Psalm, v. 3, calls God a strong, mighty helper.

"A zealot." GOD is zealous in two ways: First, God, as a zealot, is angry with those who fall away from him, become unfaithful and perjured, and prefer creatures to him, trusting in the favor of great lords, relying on good friends, their power, works, wealth, art, wisdom, 2c., or who prefer their idols and worship to him, as those who forsake the righteousness of faith, despising it, wanting also to become righteous and blessed by good works. Item: He is fiercely angry with all who defy and insist on their authority; as is seen in Sanherib, king of Assyria, who thought and insisted that he would completely overthrow Jerusalem with his power. Likewise with king Saul, who also meant to preserve the kingdom by his power and might, and to bring it upon his children, when he had oppressed and cut off David. On the other hand, God is zealous and zealous against those who love Him and hold His word dear and valuable. God loves them again, protects and preserves them as the apple of his eye, and resists the adversaries and drives them back so that they cannot do what they have in mind. Therefore, the word "zealot" includes both hatred and love, revenge and protection, so it demands fear and faith. Fear, lest we anger or offend him. Faith, that in trouble and distress we believe that he will help us, feed us, protect us in this life; just as we

pray daily: "Give us this day our daily bread" 2c., and that he forgive and pardon our sins for Christ's sake, and give us eternal life. For in all things and dealings, both spiritual and corporal, let faith rule and reign, and let the heart believe and be sure that God looks upon us, loves us, and will help us and not leave us; as the 50th Psalm, v. 15, says: "Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt praise me" 2c. Item Ps. 145, 18: "The Lord is near to all who call on Him, to all who call on Him with earnestness" 2c. And Joel 3:5: "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the LORD shall be saved.

"Who visiteth the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation" 2c. This is an atrocious word of doom, which should strike fear into our hearts. But it is contrary to our reason, for we think it is wrong that the children and descendants should be punished for the sake of their fathers and forefathers, and that they should repay them. But because God has so decreed and decreed, we must confess that He is a righteous God who does no one wrong, so that we may fear Him. This cruel threat, because it is against reason, does not move flesh and blood, does not pay attention to it, does not ask anything about it, throws it to the wind, and considers it as if a goose were whistling at it. But only then do we believe it to be true, right and just, and are startled when the Holy Spirit stirs and awakens our hearts. And here we see what free will is capable of, that it neither understands nor fears: for if we felt it rightly and recognized how serious a word of doom it is, we would fall down and die from the moment we heard it. As there are also examples of this, where God says that He wants to cast the people into misery and prison because of Manasseh's sin. But would anyone say, "I see that the descendants have no hope of some mercy if the parents sin? Answer: To those who repent, the law is taken away and abolished, so that the sin of the parents does not harm them, as the prophet Ezekiel says in Cap. 18:20: "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father. But God lets go of the outward and bodily punishment.

even over the penitent children from time to time, for the sake of example, so that others may take offense at sins and be pious.

"But do well and be merciful in a thousand" 2c. This is a great, glorious, comforting promise, which far surpasses all understanding of reason, which considers it neither right nor just that for the sake of a pious man many undeserving people should receive good. But one finds many examples that many people have benefited from a pious man. For Abraham's sake many people were preserved and blessed, as well as for Isaac's sake, and God did well and blessed the whole kingdom of Syria for Naaman's sake.

But "to love God" means to believe and believe that God is favorable to us, that He helps us, assists us and does us good. Reason thinks that God does not ask anything about us, does not care for us. The fact that God burdens and burdens the human race with too many plagues and misfortunes is therefore hostile to God. Therefore, love comes from faith, and faith is required of us, because God promises everything good.

"Thou shalt not have other gods before me, nor make thee any graven image. This is to be understood plainly, that this is the very God who has given this word to the world, and to honor him as he has commanded. For to have other gods and to make idols is to devise and set up new divine services, as those do who forsake the fear and faith of God and invent human gratification. So the summa of this commandment, as it is written in Moses Deut. 6:13: "Thou shalt fear the LORD thy God, and serve him only." And in the 34th Psalm v. 6: "Those who wait for you will not be put to shame." The other commandment requires invocation of God's name in all afflictions, and thanksgiving; that is, to recognize and confess that we have received all good things from God. 1)

1) This entire § is found in Bindseil's OoUoouia II, 244-246, but not in Rebenstock, which reinforces the assumption expressed above that this passage will not be by Luther, but by Melanchthon.

### 13. short sayings of the Catechismi, as D. Martinus Luther has taught him in his house. 2)

#### The Ten Commandments of God.

1.

As faith is, so is God. God does not remain outside, even though he forgives.

Despair makes monks and priests. God cares, but we are to work. God wants to have the heart alone. Idolatry is the idolatry of the heart. God gives through creatures.

2.

God's word presents the world to us, what a tender little fruit it is.

One should celebrate for the sake of God's word.

3)

3.

God's Word is our sanctuary and makes all things holy.

Works of obedience are to be greatly respected.

4.

All those who rule are called fathers. Fathers of souls are worthy of double honor. Authority does not belong in the fifth commandment.

5.

Anger is forbidden to everyone, without the authorities.

All causes of death 4) are prohibited.

6.

Marriage is for everyone, 5) through all classes. Marriage is necessary and required.

Marriage is forbidden and betrothed against God's commandment.

Marriage is a blessed state and pleasing to God.

2) This whole § seems to be a collection of aphorisms from Luther's writings, namely his sermons, with the exception of the few sayings we have proved from Cordatus.

3) This spell is missing from Bindseil.

4) Thus Bindseil II, 233 instead of "death".

5) Thus Bindseil II, 233 instead of "before all". The meaning is: all, in all estates, shall become eyelich. The unmarried state is godless.

7.

To steal is to take wrongfully.  
 Infidelity is also thievery.  
 Thievery is the meanest food in the world.  
 The great thieves are unpunished, as the pope with his own.  
 Unfaithfulness and avarice do not prosper.

8.

Aftertalk is reaching into God's judgment.  
 Judgment and malicious gossip belong to the authorities alone.  
 No one should be judged and punished in the back.  
 Everything should be interpreted for the best.  
 No good work is apart from the ten commandments of GOD.

9. 10.

Fear and trust in God fulfill all commandments.  
 The first commandment drives all the others.

### Faith.

Faith teaches to know God and to know what kind of God we have.  
 We must exercise faith in all kinds of cases.  
 God gives Himself to us together with all creatures.  
 The article of Jesus Christ should always be practiced.  
 The Holy Spirit brings Christ home to us, who must reveal Him to us.  
 Where the Holy Spirit does not preach, there is no church.  
 The work of the Holy Spirit continues forever.

### The Lord's Prayer.

To pray means to call upon God in distress, which is made deliciously good by God's command; and distress makes earnestness and devotion, which is our weapon against the devil.  
 Devil, world and our flesh is against God's will.  
 The devil hinders and spoils the daily bread and all the gifts of God.  
 God cares for our bodies daily.  
 No one can live in the world without sin.

No one can bring his own piety before God.  
 We must also forgive as GOD forgives us.

Forgiving our neighbor makes us sure and certain that God has forgiven us.

We are tempted in three ways, by the devil, the world, and our flesh.

Contestation serves against the security of the flesh.

Challenge is not overcome by one's own strength.  
 The devil prevents everything we ask.

The devil thinks he can get us into all kinds of trouble.

### Baptism.

Faith is attached to baptism.  
 Faith must have something external before it.  
 Faith makes the person worthy.  
 Baptism is not our work, but God's.

Eternal life in body and soul is given through baptism.

God confirms infant baptism by His Word.  
 Baptism is right, although no one believes. No one should rely on his faith.  
 Unbelief does not weaken God's word. Baptism is a daily dress of Christians.

### Communion.

The Sacrament of the Altar is God's order.  
 The word makes a sacrament.  
 Without the Word, it's all bread and wine.

The Sacrament is the food of the soul.  
 Forgiveness of sins comes through the Word alone.

Faith receives forgiveness of sins.

Those who express themselves of the Sacrament are not Christians.

The sacraments are not in our worthiness.

Faith and natural reason are contrary to each other.

Faith hangs on the Word.

As one holds Christ, so one has him. Faith is the wealth of Christians.

The gospel is God's power.

**Good works.**

(Following set Cordatus No. 1730.)

Good works have no name.

The Christian's works are the neighbor's benefit and piety.

Faith in Christ cancels sin.

The holy scripture only comforts, not bequeaths good works.

Christ is a common good.

Christians ask and desire the last day.

The church hears no one but Christ alone.

Christ is of a low estate and standing.

In tribulations one should be manly and courageous.

Our whole life is to be manly, fearing and trusting God.

Faith makes us the inheritance of Christ.

Drawing Christ into the flesh is very comforting.

We should seek heavenly glory and not look at human contempt.

Christ gives birth to us out of pure grace through the Word.

Gospel is vain joy.

Grace condemns all own justice.

Bliss is given and acquired to us entirely without our merit.

Baptism gives us blessedness completely.

Faith is the renewal of the mind.

The rebirth is the work of the Holy Spirit alone.

Reason and nature cannot comprehend nor understand God's goods.

(Following sentence Cordatus No. 1748.)

[Good works are evidences of faith; for as a letter needs a seal, so faith needs works.

Faith looks at the word, not at the preachers.

The speaker and the word are two persons.

Natural life is a little piece of eternal life.

Own conceit spoils all things.

The Gospel comes from God, shows Christ, and demands faith.

Gospel is a light in the world that enlightens people and makes them children of God.

(Subsequent paragraph Cordatus No. 1749.)

A godless preacher is worse than a virgin abuser. Challenges make a good preacher.

Righteousness is obtained by faith and not by works; stand firm in the faith.

A prince is a game in heaven.

The person must be good before the works.

We must be undaunted, believe and call.

No stand is valid to make pious before God.

Faith does not suffer human statutes in the conscience.

The saints have often erred as people; offices should be separated from the person.

Punishment is hated, but sin is loved.

God sustains the saints even in the midst of error.

No great saint has lived without error.

A Christian life consists of three parts: faith, love and the cross.

Christians are not given anything, but they are admonished.

We must break our mind and will.

(Following sentence to "angry" Cordatus No. 1750.)

Love 'curses not, but faith. For since it makes children of God, it punishes and wraths. For this reason all vengeance is abolished among Christians, who are to grow and increase in the fruits of the Spirit, among whom love is greatest, for it deals with people.

Forgiveness of sin is a fruit of the Sacrament.

Reason does not yet understand that Christ is our brother.

Christ is given to me with all his goods and works.

Christ comes to us through preaching, so he is in our midst.

Without the cross, we do not come to glory.

The gospel cannot be preached without rumor.

The Holy Spirit does not make a person perfect as soon as, but he must grow and increase.

1) This saying is missing in the Hall manuscript.

(Following set Cordatus No. 1751.)

There is nothing to be lost in the Gospel, therefore one should put everything into it.

Works belong to the neighbor, faith to God.

Those who judge and condemn others condemn themselves.

1) As faith is, so is good.

Doubt is sin and eternal death.

(Following paragraph Cordatus No. 1752.)

To believe the Gospel is to refrain from sins. We owe works to our neighbor, but faith to God. A good work is that which benefits another. Then Christ is known when he breaks our bread, that is, the word in the heart gives faith through the Spirit.

Faith means to build on God's mercy with certainty.

Christ does not demand outward and seeming piety, nor hypocrisy and glitter, but piety of heart.

It is by grace and mercy that we are saved, if we trust in it, but God must change hearts.

(Following paragraph Cordatus No. 1753.)

A parish priest is a Spittelmeister. The law is a mirror.

Christ carries us on his back before the Father.

Love does not look upon ingratitude.

2) The sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing; as, dipping the infant in water or pouring it is a sign of baptism.

Penance is a sacrament, and is repentance and sorrow, confession and absolution, and that is the definition of penance.

Objectum Justitiae comes from the works, that is, justice has to do with the works, as this saying testifies Luc. 6, 37: "Forgive and you will be forgiven. Item Luc. 16, 9: "Make friends of the unfaithful.

1) In Bindseil this saying is missing here, but is found instead of the first: As faith is, so is God.

2) The following sayings, with the exception of the last "Christ will" 2c., which is found similarly in Cordatus No. 1202 (see App. II.), are all missing in the Hall manuscript and are possibly additions by Aurifaber.

right mammon." So the publican's breast beating is quite a prayer.

The tree must be good before it bears good fruit.

We should esteem God's goods, which we have, as great, but ourselves as small.

Christ wants all men to be blessed, that is, he alone makes them all blessed, he alone is the light that enlightens all men.

I want the catechism to be preached to the common people, which serves the people. And I shall use it in all my sermons, for it is the noblest and best doctrine. And I teach to the utmost of my ability, so that the common man, children and servants may understand, for the scholars know well beforehand that I do not preach to them.

#### 14. of the first three commandments of God.

(Cordatus No. 1008-1011.)

The first commandment is God Himself and the kingdom of His glory. The second is the kingdom of faith and the grace of Christ. The third has the provision of the Sabbath for the sake of the Word. The first has the kingdom of glory, the second the kingdom of grace through the Word. The first alone will remain, the others will cease. The second table belongs to the world regiment with the exception of the ninth and tenth.

The first commandment is the most diligently acted by Moses, after that also by David, because the Psalms are nothing but concluding speeches [syllogismi] from the first commandment. The upper sentence is the word of God itself, the lower sentence [*minor*] is faith, the conclusion [conclusio] is the deed and execution itself, so that it happens as we believe.

If we believe the first commandment, we please God, and everything that is ours pleases God. If the first commandment is kept, the pleasing [placet] goes through all the other commandments and works. But he that hath not the first, his works all please God.

"He who honors me honors the Father" [Joh. 5, 23.], that is, I am all that God is. What the Father is, does and suffers, that I am 2c. I and the Father are one. I do what God does, therefore I am the Father.

GOt. This is a reason from what follows [argumentum a posteriore], and what I suffer and what happens to me, that God suffers and that God happens. But this reason is not valid with the Jews. It is to them as when I strike an anvil with a straw. For they cannot suffer any cause whatsoever against them. For they cannot suffer anyone to say that even the uncircumcised are God's people. There are plenty of examples of this: the Ninivites, the king of Tyre. And that means to be obdurate. Therefore, it is useless to argue about big things with the Jews, because they do not even admit small, trivial things and stick to their opinions.

**(15) Upon the first commandment draw all things, and be comforted thereby.**

Oecolampadium has killed his conscience that he has said: This you have done; and has not been able to throw himself around again, that he would have said: Have you sinned? Admit it, but God is greater than our sin: I will not do a greater sin to this sin, than that I should deny Christ; but will cease to sin. How many subjects did King David have put to death before the city of Ai for the sake of a harlot, Bathsheba? Then our Lord God was silent about the fifth and sixth commandments, and was harsh about the first commandment alone, saying, "He has blasphemed God's name among the nations. What did Manasseh, the murderer of the prophets, do? He learned to speak: I have sinned. The king of Israel, Ahab, kept evil house with the prophets of God, and Elijah had to flee from him, otherwise he would have choked him away; yet he has refuge in God, that our Lord God says of him to Elijah, "Did you see how Ahab humbled himself before me?" 1 Kings 21:29.

These are marvelous examples. The Bible cannot be studied, because one does not go back to the first commandment: we remain alone in the work, if one is to trace the works back to the first commandment, as the epistle to the Eberians does, when it says: Abel sacrificed in faith. We do not do this, but when we read something about sacrifice, we think of

we think that more had happened before. But Abel says: I have God as a friend, and then he sacrifices. Cain says: I do not know if I have a God.

**16. sin against the first commandment.**

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 19.)

**17. what the ten commandments of God are kept for in the world.**

(Contained in Cap. 12, § 83, sub. 1.)

**18) What the punishment of original sin is.**

The punishment of original sin is actually not knowing God and not knowing anything about him, which is blasphemy; then, not knowing one's neighbor, not respecting him, that is, doing him all harm, strangling and killing him. Third, not to know oneself, that is, to care for oneself, to wait for one's neighbor, and to seek one's own, even to the detriment of another.

**19. how to preach the ten commandments.**

(Contained in Cap. 11, § 10, last paragraph).

**20. of the order of the ten commandments.**

The first, the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth and the seventh commandments are all in order. It is a greater sin to kill than to fornicate or commit adultery. It is more grievous to commit adultery than to steal. In the other three there is no order. Although I do not want to judge or conclude, I think that the three last commandments are like the width or circumstances of the first and previous commandments, that with the mouth and desires (for these two are forbidden in the last three commandments) one sins against the previous ones. But methinks this is the order: for bearing false witness is not so grievous a sin as coveting another's wife. Neither is it so grievous a sin to covet another's goods as to desire to have one's wife.

(The following at Cordatus No. 1453.)

One prayer above all prayers is the prayer of the Lord; one teaching above all teachings is the Decalogue [the holy ten commandments]; one virtue

above all virtues is the Symbolum or faith. For as the Our Father asks and obtains in the best and most beautiful way, so the Decalogue teaches and admonishes in the best, most abundant and most beautiful way, and faith does and practices everything in the most abundant, best and most beautiful way. Thus this trinity makes man perfect and complete [absolutum] in thought, speech and action, that is, it forms the mind, speech and body and leads to the highest perfection.

(Here 6 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 1, § 9. [Erl. ed. 57, 13. to end.]

## 21. brief content of the ten commandments of God.

(Cordatus No. 164.)

The first table teaches how we should act with God, but in such a way that the Gospel is also included. The second table contains the common life according to reason, which the philosophers who wrote about duties explained very well, namely the Academics, Peripatetics and Stoics, who all said that the highest good is virtue. If they differed somewhat in words, they agreed in substance. They have been able to speak eloquently of this life, which the second tablet teaches, because they alone hold the definitions of the virtues.

## 22. what reason understands in the ten commandments of god.

(Contained in Cap. 12, § 83.)

### The first commandment of God.

(Cordatus No. 189 and No. 190.)

The first commandment in the holy ten commandments is a loud promise, and also the Jews themselves do not call it a commandment. But someone would like to say: The first commandment demands faith, therefore the law justifies, because faith justifies. The answer to this is: The commandment does not justify, but the promise, if it is believed. Some distinguish the faith commanded by the law and say that it is our work; but the faith that takes hold of Christ is God's gift and also his work.

The law, if it were fulfilled, would make righteous, but it does not find anyone who fulfills it. And the Holy Spirit would also fulfill the law and make people righteous by fulfilling the law, but he too has not yet found anyone who would be capable of his work and grace in such a way.

## Why the Ten Commandments should always be taught.

The ten commandments of God must always be preached, for our hearts are godless and weak, therefore they must be kept with the law, as in a dungeon and prison, until they come to the right knowledge of themselves and of God's wrath against sin, are frightened by it, humble themselves before God and crawl to the cross; then they are comforted with the gospel, which does not serve the crude, the secure and the hypocritical: as Christ says Matth. 11, 5: "The poor have the gospel preached to them"; and Matth. 9, 12: "The physician is not useful to the healthy, but to the sick.

Therefore, the devil does not cease to challenge even the God-fearing, pious Christians daily, and to torment and provoke them to do against the Ten Commandments of God, especially against the first tablet. There the great devils, the military leaders, must be against us. But in the other table there is rage, killing, fornication, adultery, robbery, stealing, backbiting, slandering, etc., which the young devils, the party stallions, can do.

## 25 From the Catechismo, printed at Augsburg.

(Cordatus No. 1229-1231. 1)

They [the Sacramentarians] feel that they are in error, but do not want to be regarded as such, and this is their main reason: no one is made better by the word which the Wittenbergers preach, so their doctrine is not true; but it is not enough to believe only the Gospel, but one must also leave one's wife, have nothing of one's own 2c., and so they turn back to their own righteousness and cannot

1) In the old table speeches, these numbers were rearranged. We have restored the order.



distinguish between the seed that falls on the rock and that which falls on the good land. Nor do they distinguish between the tares and the wheat. They are very foolish because they want to judge the word or the seed from the fruits. The gospel is a power of God that saves all who believe in it.

The Catechism of the Augsburgs does not agree with ours, because in the first commandment they present it as if the words of this gospel promise: I am the HErr, your GOtt, were a commandment. The gospel promises, the law commands and enjoins. Thus they very ungodly divide the Lord's Prayer into three parts or spiritual petitions, and the fourth petition, our daily bread, they put last. Christ did not know the order correctly.

Bucer freely confessed that he did not believe that the word of God was that which was not received by men. Therefore, I answered him that the second commandment was not God's word,

because it would not be kept by the wicked, who do not believe that there is a God. Thus they are mocked by Satan in their wisdom.

#### The mind and content of the first commandment.

Fear God, do right, trust God and hope in His grace. One should fear God and trust God at the same time, not one after the other. Do not sin, for you may soon die. Do not despair even if you have sinned, for God is merciful, who gladly forgives sin out of pure grace, for Christ's sake, since it is only known and confessed from the heart 2c.

(The following paragraph is transferit according to § 12 of this chapter).

#### 27. of the first commandment of God's power.

The first commandment of God in the Ten Commandments is a guide to the other commandments and all rights.

## The 12th chapter.

# Of the Law and the Gospel.

1. whether one owes to keep Mosiah's secular and political laws.
2. the law most terrifies the godly.
3. for whom the law and the gospel belong.
4. the office and work of the law.
- The custom of the law is twofold.
- (6) That the doctrine of the law is not necessary for salvation is annoying to the world and to the saints of works.
7. what the law and the gospel are.
- Moses with his law is an executioner.
9. law remains law, it has a name what it wants.
10. the law's own and best work.
11. whereby we get rid of the law.
- Why the Scriptures, especially St. Paul, speak so contemptuously of the Law.
- (13) To despise the curse and burden of the law is hard in times of trouble.
- (14) The law is not to be seen or heard if one wants to act on the righteousness that is before God.
15. Besides the trade of righteousness before God, the law is to be highly praised.
- The law and the gospel are two disgusting things that cannot stand each other.
17. from the law.
- The most serious challenge from the devil is with the law.

- 19 To discern the gospel aright is no man's art.
20. law and gospel are the main pieces of Christian teaching.
- 21) One must always pray against the devil and know and keep the difference between the Law and the Gospel.
- The law should always be taught.
23. several questions from the law.
24. what a law holds in itself.
- 25 The Law and the Gospel are briefly stated at first, but then explained further.
26. 27. Preaching of the Gospel.
- 28 Why praise the law.
29. st. augustini saying from the law.
30. what the law is.
31. 32. comparison of the law.
- (33) God's law also does not make alive, but kills.
- 34) For what purpose it is useful to know how to distinguish between the law and the gospel.
- The righteousness of the Gospel is not understood by reason.
36. the gospel is equal to the b fa b mi in the musica.
- The righteousness of the law does not make one blessed.
38. antitype of the law and the gospel, how both go from places.
- The gospel does not require us to do any works.

40. works of the law are done with unwillingness.  
 41. why the law repealed.  
 (42) One should not argue with the devil out of the law, but out of the gospel.  
 The law must always be preached.  
 44. the antinomer pretending not to preach the law.  
 Why the gospel is preached so clearly now.  
 46 The Gospel does not distinguish the persons.  
 47. how to stand against the charge of the law.  
 48. the gospel will be starved.  
 The gospel brings poverty, but false teaching brings wealth.  
 50. blissful time.  
 51. different effect of the grace and the law.  
 It is difficult to distinguish between the law and the gospel.  
 53. from the lie.  
 54. beware of sophistry.  
 55. abthung of the law.  
 56) How the law will be fulfilled.  
 57. various laws.  
 The preaching of the Law and the Gospel is necessary.  
 59 St. Augustine's Opinion on the Justification of the Law.  
 To whom the law is given, and to whom the gospel is given.  
 61) Whether to preach about God's grace and mercy alone.  
 The gospel does not concern the wicked.  
 63. the office, use and fruit of the gospel and the law.

- The Gospel has delivered us from the Pabst's idolatry, superstition and countless abominations.  
 This is the beginning of the new gospel.  
 66 On the Difference between the Law and the Gospel.  
 67. why believers are not given a law.  
 (68) To distinguish the gospel from the law, especially in battle, is a great and difficult art.  
 69. of the gospel art.  
 70. against the lawbreakers.  
 For the sake of the law, St. Paul has much to do with the Jews.  
 The Jews' annoyance because of the law.  
 The law and the gospel should be diligently distinguished.  
 All laws are deadly apart from Christ.  
 75. If the law were kept the same, it would not make anyone righteous before God.  
 The law casts a curse on all people who are outside the faith.  
 77. 78. Whether the law is necessary for justification.  
 What the law does and why it is given.  
 How to become wise in the sight of God.  
 How the law is to be fulfilled.  
 82. the curse of the law.  
 83. the ten commandments, what they are in the world.  
 84. some pleas and deferrals from the law, and how to overcome the contestation and error of the law.  
 What God's righteousness is, and why the preaching of the law is necessary; against the antinomians.  
 86. a whimsical story.

### 1. whether one owes to keep Mosiah's secular and political laws?

Anno 1524, Feria 2. post Judica, D. M. Luther said: Those, who praise Mosis court order, Judicialia, laws and rights in world affairs, so highly, are to be despised; because we have our described imperial and land laws, under which we live and to which we have committed ourselves. Just as neither Naaman the Syrian, nor Job, nor Joseph, nor Daniel, nor other sronim Jews kept Mosi's law nor used it outside their country, but the laws and rights of the Gentiles with whom they were. Mosiah's laws bound and obligated only the Jewish people in the place that God had chosen. Now they are free. Otherwise, since one would have to keep Mosi's judicialia, laws of court and world affairs, we would also have to be circumcised and keep the ceremonialia and Mosaic ceremonies; for there is no difference: whoever considers one as necessary, must also keep the others. Therefore be content with Mosi's laws;

except the morals that God has planted in nature, as the ten commandments, so right worship and respectability concern.

### 2. the law most terrifies the godly.

God puts the sword into the hand of the emperor, who then puts it into the hand of the judge and lets him punish thieves and murderers, and then takes it out of his hand again if he wants. This is what God does with the law; he lets the devil have his way, so that he can frighten the sinners. But that the godly and pious Christians are most of all tormented, vexed and martyred by it, the game is for the last day; not for the pope alone, but for the whole world. The devil senses the end of his kingdom, therefore he wriggles. Let us therefore be confident, strong and joyful in the Lord. Let us be armed and girded with the sword of the Spirit, pray and call upon God in all troubles and afflictions, and wait either to be delivered from all evil, or to be punished.

may be alleviated for us. Let us cleave unto Christ, and cleave unto him, so that by no violence nor wrong shall we be separated from him; and we shall soon look upon one another with joy in that day.

### 3. for whom the law and gospel belong.

(Contained in Cap. 12, § 20.)

### 4. the law's own office and work.

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, s 442.)

### The custom of the law is twofold.

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, U 443. 444. 445. 447. 448. 449. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460, with several omissions and one rearrangement).

### (6) The doctrine of the law, that it is not necessary for salvation, is vexatious in the world to the saints of works.

(Cordatus No. 7. 8. 9. 10.)

Never has a bolder sermon come into the world than the sermon of Paul, in which he abolishes Moses, that is, abolishes the law of God, which is nothing at all different than abolishing God's regiment and religion. But which sensible person would bear this with equanimity? From this arose the constant quarrel with the Jews. Therefore, Paul was blasphemed by the false prophets and the Galatians fell away from him and all of Asia, and he was still blasphemed long after his death, as one often reads in Chrysostom.

If Moses had not removed himself from his office, 1) Deut. 18: "God will raise up a prophet, him you shall hear", who could or should have ever believed the gospel? Hence the severe accusation against Stephen, Apost. 6. came, which had great power among all the Jews. We have heard (they say) that he spoke blasphemous words against Moses and against God Himself. Also against the holy place and the law.

1) I.e. that he himself would have said that his office would not be an eternal one.

and against the ordinances. How many articles of faith they enumerate, against which, as they testify, Stephen had sinned! And not without cause, for he seemed to speak against God and all the sanctity of the law, the place, the ceremonies, the persons and the like.

Preaching that it is not necessary to keep the law for the sake of obtaining salvation appears to the Jews as it would appear to Christians if someone preached that Christ is not the Lamb of God who bears the sin of the world.

Paul could have patiently borne the free fulfillment of the law, but the Jews did not want that, just as little as our papists, who definitely want their ceremonies to be held by the one who wants to be blessed. Therefore, the papists will perish, just like the Jews.

### 7. what the law and the gospel are.

(Cordatus No. 188.)

Law is what we should do; but the Gospel is about what God wants to give. The first we cannot do; the other we can accept with faith. But see how men are: the first thing they cannot do they want to do, and the second thing they should accept they do not want to believe 2c.

(Here find 14 lines omitted because contained in Cap. 11, § 23.)

### 8. Moses with his law is an executioner.

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 291.)

Moses is the master of all executioners, for no one can surpass him, or even equal him, in terror, fear, tyranny, threats and other such things. For he attacks the conscience, frightens and tortures it and does this out of God's power and in God's stead.

### 9. law remains law, it has a name what it wants.

(Cordatus No. 205.)

Law is law, may it be ceremonial law, or for the judicial process,

or the so-called moral law. So also baptism, although it is a ceremonial law, is necessary for all Christians.

**10. the law's own and best work.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §§ 16. 19.)

**11. whereby we get rid of the law.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 20.)

**12) Why the Scriptures, especially St. Paul, speak so contemptuously of the Law.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 21.)

**(13) To despise the burden and curse of the law is hard in times of trouble.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 22.)

**14. the law is not to be seen or heard when one is talking about righteousness, so as to act in the sight of God.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 23.)

**15. Besides the trade of righteousness before God, the law is to be highly praised.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §24.)

**The law and the gospel are two disgusting things that cannot stand each other.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 4. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 25.)

**17. law.**

Moses with his law, said D. Martinus, I will not have him, for he is the enemy of the Lord Christ: if he comes with me to judgment, I will reject him, not in the name of God; and say, Here stands Christ. And on

At the last day Moses shall look upon me, and say, Thou hast rightly understood me, and hast distinguished me; and shall be favorable unto me.

(From here to the conclusion Cordatus No. 498.)

The law is more easily grasped by reason than grace; Adam does not want to accept it. Therefore, the disputation about the law, which the devil arouses in the godly penitent, must be driven out.

**18. with the law the heaviest challenge from the devil.**

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 72.)

**(19) To distinguish rightly between the law and the gospel is no man's art.**

(Cordatus No. 1623.)

I have now spent twenty years in the proper study of theology, and yet I still cannot sufficiently explain the difference between the law and the gospel, indeed, no man understands this exactly, since even Christ was reminded of the gospel in the garden by the angel. Therefore, it is a vain glory of the enthusiasts of their consummate grace consummata gratia.

**20. law and gospel are the main articles of Christian teaching.**

(Cordatus No. 34.)

There are two, the law and the gospel. [God wants the wicked to be restrained from vices by the law and controls the hypocrites by the same, so that if they do not want to attain salvation other than by works, they will learn it from the law, which describes works abundantly. But through the gospel he comforts the sorrowful, the weak, the afflicted and all those listed by the prophet Isaiah, chapter 6. For they are told: "Be comforted with the comfort, because I forgive your sins. What could God do more than humble the proud through the law and heal them through the gospel?"

**(21) Against the devil one must always pray, knowing and keeping the difference between the law and the gospel.**

(In other redaction Cap. 24, § 15.)

### The law should always be taught.

(Contained in Cap. 12, § 43.)

#### 23. from the law quite a few questions.

(Cordatus No. 74 and No. 75.)

Two magistrates came to him [Luther] with the question: "Does the law reveal sin to people without the special effect of the Holy Spirit? One asserted this, the other denied it. The one based himself on the words of Paul to the Romans, that the law reveals sin; the other said that it is the effect of the Holy Spirit through the law, because many hear the law, and yet have no knowledge of sin. To this the doctor replied thus: They used the word law in different meanings; otherwise, if they had the same way of speaking, they would both be right. Namely, the word law has two meanings. First, that it is only written, heard and read. Then it was not the law, which revealed the power, that is, the sting of sin, and this abuse was already punished by all the prophets, saying: And you have not heard me 2c. Secondly, the law is the words of the law together with the action of the Holy Spirit, who gives power to the words or the writing of the law, so that one may say from the heart, "Oh, this concerns me. There I have done wrong against God. When I pressed sCordatus] further and said: The law is something else and that is the law of God, which necessarily has its power, as human words could not have, he added: There are three things to be distinguished: The written law, the oral law and the spiritual law. The written law, if it is only written, is like a log that cannot move unless it is moved. The law is also like that if it is not read. But the oral law also reveals the sin of the wicked. For the adulterers hear that it concerns them when they hear the sixth commandment, but they either despise it, or even pursue it after they have despised it, since the oral law] reveals the same [sixth commandment] to them.

1) Cordatus was one of the two magisters.

Commandment. The spiritual law, however, is not without spiritual movement, which takes place through the Spirit; for he moves the hearts not only so that they do not despise, or persecute after despising, but rather so that sin may be subdued, and one may be restored to righteousness.

But since I [Cordatus] had mentioned (for the sake of dispute) Paul's words to the Thessalonians [1 Thess. 2, 13.]: The word works in the hearers, he answered: This is to be understood from the Gospel, and even this so great word, whether written or verbal, does not work without the Holy Spirit. When I further said that this was true and most pleasing to the enthusiasts who made a mockery of God's word, he answered: This is another question, namely, whether without the oral or written word the knowledge of sin or of grace in Christ could come to men, or whether the written or oral word alone justifies or reveals sin, or brings the hearers to grace.

#### 24. which had a law in it.

Every law or commandment must have two things in it: first, a promise; second, a decree; for every law is good, just and holy, Rom. 7:12. It gives what is good and forbids what is evil; it rewards and protects the pious, but punishes and forbids the wicked, as St. Paul says Rom. 13:3, 4: "The mighty are not to be feared for good works, but for evil. But if thou wilt not fear the authorities, do good, and thou shalt have praise of them: for they are God's servants, too good for thee. But if you do evil, be afraid, for she does not bear the sword in vain; she is God's servant, an avenger of punishment on the one who does evil." And 1 Petr. 2, 14, "for vengeance on the wicked, and for praise to the pious." Which also the imperial secular laws teach: the-

2) unum. It is not necessary to change this to verbum, although unum is to be added from the preceding verbum.

Their reward is peace, honor, and good; but their punishment is trouble, shame, poverty, and death.

Since this is so in worldly laws, how much more in God's law is the promise and the prophecy, which demand righteous faith of the heart! The laws of Caesar also require faith, whether righteous or poetic; for those who do not fear or believe that Caesar will punish or protect, do not keep his laws and order, as we see; but those who believe and fear, whether it be from the heart or not.

Where there is a mere and pure promise without law in the holy scripture, only faith is needed; as Abraham was promised that his seed would be multiplied like the stars in heaven, Rom. 4:2 ff. There he is not commanded to do any work, but he hears of God's work in the future, which Abraham was neither able nor able to do. So Christ is also promised to us, and a work is offered to us, which we cannot do; but God alone does it, therefore only faith is necessary for us here, because nothing is done by works.

After this faith, works and laws are laid down for us and commanded, just as Abraham was circumcised, so that faith may be tested and proven. And even though the arch-fathers had other promises and signs, by which they were justified, because they believed in them, they believed in the very God who offered and promised them the same Christ. For it is One Christ who was to come and be sent, in whom they were to believe in all His promises, and the very God who would send Him and has now sent Him.

### **25 The Law and the Gospel are briefly stated at first, but then explained further.**

(Cordatus No. 1781.)

Just as the law was given to the Jews in a short version at the Exodus from Egypt, and was later abundantly interpreted by Moses in the fifth book of Moses, so Christ and then the apostles did with the gospel.

### **26. preaching of the gospel.**

(Cordatus No. 1637.)

In the time of the apostles, and also in our time, the gospel is more widely spread and more effectually preached than in the time of Christ; hence he also said [John 14:12.], "Ye shall do greater works," Matt. 13:31, 32.:] "I am a grain of mustard seed, ye shall be the branches under which the birds shall nest, I [preach] in a corner, in the Jewish land, ye shall preach in all the world upon the housetops."

### **27. preaching of the gospel.**

The gospel of our time is like a man who wants to die, whose soul sits on his tongue, so that he only stirs his tongue a little, and murmurs the words: "Into your hands I commend my spirit" 2c. So now we are also the last movement of the gospel that confesses Christ. We still call Christ a little, and praise him, therefore the last day will soon follow.

### **28. why to praise the law.**

(Cordatus No. 1648.)

All love and praise Moses, the Law and Jesus Sirach, but only as long as they read them; but when it comes to action, they become hostile to them.

### **29. st. augustini saying from the law.**

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 53.)

### **30. law what it is.**

(This § is contained in the first paragraph of the following § and only another relation of it).

### **31. comparison of the law.**

(Cordatus No. 1032 and No. 1649.)

The law is in truth a labyrinth and its righteousness a minotaur, that is, a fable that does not lead to bliss but draws to hell, although history itself is God's word.

The law is a log; roll it where you will, it remains a log, it does not justify. So why do we torture ourselves by

want to bring us and other people to the mathematical point of righteousness, so we hardly come to the physical line? For the world is and remains the world.

### 32. a different.

The law does not serve righteousness in the sight of God in any way. If it is rightly understood, it makes people despondent and causes despair; but if it is not rightly understood, it makes hypocrites. The gospel, when it is not rightly understood, makes safe and crude people, who need it only for carnal freedom; but when it is rightly understood, it makes righteous, pious, godly people and Christians. Therefore the law is given only for the sake of transgression, that sin and our corrupt nature may be known from it, so that people may be afraid after Christ; outwardly it serves only for police, discipline and respectability.

#### The law of God also does not make alive, but kills.

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 520.)

### 34) For what purpose it is useful to know how to distinguish between the law and the gospel.

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §§ 524. 525. 526. 460. 461.)

#### The righteousness of the gospel is not understood by reason.

(Cordatus No. 1017, the first paragraph.)

If H[arch] G[eorg] sinned only against the gospel, this would be a futile sin for him; but this sin cannot be forgiven him, that he sins against the known truth and drives people out of his states without cause. He understands only the righteousness of the law; the justification which is in Christ he understands not, not the Spirit; that is, [he understands only] the righteousness of the law, not the justification of faith of the gospel, which few take hold of, for they want to know of their sins and their righteousness.

Therefore, dear sirs, said D. M. Luther, let us love the article of justification, and of the difference between the law and the gospel, and diligently keep it. If we lose it, we will not be able to stand in the battle, nor will we be able to obtain some victory; and this is what all heretics and agitators have lacked. For if we do not understand the article correctly, we cannot fight against Satan and the priesthood, much less win and prevail. Christ alone sustains us in the truth. He is the right girdle and purpose, as Paul finely points out and reminds us, that all things may be drawn to and into him, that is, that Christ may be the head and summa in all things, upon whom all things are to be judged, that he alone may be and do all things, and remain factotum.

#### The gospel is equal to the bfa b m in the musica.

(Cordatus No. 1291.)

In music, b fa b m is the gospel, because it governs all the music, the other claves are the law, and as the law obeys the gospel, so d ka d mi governs the other voices, and mi is the law, ka the gospel. The second tone [secundus tonus] is weak due to sin, because in b ka b mi, wherever it is, it allows this [voice]: Mi or fa. 1)

#### The righteousness of the law does not make one blessed.

(Cordatus No. 1696.)

Clouds that hasten but give no rain are the righteousness of the law, which promises much but gives nothing but hypocrisy.

### 38. antitype of the law and the gospel, how both go from places.

What is law does not go out from places, nor does it go out voluntarily from the hand, but is resisted and resisted, and is done unwillingly and with reluctance; but what is gospel goes out from places with pleasure and all will. Thus God has preached the gospel also through music; as one can read in the Josquini 2) Canto

1) A sufficient explanation of the above has not yet been found. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) Cf. cap. 13, § 62.

Seeing that all composition flows and goes out finely, cheerfully, willingly, mildly, and sweetly, is not forced nor compelled, and is bound to the rules strictly and straightforwardly, like the finch's song.

**The gospel does not require us to do any works.**

The gospel is a good message that brings a good new tale, that God's Son became man and died for us, and rose again from the dead 2c., is not a sermon about our works. Therefore, whoever says that the gospel requires works for salvation is a liar.

**40. works of the law are done with unwillingness.**

Doctor Martino brought his little daughter Magdalenichen, who was supposed to sing to her cousin N.: The pope calls emperors and kings 2c., but she would not do it, although her mother urged her to do so. Then the doctor said, "Nothing good comes from the works of the law unless grace is added to them: what one is forced to do does not come from the heart, nor is it pleasant; for under Moses alone one murmurs, and wants to stone him all over, but he is not favored.

**41. why the law repealed.**

That the law was abolished and taken away was as necessary (so that it could no longer condemn the faithful) as that it was instituted and given; namely, so that one would know that Christ had now come, of whom Moses 5. B. 18, 15. says that one should hear the same, because all the prophets said that then the law would cease.

**(42) One should not argue with the devil out of the law, but out of the gospel.**

(Contained in Cap. 26, §1.)

**The law must always be preached.**

Because our flesh is for and all weak, even evil and corrupt, through original sin, therefore the ten commandments of God must always be obeyed.

preach. That the wicked may be kept and forced as in a prison, until they learn to know themselves aright, and feel that they are damned and lost in the wrath of God, with all their works and virtues, and so long for Christ, who alone can and will save from sin, death, the devil and hell, out of pure grace, all who believe in him. 1)

The ungodly are not to be preached the gospel, for they abuse it to the lust of the flesh and become angry with it, but the law, that they may be terrified and humbled.

**44. the antinomer pretending not to preach the law.**

In 1541, M. Jobst 2) showed D. M. Luther over the table the propositions that one should not preach the law in the church, because it did not make one righteous. Luther was very angry about this and said: "This is what our people want to do while we are still alive. Mr. Eisleben is of this opinion; envy, hatred and ambition drive him to it. Oh, that we could give the honor to M. Philippo, who teaches clearly and differently about the use and custom of the law, and I also teach about it, and I have abundantly dealt with this in the epistle to the Galatians. Count Albrecht of Mansfeld's prophecy will come true, who wrote to me: "There is a coiner behind it; for he who abolishes the teaching of the law politically abolishes the teaching of the police and stewardship. And if the law is cast out of the church, there is no more knowledge of sins in the world; for the gospel does not punish sin, but uses for it the office of the law, which is spiritual and describes and reveals sin done contrary to God's will and commandments. He who pretends that the transgressors do not sin against the law, but rather dishonor the Son of God, is not to be heard; for such speculative theologians are a pestilence to the church, for they have no conscience nor true knowledge of the divine word,

1) Cf. cap. 26, § 16.

2) Justus Menius. Bindseil I, 268.



they also teach without some dialectics, and throw everything into one another. They do the same as those who argue: Plenitudo legis est Dilectio: the fulfillment of the law is love, therefore we have no law. But these poor, unintelligent people do not see the minor point, 1) that this fulfillment, namely love, is quite weak in this flesh, and that through the spirit one must daily fight and contend against this weakness, and this weakness, because we live, must be under the law.

#### **Why the gospel is preached so clearly now.**

Now, in our time, the light of the gospel is a sure sign of the glorious future of the Lord Christ, and like the dawn that precedes the eternal day and the going forth of the Sun of Righteousness.

#### **46 The Gospel does not distinguish the persons.**

The law says: Every person is either a public person, who is in a public common office, or a private and individual person, who is in no office, who does not command the sword. To the private person it says: You shall not kill. But the gospel abolishes all distinction of persons, speaking badly in general: If you believe, you please God; as Christ says Joh. 3, 16: "So God loved the world, that everyone who believes in him has eternal life" 2c. and Marc. 16, 16: "Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved."

#### **47. how to stand against the charge of the law.**

(This § is from the Hauspostille. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, Col. 2031 f., § 25. 26. 27. 28.

#### **48. the gospel will be starved.**

The fact that the pastors, preachers and ministers of the Gospel are so poor at the present time that some of them may pine away with their wives and children is due to the fact that peasants, noblemen, officials, castles, princes, all of them of the

1) d. i. Understudy.

Who forbid that they should not give out; that therefore the gospel should be starved out.

#### **The gospel brings poverty, but false teaching brings wealth.**

(Contained in Cap. 1, § 55.)

#### **50. blissful time.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 138.)

#### **51 Different effects of grace and the law.**

(The first paragraph is contained in Cap. 12, § 60, therefore omitted).

(The following at Cordatus No. 340.)

Difference of the law and the gospel. The law is the back of God, wrath, sin, weakness. The Gospel is His face, the grace of the Lord, perfection. Therefore, God says to Moses, "You will see my back, but not my face" [Ex. 33:23].

#### **It is difficult to distinguish the law from the gospel.**

When one complained that he could not distinguish the Law from the Gospel, D. M. Luther said. M. Luther said, "Yes, if you could do that, you would be a good doctor. And he stood up, took off his beret, and said, If ye can do this, then will I say unto you, My dear Doctor, ye are learned 2c. Paul and I have never been able to get there. To St. Paul it was said, because he would have liked to be free of his thorn: Sufficit tibi gratia mea: Be content with my grace, 2 Cor. 12:9, that is, you have my word and command, keep it and be content with it. For if our Lord God gave us a strong, unwavering faith, we would become proud, despise Him, and boast about it ourselves. If he then gives us knowledge of the law, we become stupid and despondent, knowing nowhere to stay. Therefore, it is best that God play with us in such a way that we recognize our misery and suffering, and cling to the man called Christ with all our thoughts, who will certainly set right what we have ruined.

**53. lies, 1)**

A lie is like a snowball, the longer you roll it, the bigger it gets.

**54. beware of sophistry.**

(Contained in Cap. 40, § 1.)

**55. from abthuing of the law.**

(Here 7 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 12, § 41.)

D. M. Luther spoke a lot about the abolition of the law through Christ, referring to the saying Rom. 8, 3: "Which was impossible for the law, because it was weakened by the flesh, God sent His Son, who fulfills the law in us" 2c. God has redeemed us from the tyranny and obligation of the law, as Saint Paul says Rom. 10, 4: "Christ is the end of the law" 2c., that is, Christ is the summa and the right pure opinion and the content of the law; whoever has Him has fulfilled the law rightly.

But it is an impossible thing, 'yes, completely against God, that one would want to do away with the law and abolish it, since it is in nature and naturally written in the hearts of all men and is innate in us. Although the natural law is somewhat obscure, and speaks only generally of works, Moses and the Holy Spirit expound it more clearly, and point out in particular by name the works that God wants us to do and to leave undone. Therefore Christ also says: "I have not come to abolish the law", Matth. 5, 17. One should give a coat of gold to one, and hold him glorious in the world, who would bring it about that Moses would also be completely abolished by Christ. Oh, then we would see how it would be. Oh what a fine being it should become! But God be forewarned and protect us from such desolate error. He will not let us experience it.

That I have spoken and written so harshly against the law with my teaching in the first is because the Christian church was completely overwhelmed and weighed down with all kinds of superstitions and aberrations.

1) Cf. Cap. 52, § 6.

and Christ was completely darkened and buried. I wanted to redeem and set free devout, God-fearing hearts from this kind of conscientiousness through the word of the Gospel. But I have never rejected the law. It would have been a louder caning and torture of consciences: in praying, there was only a babbling and ranting of many words; no prayer, but only a work of obedience. For the pope commanded three kinds of prayer: The first, materialis, as when one only recites and speaks the words that one does not understand, as the nuns pray the Psalter. The other, formalis, when one pays attention to the understanding of what they have in them. The third is affectualis, namely devotion and spiritual opinion, since it comes from the spirit. They paid little attention to this third, nor did they insist on it, but only that the words be told and spoken without understanding.

**56. how the law is fulfilled.**

(Cordatus No. 191.)

By a gift (that is, the Holy Spirit) the Law began to be fulfilled in Christians, but by grace it is fulfilled, namely, forgiveness of sins.

**57. various nonsense.**

(Cordatus No. 1346.)

The divine law is general, the natural is implanted in all men, the civil is secular, the provincial [municipalis] is land law; city law are some excerpts from these all. But the papacy has no foundation.

**The preaching of the Law and the Gospel is necessary.**

(Contained in Cap. 37, § 50.)

**59 St. Augustine's Opinion on the Justification of the Law.**

(Cordatus No. 131.)

Augustine's opinion is that the law, fulfilled by the powers of reason, does not justify, just as moral works do not justify the Gentiles. Even if the Holy Spirit had been added, works do not justify the Gentiles.

of the law. 1) Campanus is, as far as this opinion is concerned, his monkey, and adds this: He has not to fear hell, which is only a consequence of death, but not also a punishment of sin, which has fulfilled the law here. But the question here contrasted is not whether the law justifies, or the works of reason, or the so-called moral works. But the argument is whether the law, fulfilled by the Holy Spirit, justifies, and the answer is: No. For we say that the man who fulfills the whole law by the power of the Holy Spirit must nevertheless call upon the saving mercy of God, because he has not decided to be saved by the law, but by Christ, and works never make the mind of man calm and secure, nor the conscience happy and peaceful before God, which can be seen most of all in Christ, since he was afflicted, who truly could never have been afflicted if he had not been urged by the law, under which he placed himself for our sake, and [if he had not] entirely believed that God was angry with him and his enemy. How else could he have been grieved?

**To whom the law is given, and to whom the gospel is given.**

(Cordatus No. 1406.)

The law does not suffer grace in its turn, nor does grace suffer the law. Thus the law is given to the hopeful, as the Zwickauer are, likewise to the hypocrites, who want and love many laws. But grace belongs to the wretched, the humble, the broken-hearted, such as Hausmann, Cordatus, Philip and myself.

**61) Whether to preach about God's grace and mercy alone.**

When one of the doctors asked Luther about this, "and told Calixti's opinion that if one always preached the gospel and the grace of God, the people would only become more and more angry about it. To this the doctor answered, and said: "Nevertheless, grace must be preached.

1) In the original, non seems to be missing here.

preach, because it was Christ's name; and if one has been preaching about grace for a long time, people in mortal need often know little about it. It is God's glory to preach grace; though we make people more wicked and angry with it, God's word cannot be left out, but we also practice the ten commandments diligently, in its time and place.

**The gospel does not concern the wicked.**

(This § is spurious, just another redaction of Cap. 26, § 16, third para. Cordatus No. 815.)

**63. the office, use and fruit of the gospel and the law.**

The Gospel is like a fresh, gentle, cool breeze in the great heat of summer, that is, a comfort in the anguish of consciences, not in winter, when there is otherwise cold enough, that is, in the time of peace, when people are secure, and think to make themselves righteous and blessed before God by their works: but in the great heat of summer, that is, in those who rightly feel the terror and anguish of consciences, God's wrath widrsr sin, and their weakness.

But this heat is made by the sun: so shall the terror of the conscience be done and made perfect by the preaching of the law, that one may remember and consider that he hath transgressed the law of God, and not of man, and hath done contrary thereto. So also is the heavenly breath that restores, refreshes and comforts the conscience, not with the comfort of some human merit and works, but through the preaching of the gospel.

But when our strength has been refreshed and comforted by the breath of the gospel, we should not be idle, lying down and snoring; that is, when our conscience has been satisfied, quieted and comforted by God's Spirit, we should also prove our faith with good works, which God commanded and commanded in the ten commandments. But we are vexed and plagued by gnats, flies and vermin, that is, by the devil, the world and our own flesh, but we must tear through them and not let ourselves be deceived.

**The gospel has delivered us from the Pabst's idolatry, superstition and countless abominations.**

How we have lived in such great darkness and superstition of human traditions and statutes, and how we have been entangled and entrapped with innumerable various ropes of conscience, is still witnessed by the papists' books and many living people. From all such abominations and snares we are redeemed and freed through Jesus Christ and his gospel, and called to true righteousness of faith, so that we may believe in God the Father with a good and calm conscience, trust in him, and boast that we certainly have forgiveness of sins, earned and acquired through Christ's suffering and death.

Who can sufficiently praise and extol such a treasure of the conscience, which is now everywhere revealed, spread, offered, and given out of pure grace, that we are now victorious over sin, law, death, and the devil, and after that also freed and redeemed from all human statutes? And if we were to consider only the tyranny and caning of the confession of the ears, which is the least freedom, we could never thank the gospel enough for it.

When the papacy was still in full bloom, every king would have gladly given 100,000 florins, a prince 100,000, a nobleman 100, a citizen and peasant 20 or 10 florins, that he might only be delivered from such tyranny and execution. But because such freedom is obtained in vain, by grace, you respect no one, nor do you thank God for it; but we all become worse than before. Thus the Gospel has brought freedom to both the Papists and the Waldensians, to the Hussites in Moravia (as they are called) today; but they abuse it shamefully, and are ungrateful, as we all are.

**This is the beginning of the new gospel.**

This is our Lord God's way and process in creation, to prescribe from weakness to power. First, he creates heaven and earth, that is, the raw matter,

Then he gradually decorates them and completes them. From a kernel he produces a root and a tree. He creates the fruit in the womb and gradually brings it forth. He could well do one thing and say: Let there be a beautiful tree from the beginning; but he will not do it. It is the same with our gospel. First of all, it began weakly. Johann Huss, who was the kernel or seed, must die and be buried in the earth; then it grows with force. Our Lord God's thing is vain weakness. He reveals his gospel to the poor fishermen who do not know Hebrew, yes, who do not know anything at all, so that they can preach it; and yet this same supreme weakness is far stronger than all human strength; his nothingness is far more than all human multiplicity. And the more confessors of the gospel are put to death, the more come forth again daily. The devil cannot expel Christ, he must let him reign in the whole world. There are Christians in Constantinople and everywhere in Turkey. Also in Rome, where the Germans have their own temple, in which the Gospel is taught in German, although the Christians are not as strong and pure as elsewhere.

**66 On the Difference between the Law and the Gospel.**

(This § is thrown together from 6 sections: three from Luther's 1523 Preface on the Old Testament and three from his 1545 Preface on the New Testament. Walch, old edition, vol. XIV, Col. 3, § 4; Col. 99, § 2; Col. 2, s 2; Col. 3, § 4; Col. 102, R 10. 11. 12. 13.)

**67 Why no law was given to the believers.**

(This § is composed of Luther's Preface on the New Testament of 1545. Walch, old edition, vol. XIV, 103, K 14; K 15; and a passage from the great exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 2. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 137.)

**(68) To distinguish the gospel from the law, especially in battle, is a great and difficult art.**

(The first paragraph is omitted because contained in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 2. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, U 237 and 239. - The second paragraph is omitted, because contained in Cap. 12, § 19. - The following is omitted, because contained in Cap. 26, § 43.)

### 69. of the gospel art.

Cassia is like cinnamon bark, has the power to cleanse and purify the eyes, and is good against viper and snake bites. It is an image of the Gospel, which drives away darkness and restores light, and is a common remedy to be used against all bites and stings of poisonous worms, that is, of the devil and his scales and servants.

### 70. against the lawbreakers.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 13 (XVII x. rrin.) 1538, p. 148.)

On October 13, he preached at home on the Gospel of Luc. 14, since he did not know it in the church. On that day he was very surprised at the insolence of the antinomians, because they so rejected the necessary teaching of the law, since they did not see its effect. Therefore Augustine illustrated the power and the office of the law by a very beautiful simile, namely, that sins are revealed in us and wrath is increased, which, of course, is not the fault of the law, but of our nature, just as lime is still, but when water is poured over it, it becomes hot, not through the fault of the water, but through its nature; but when oil is poured on the lime, it remains still and does not become hot. This is a splendid similitude.

### For the sake of the law, St. Paul has much to do with the Jews.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 17, 1538, p. 174.)

(The first 6 lines of this § f Lauterbach, Nov. 17, 1538, p. 172) smd after Cap. 27, § 106 transferirt, where they belong).

Paul kept the law of Moses in Jerusalem, so we must keep the law. To this I answer: It is true that Paul kept the law for a time in order to win the weak, but in our time it is not so. 1) That is why the ancients said, "Distinguish the times and you will bring the scriptures into agreement.

1) We are not dealing with the weak, but with the stubborn, to whom one must not give in. - The following passage is called in Latin: Distingue tempora et concordabis Scripturas.

### The Jews' annoyance because of the law.

The Jews were exceedingly vexed by this preaching, that the law was abolished and done away with, because Christ, the promised Messiah, had come; which went through the hearts of the Jews, who were zealous for the glory of God, like a shearing knife, and stung them hard and struck them on the head, Acts 7:54. 7, 54. For, truly, religion, worship, sacrifice, police, government and the temple were a fine and glorious treasure among the people. To reject this, no doubt, will have greatly angered and displeased many people. I truly believe that it penetrated the heart of dear Paul before his conversion, and hurt him very much, as Acts 9 says. 9, and after that to the people of Israel. We see from Romans 9 that even after conversion, St. Paul will still have had a great affliction from it.

### The law and the gospel should be diligently distinguished.

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle, to the Galatians, Cap. 2. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 128 and § 152.)

### All laws are deadly apart from Christ.

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 2. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 220.)

### The law, if kept equally, makes no one righteous before God.

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 2. walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 160. cap. 3, § 532 and § 534.)

### The law puts all people under the curse who are outside the faith.

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §§ 209. 210.)

### The law, whether it is necessary for justification?

When someone asked whether the law was also necessary for righteousness in the sight of God, D. M. Luther said, "The law is neither useful nor necessary for justification. M. Luther: The law is neither useful nor necessary for justification, much less for-

Salvation, but in turn, justification, good works and salvation are necessary for the fulfillment of the law. That is, by the law, much less by the work of the law, no one is justified, righteous and blessed before God; but he who has been justified, righteous and blessed (which happens only through faith in Christ, who is the end and fulfillment of the law, as St. Paul says Rom. 10:4), then first does good works; but these are neither useful nor necessary for salvation, which is already given to us out of pure grace for the sake of Christ.

#### 78. a different.

The law is not only not necessary for justification (that is, to become righteous before God through it), but it is completely useless, ineffective, even impossible. And when we speak of justification, we cannot speak enough against the law's inability and against the very poisonous and harmful reliance on the law. For the law is not given for the purpose of making righteous or alive, or of helping righteousness, but only for the purpose of denouncing sin and provoking wrath, that is, accusing and charging the conscience. For as death was not put upon the human race that we might live by it, nor is sin inherent in us that we should be innocent and righteous by it; so also the law was not given that we should thereby become righteous, pious, and blessed before God, since it can give neither righteousness nor life. Summa, as high as heaven is from earth, so far shall the law be separated from justification. And in the business of justification nothing is to be taught, spoken, or thought of, except the word of grace alone, evidenced in Christ. But from this it does not follow that the law is to be put away and cast out of the church from the preaching seat; indeed, for this reason it is all the more necessary that it be taught and practiced, that it is not necessary but impossible for justification; so that the man who is proud and presumptuous, relying on his powers and abilities, may be instructed and learn that he cannot be justified by the law.

#### What the law does and why it is given.

(This § contained in Cap. 12, § 32.)

#### 80. How to become wise before God.

He who wants to be wise before God should begin to learn the Ten Commandments and the Word of God, and to know Christ, as it is written in Ps. 111:10: "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord.

#### How the law is to be fulfilled.

The law is necessary, but not for salvation, for no one can keep it; but the forgiveness of sins accomplishes and fulfills it: namely, if one believes in Christ crucified, he has done enough for the law with his obedience, suffering and death, and gives his payment to all those who recognize and confess their sins, and accept such gifts with faith.

#### 82. the curse of the law.

The curse of the law was borne by Christ alone. There you will find everything. So, those who have the spiritual blessing must bear the bodily curse. "For the righteous must suffer much," says the 34th Psalm, v. 20.

#### 83. the ten commandments, what they are in the world.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1391.)

Those who transgress the first tablet have no punisher in the world; those who transgress the second, even a little. The transgressions of the last two commandments are not considered sin in the world.

Yes, the first table is even of the devil, that is, against which we do and sin, primarily and actually through the devil's drive. The other, however, is to some extent our thoughts without Satan, if one wants to speak a little more freely about it; although the devil is the founder and driver of all sins.

**84) The law of some defences and appeals, and how to avoid the challenge and the**

**Horror of the law should overcome.**

(The first two paragraphs at Cordatus No. 1327. 1328.)

Everything that GOD commands is law and law-work; faith commands GOD, so the law or law-work justifies. The upper clause must be separated from the lower clause, for a work of the law is one that is done of a forced will and unwillingly, but faith is a willing work based on the promises. He who can well separate the law and the promises can easily dissolve such and similar conclusions.

Words must be understood according to the thing with which one is dealing [secundum materiam subjectam], as the philosophers speak, or according to the circumstances [statum], as the rhetors teach, or according to the purpose [propositum], as the sophists indicate, or according to the internal nature of the particular case [casum internum], as the jurists express it. For example, the Papists do not use the word according to the purpose in this passage [Revelation 14:13.], "Their works follow them," where they pervert "works" to their masses 2c., since the text says, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." They are in our Lord's bosom, and their works also shall come before him and please him.

Christ wanted to humble Peter by not asking him once, but often: "Peter, do you love me? feed my sheep" 2c. Joh. 21, 15. ff. As if he wanted to say, "Rule my sheep carefully and don't argue with them. But against the rest, if they be not sheep, but goats, and if their hearts be fierce, proud, and presumptuous, be earnest, and be stern. For all that I do and suffer, I do and suffer for the sake of the poor, lost and humiliated sheep, for the law is the highest wisdom of nature and reason. Now if Satan says in your heart: God will not forgive you nor be merciful to you; dear, how will a poor sinner raise himself up and comfort himself here, especially when other signs of wrath strike and come along, such as sickness, poverty 2c., and the heart sighs at

to preach: Behold, thou liest there, and art sick, poor and forsaken of all, 2c. how canst thou know that God is favorable and gracious to thee? Then, truly, a Christian must turn to the other side and say: "Well, let it appear from without as it will, even if my own heart feels much differently; then I know for certain that I have been baptized and incorporated into my Lord Christ through the sacrament and have his word, which testifies to me and assures me that I cannot lack or be deceived, for God is true and keeps what he promises.

Then he comes rolling with another arrow, saying, "Yes, this is nothing, for many are called, but few are chosen," Matt. 20:16. This is a grievous challenge, against which reason is sore displeased. Those who give it place and room lose the fact that they have been baptized, do not accept their baptism, but fall away again, remain with the great multitude, and forget the Lord Christ. As Duke G[eorg], the murderer's son, M[ainz], they are well called, have baptism, sacrament, and the very Christ we have; but when it comes to the meeting, they fall on their caps and works. But a Christian remains steadfast on Christ, and says: "If I am not pious, neither was St. Peter pious. So Christ is pious, whom I put on in baptism: he alone is my righteousness, which will stand before God, even though I am a poor sinner 2c. This I believe, as his dear word beckons me; however weak my faith, I know for certain that God is true.

And those who give glory to God from the heart alone are saved; the others also say: God is gracious to me, because I hope so, I will improve myself and become pious 2c. This is only a gallows faith, but it does not come from the heart, that knows nothing about it. Although, as it is said, sometimes the wicked repent: they pretend that they want to become pious, but they go aside, want to earn it, is only their own, self-invented and invented devotion and intention, which comes from reason and their own forces, not from the Holy Spirit, who alone must bring righteous repentance and faith through the Word.

otherwise, and without that, it is vain hypocrisy.

But a Christian says: I know that I am not able to do anything good by myself out of my own strength and free will; but the Holy Spirit must create and work everything in me alone, as a potter makes a pot out of clay, which works, and [the pot] ever does nothing to it, but only suffers alone, and has the master made and prepared for him according to his pleasure. I want to do what I can by God's effect, but Christ is the archbishop of our souls, and I want to cling to him, even though I am a poor sinner.

**What God's righteousness is, and why the preaching of the law is necessary, against the antinomians. 1)**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 12, 1538, p. 130.)

This word, justice, has been a thunderclap in my heart. For when I read in the Pabstthum: "Save me through your righteousness" (Ps. 31:2), likewise: "In your truth," I immediately thought that righteousness was the avenging zeal, namely of divine wrath. I was heartily hostile to Paul when I read: "The righteousness of GOD is revealed through the gospel." But later, when I saw what follows, namely, as it is written: "The righteous will live by his faith" (Gal. 3, 11.), and also consulted Augustine, I became joyful. When I got to know justice, the mercy of God, which suns] counts as just, then I had found the right remedy for my illness. But our antinomians incomprehensibly want to flatter safe people and make them better by holding up justice, since it is such a time that even the lightning of the law cannot frighten them. One should now thunder and flash with the law for the sake of great security, because the peasants and

1) Similar thoughts Cap. 13, 823, and Cap. 13, § 76.

Citizens are so godless that they would not even feed a pastor. If princes and lords do not do it, we are not to remain long. That is why Isaiah (49:23) said: "Kings will be their nurses", but peasants will not, as we unfortunately see in the experience of the ungrateful today.

**86. a whimsical story.**

In 1540 D. Martinus arranged a collation, to which he invited the most distinguished of the university: among them was also M. Eisleben, because of whom such a thing was begun. When they had eaten and everyone was happy, M. Luther had a glass handed to him, which was ripe; he brought it and drank it with wine to the guests. And when they had all said their piece, it came to M. Eisleben: D. Martin showed him the glass and said: "M. E., dear, I give you this glass with wine to the first rime, the ten commandments; to the second, faith; to the third, the Lord's Prayer; the Catechismum altogether. As he said this, he, M. Luther, drank the glass completely and had it filled again, and gave it to M. Eisleben. The latter, when he received the painted glass and began to drink, found it impossible that he could have drunk over the first rime, therefore put down the glass, and then had an abomination to look at it. Then M. Luther said: "I knew before that N. Eisleben would drink the ten commandments. Eisleben could drink the Ten Commandments, but he would leave the faith, Our Father, and the Catechismum alone. For he had also caused the antinomianism that the laws should be taken from the church to the town hall.

Magister Johann Spangenberg, pastor of Nordhausen, was present when this happened in D. Luther's house. M. Luther's house, and also recorded such a story in his Bible.

2) D. i. become.



The 13th chapter.

**That faith in Christ makes everything righteous before God.**

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| <p>1. Whether a man is justified and acceptable before God initially by faith, but afterwards completely by works.</p> <p>2-11. disputation of Philipp Melanchthon with D. Martin Luther Anno 1536.</p> <p>(12) Whether those who are justified by faith do good works because of necessity.</p> <p>13 A writing by D. Philipp Melanchthon to Johann Brenz on the subject of Justification..</p> <p>14. addition of D. M. Luther to the above writing of Philipp Melanchthon.</p> <p>15. of the creditor Art.</p> <p>16. the children's faith.</p> <p>17. of the right faith Art.</p> <p>18. which are true saints.</p> <p>19. one question.</p> <p>20. of the righteous faith Art.</p> <p>(21) The Christian's only comfort is faith in Christ.</p> <p>22) The comparison of King Daviv and the Lord Christ.</p> <p>Of the word "righteous" and God's righteousness.</p> <p>24. triple justice.</p> <p>(25) By faith no man can teach rightly and purely, nor reprove and condemn the righteousness of works, except he be well tried and drawn by the heel.</p> <p>(26) What faith is is understood only in temptations.</p> <p>27. the Christians' justice.</p> <p>28. faith does not respect repulsiveness.</p> <p>Faith is a great thing, whether it is weak or not.</p> <p>30. faith proven in the cross.</p> <p>31. strength of faith.</p> <p>What Joseph of Arimathea believed about Christ.</p> <p>The righteous lives by his faith.</p> <p>34 Abraham's faith.</p> <p>35. assurance of faith in the word through the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>36. difference of faith and hope.</p> <p>37. what the reason of faith holds articles.</p> <p>38. from hope.</p> <p>39. weakness of faith.</p> <p>10. of faith and its causes.</p> <p>Faith alone makes one righteous and blessed.</p> <p>Faith must be everywhere.</p> <p>43) How to become truly devout.</p> <p>44. how to be just before God.</p> <p>Without faith, God Himself is also of no use.</p> <p>46 The article of the truth that is valid in the sight of God protects from all errors.</p> | <p>47 On the Presumption of Faith.</p> <p>It is difficult and weak to believe God's word.</p> <p>49. believe god and dream.</p> <p>50. the gllmbe, and not the good works, makes righteous...</p> <p>51. we are more and more afraid of the devil, because we believe in Christ who comforts us, and from the difference of sins.</p> <p>The most noble article of Christian doctrine is that of the blessedness of souls.</p> <p>How to become pious before God.</p> <p>54. presumption of faith.</p> <p>55. weakness of faith.</p> <p>56. weakness of faith in paulo.</p> <p>An example of faith in theurization.</p> <p>58. one should be certain of faith.</p> <p>Never again will there be unity in the Church of the Doctrine.</p> <p>60. what faith is.</p> <p>61. to lament weakness of faith cheaply.</p> <p>62. Luther's complaint about his weak faith.</p> <p>63. the Christians' greatest art.</p> <p>64. faith the most pleasing service.</p> <p>65. faith the some rule in theology.</p> <p>Faith alone makes one righteous before God.</p> <p>67. article of faith stnd der Vernunft nicht gemäß.</p> <p>Christians are righteous and holy by faith.</p> <p>69. of our faith.</p> <p>Faith in Christ is the highest comfort of Christians.</p> <p>71. the hardest articles to believe.</p> <p>72. faith.</p> <p>73. difference between faith and hope.</p> <p>Causes of faith.</p> <p>What man's reason and other powers and members do for faith.</p> <p>The righteous lives by his faith.</p> <p>Rebirth alone makes God's children, not works.</p> <p>(78) The objection that faith justifies and the answer to it.</p> <p>79 From where one becomes fair at the beginning.</p> <p>The most distinguished main articles of Christian doctrine.</p> <p>(81) Faith alone makes you righteous.</p> <p>Believing in God is not everyone's cup of tea.</p> <p>The Christians' religion and faith.</p> <p>84 The consequence of faith.</p> <p>That the enemies of the gospel must bear witness to the doctrine of the righteousness of faith, that by it alone one is justified before God.</p> |
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**(1) Whether a man is justified and acceptable before God initially by faith, but afterwards completely by works?**

To this D. Martinus answered thus: A creature, which is created, cannot be said of it that it is still to be created.

because it is already created: therefore, a righteous man who is already righteous cannot be said to be still righteous, because he is already righteous. It does not rhyme, however, to say that, though we are initially justified by faith, after-

But at that time righteousness will be completed and replaced by works.

This word also, that the righteous are called a new creature of God, and the firstfruits of his creature, stoppeth the mouths of all men. Therefore it follows that our works do nothing for righteousness: for our works or the works of the law do not make us a new creature of God; but as God alone began to make us new creatures by faith, so he also accomplishes it. "We are created in Christ JEsu unto good works," Eph. 2, 10. Therefore works do not create or make us, otherwise we would not be God's creatures; but, as they speak of it, creatures of our works. And even if our works do not make us their creatures (as they cannot), they still force God (according to their mind) to do so.

As the beginning of the new creature is without the work of the law, so is also the middle and the end, otherwise the three, beginning, middle and end, would not be one creature, nor of one creator nor of one generation, but an ugly, monstrous creature, partly without work, partly for the sake of works. And God, who is not moved by any work to begin, would be moved by works to complete what he has begun.

Now the faithful or righteous are born of God, John 1:13, but works do not give birth to anyone, but to God alone; therefore they do not make anyone righteous.

## 2-11. disputation of Philipp Melancthon with D. Martin Luther Anno 1536. 1)

s2J2) Words of Philip:

It is evident that Augustine has expressed himself much more correctly when he is not in argument than when he is speaking in argument. For he

1) With regard to this disputation, Stangwald reports: "Because the following beautiful collation of the two noble and highly enlightened men has been insufficiently Germanized in previous printings of the Tischreden, and also because some scholastic expressions are used in it that cannot be used well in German, I have wanted to prepare the Latin original, as Mr. Philippus seliger himself printed it some years ago Wider Osiandrum [NL. The translation into German, however, is done by

If this is true, then we are not justified by faith alone, but by all gifts and virtues; this is certainly the opinion of Augustine. And from this came "the grace that makes pleasant" [[*gratia gratum faciens*] of the scholastics. But you, do you now hold that man is righteous by that regeneration, as Augustine, or rather by the righteousness which is imputed to us in vain, which is apart from us, and by faith, that is, the confidence which springs from the word?

Answer by D. Martin Luther:

This is my opinion, and of this I am most firmly convinced and certain that it is the true opinion of the Gospel and the Apostles, that we are righteous before God by *imputation* of righteousness alone, free of charge [*imputatione gratuita*].

Stangwald not supplied], so that the Christian reader has to recover the right mind and opinion of both gentlemen preceptors of Christian and blessed memory in now hovering annoying, drebseligen Gezänkm." I Stangwald in Appendix. Fol. 833.) - Melancthon himself says in his edition, against Osiander, 1552, that he wrote down these propositions and presented them to Luther with the request that he would write down his answers to them in detail. This had happened sixteen years ago, that is, in 1536. - Christoph Pezel in his edition of *Consilia Ph. Melancthonis, Neustadii*

1600, reports that this disputation was recorded in the Acts of the Altenburg Colloquium and published against Osiander in 1552, sixteen years after it was written. Originally, however, it was written in the house of the pastor D. Bugenhagen, where Luther, Philippus, Jonas, Cruciger and others met to discuss it, because the arrival of envoys from England and France was expected. There, in the presence and before the eyes of all those present, the propositions of Philippus were drawn on paper, and Luther stated what his opinion was about them and wrote.

Since this disputation is found in Stangwald only in Latin, but in all other editions no other than the inadequate Aurifaber'sche translation, we have seen ourselves compelled to venture the translation of the original. We have followed the text of the original of 1552 given by Förstemann, from which, by the way, the text given by Stangwald differs only in very slight variations.

2) These and the following numbers enclosed in square brackets in this disputation indicate Walch's paragraph numbers.

## [3.] Pleas of Philip:

Is man justified by this mercy alone?

That he is not righteous by this mercy alone is evident from the fact that our righteousness is necessary, that is, a good conscience in works.

Or will you not admit that it is said that man is justified chiefly by faith, and to some extent [minus principaliter] also by works, since faith signifies assurance, and in order that this assurance may remain certain, it must be understood that perfect fulfillment of the law [perfectio legis] is not required, but that faith substitutes for what is lacking in the fulfillment of the law?

Ahr admits a twofold righteousness, namely that it is necessary before God, namely that of faith, and the other, namely that of a good conscience, in which faith replaces what is lacking in the fulfillment of the law. What is this but to say that man is not justified by faith alone? For surely you do not understand "being justified" in Augustine's way from the beginning of regeneration.

Augustine does not think that man will be blessed for nothing, but that he will be blessed because of the virtues given to him. What is your opinion about this opinion of Augustine?

Augustine's whole doctrine [*ratio*] of merit is different from yours, and he only cancels the merit of the ungodly.

Dr. Luther's answer to all the preceding:

My opinion is that man becomes, is and remains righteous, or a righteous person, simply through mercy alone. For this is a perfect righteousness, which is opposed to wrath, death, sin 2c., and it consumes everything and makes man simply holy and innocent, as if in truth he had no sin in himself, because the imputation of God, which is in vain, wills that there be no sin, as John says [1 John 3:9]: "He that is born of God doth not sin." For

it disputes against each other, being born of God and being a sinner at the same time. According to this righteousness, man is righteous and is called righteous according to the work or fruits that God also demands and rewards. This is what I call an external righteousness and a righteousness of works, which cannot be holy in this flesh and in this life. Therefore, it does not take away death or sin, nor can it resist them, but only guards against future and greater sins.

## [4.] Words of Philip:

I ask of Paul the born-again, why Paul, after he was born again, was already immediately righteous, that is, agreeable [acceptus].

Dr. Luther's reply:

Of course, by nothing else but by the regeneration through faith alone, by which he was justified, he remains righteous and pleasant all the time.

## [5.] Philip's interjections:

Is he then righteous only because of mercy? Or is he only righteous mainly because of mercy, and to some extent by his virtues or works?

Dr. Luther's reply:

No, but the virtues and works are just, because Paul is just, as a work pleases or displeases for the sake of the person, as is also said in Terence, because a good work, done by a wicked man, does not even please men.

## [6.] Words of Philip:

It seems that [this] is not [done] for mercy alone, because you yourselves teach that the righteousness of works is necessary, and that before GOtte. And Paul, who believes and does, pleases [GOtte^]; if he did not do, he would not please. Therefore our righteousness is at least a partial cause of our righteousness before God.

Dr. Luther's reply:

It is necessary, but not by a legal necessity, or by compulsion, but by such a necessity that it happens voluntarily, or that it follows from it, or that it is unchangeable. As the sun necessarily shines, since it is the sun, and yet it does not shine by compulsion of law, but by nature, or (that I say so) by an unchangeable will, because it is so created that it must shine: so the just man, as a new creature, does works by an unchangeable necessity, not by law or compulsion, for no law is given to the just [1 Tim. 1:9]. Then we are also (as Paul says [Eph. 2, 10.]) created for good works. By the way, when you say, "if he did not do, he would not please," this contains a contradiction [acceptus], because it is impossible to put a believer who does not do good.

[7.] Philip:

That is why Sadoletus says that we speak contradictory things, because we say: by faith alone, and yet we say that the righteousness of works is necessary.

Luther:

Certainly, because false brethren and hypocrites pretend to believe; therefore, works are required so that they may be put to shame in their hypocrisy. As Elijah demands works from the priests of Baal, where Baal was put to shame. For so also God necessarily does nothing but good, and yet without law 2c.

[8.] Philip:

When you say that we are justified by faith alone, do you understand this only from the beginning, namely from the forgiveness of sins? Or do you want the born-again Paul to please afterward, not because of his own obedience or virtues, at least in part, but only because of mercy?

Luther:

Yes, obedience pleases because Paul believes, otherwise his obedience would not be ge

And because the person is righteous, he is continually righteous and righteous by faith as long as faith remains. It is therefore a bad division to divide a person into beginning, middle and end. Therefore, works shine through the rays of faith and are pleasing for the sake of faith, not the other way around. Otherwise the works that follow would be more glorious than faith, in that they justify, because they justify longer (that is, in the middle and at the end of life), and so faith would justify only in the beginning, but afterward it would diminish or cease, leaving the works the glory, and so become void and transient.

[9.] Philip:

Paul is righteous, that is, accepted to eternal life, solely out of mercy. On the other hand, if the partial cause, namely obedience, were not added, he would not be saved, according to the words [1 Cor. 9:16], "Woe to me if I did not preach the gospel."

Luther:

No partial cause is added, because faith is always effective, or there is no faith. Therefore, whatever works are or are valid, they are and are valid through the glory and power of faith, which is inevitably the sun of these rays.

[10.] Philip:

In Augustine, the "by faith alone" excludes only the previous works.

Luther:

Whether this be so or not, the word of Augustine sufficiently shows that he is with us, when he says: "I may be affrighted, but I will not despair, because I will remember the wounds of God." For here he clearly states that faith is valid in the beginning, middle, and end, and continually, as David says [Ps. 130:4], "With thee is forgiveness," and [Ps. 143:2], "Go not into judgment with thy servant."

[11.] Philip:

Is this sentence true: The righteousness of works is necessary for salvation?

Luther:

Not that they cooperate in blessedness or attain it, but that they are with the faith that attains [blessedness], or are present, just as I too will necessarily be present at my blessedness. "I will also be present," says that companion.

The conceit of Sadoletus is perhaps that faith is a work required by the divine law, just as love, obedience, and chastity are 2c. So he who believes has fulfilled one, or rather the first part of the law, and so has the beginning of justification or righteousness. But after the beginning has been kept, the other prescribed works are also required, according to faith.

Here you see that Sadoletus understands nothing of this matter. For if faith were a commanded work, then Sadoletus would be right in everything, and then faith would renew man in the beginning as other good works renewed him afterwards.

But we say that faith is a work of promise, or a gift of the Holy Spirit, which is certainly necessary for keeping the law. But it is not obtained by the law or by works. But this bestowed good makes a constantly new person, and only such a person performs new works, not vice versa, new works make a new person. Therefore, Paul's works please [God], not because they are good, but because the [God] pleasing Paul does them; they would not be pleasing if Paul were not pleasing. Therefore, works do not justify the person before God, although they will, by chance, glorify the person through certain rewards. But they do not justify the person, for all of us are equally righteous in the One Christ, all of us are equally loved and pleasing to the person, yet there is a difference between one star and another according to clarity; but God does not love the star Saturn less than the sun and the moon.

Summa: The believers are a new creature, a "your tree; therefore those belong to you.

This is not the way the law says: faith must do good works; just as the sun must shine, a good tree must bear good fruit, 3 and 7 must be 10. Because the sun shines by itself, a tree brings forth [good fruit] by itself, 3 and 7 by themselves are 10. There it is not a question of becoming or having to, but it happens by itself. Unless one understood it conditionally or acted from an assumed case in such a way: If it is a sun, it must shine; if you want to be a believer, you must do works. But this is said against a pretended sun and against a pretended faith; to speak of the true faith and the true sun in this way would be ridiculous.

**(12) Whether those who are justified by faith do good works because of necessity.**

Answer: No. First of all, because no law is given to the righteous, 1 Tim. 1, 9. From this it follows that they should not or must not do good works.

On the other hand, those who speak thus err: The righteous shall do good works, and are deceived fallacia consequentiae et consequentis; for they make of the necessity of the thing a necessity of the law; of the necessity of the consequence, which is determined, a necessity which ought and must be; of the necessity, which is immutable, a necessity of compulsion or urgency. And for this reason it is just as unrational and clumsy when they say: the righteous shall do good works; as when they say: God shall do good, the sun shall shine, the pear tree shall bear pears, three and seven shall be ten; if all this follows from necessity because of the thing and the consequence that is decided. Or, to make it even clearer and more explicit, all these things follow without commandment or commandment of a law, by nature and willingly, unnecessarily and without constraint. For what every thing is created to do, it does without law or compulsion. The sun shines by nature, unbidden: the pear tree bears pears of itself, unbidden: three and seven shall not be ten, they are before: without need it is, that one should give our Lord GOD

Tell him to do good, for he does it without ceasing, of his own accord, willingly and gladly. So the righteous is not commanded to do good works, for he does it without that, without all commandment and compulsion, because he is a new creature and a good tree. As Paul teaches in Eph. 2:10: "We are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, for which God prepared us beforehand, that we should walk in them."

That we humans do not do as and what we should, after the first creation, when Adam and Eve were created in righteousness and innocence; for this reason God gave the law, so that he could show and prove to us that we are not of God, but of the devil. Moreover, he also sent Christ, who redeemed from the curse all who believe in him, and blessed them to be righteous and blessed through faith 2c. But whatever sins and infirmities remain in them, as they sigh and lament over them all their lives, are not imputed to them for the sake of Christ in whom they believe, and belong to the article: I believe forgiveness of sins; item: Forgive us our trespasses 2c.

### 13. writing of Magister Philipp Melanchthon to Johann Brenz, von der Rechtfertigung.

(This § is omitted because it is not by Luther).

### 14. addition of Doctor Martin Luther to the above writing of Philipp Melanchthon.

(This § is Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 1349, No. 890.)

### 15. of the faith Art.

It is impossible that the papists should understand the article: "I believe forgiveness of sins", because they are drowned in their thoughts of adherent righteousness.

The Scriptures call the godly and the faithful a people of the saints of God: therefore it is sin and shame that we should forget this glorious, comforting name or title. Therefore it happens that those who are truly sinners do not want to be sinners; and again, those who are truly holy do not want to be sinners.

Nor can they be held to it. And so it is contrary on both sides, that the former do not believe the gospel that comforts them, and the latter do not believe the law that punishes and scares them.

But the sin, you say, that we do daily offends and angers God; how then can we be holy? Answer: A mother's love is much stronger than the dirt and grime on her child: thus, God's love for us is much stronger than our filth or uncleanness. Therefore, even though we are sinners, we do not lose our adoption because of our filthiness, nor do we fall from grace because of our sins. Yes, you say, we sin without ceasing; but where sin is, there is not the Holy Spirit, therefore we are not holy, because the Holy Spirit is not in us to sanctify? Answer: The text clearly says John 16:14: "The Holy Spirit will transfigure me." Where Christ is, there is the Holy Spirit. Now Christ is in the believers (even if they still have sin and feel it, they also confess it and mourn over it), therefore sins do not separate Christ from those who believe.

The God of the Turks does not help (as they think), because if one is pious, so also the God of the Papists: but when they begin to feel their sin and unworthiness, as happens then in temptations or in death, then they fidget and despair, that is the faith of the Pope and the Turk. But a Christian says: I believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord and Savior, "who gave himself for our sins, and is at the right hand of God, representing us," Rom. 8:32, 34; if I fall into sin, as unfortunately often happens, I am sorry, and rise again, and am an enemy to sins 2c.

Thus, the Christian faith is far different from that of the Pabst and the Turk. 2c. Faith and religion are far apart, as he who hopes, even in tribulation and distress of death, though man feels sin, that God will not impute sin for Christ's sake. Human nature cannot do this without the Holy Spirit; it cannot go further than its piety and good works. But he who can say: I am God's child through Christ, who is my righteousness, and do not doubt whether I lack good works.

If a man lacks works (as we all lack them), he believes. But grace is so great that man is terrified of it, and it becomes difficult for him to believe. So faith gives God the glory that he can and will do what he promises, namely, that he justifies sinners, Rom. 4, 5.

Item: It is extremely difficult for a man to believe that God is merciful to him for the sake of Christ, even though he is a great sinner. Man's heart is too narrow that he will not accept it, nor can he grasp it.

(This paragraph at Cordatus No. 415.)

Once I was frightened when Staupitz, as was the custom, carried the sacrament. When I confessed this to him, he answered me: It is not Christ that frightened you, because Christ does not frighten, but comforts.

But is it not to be pitied that we are so timid and weak in faith? Christ gives himself to us with all that he is and has, offers us his heavenly eternal goods, grace, forgiveness of sins, eternal righteousness, life and blessedness, calls us his brothers and fellow heirs; nor are we afraid in trouble, and flee from him, when we most need his help and comfort.

It reminds me immediately of what happened to me once when I was young, when I and another boy were singing in front of the doors at home during Shrovetide, as is customary, to collect sausages. Then a citizen joked with us and shouted loudly: What are you naughty boys doing, so that this and that will pass you by? come running to us with two sausages and want to give them to us. But I and my companion were frightened by the shouting and fled from the pious man, who meant us no harm but good. And that he was not lacking, he called after us, gave us good words, so that we returned and took the sausages from him.

In the same way we oppose our dear God, "who did not spare His only begotten Son, but gave Him up for us, and gave us all things with Him," Rom. 8:32, nor do we flee from Him, thinking that He is not our merciful God, but our severe judge.

## 16. the children's faith.

(Here 17 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 3, § 85.)

When his son Martinichen lay at his mother's breast and suckled, he said: "Enemy to the little child (and all that belongs to me) is the pope, Duke G[eorg] and all who hold sway over the pope, also all devils. This is nothing to the dear little child, he is not afraid of them all, does not ask anything about the fact that there are so many of them, in addition so great mighty lords, who have evil in mind, but sucks the teats with joy, looks around happily, laughs and is in good spirits, and lets them be angry as long as they want.

Item: As one said, his little daughter of four years often spoke with joyful confidence of Christ, of the dear angels and eternal joy in heaven 2c., and as he once said to the little daughter: O dear child, who could only believe it firmly; whereupon she immediately asked the father seriously, whether he did not believe it? Said Martin to this: "The dear little children live in innocence, know of no sin, live without envy, anger, avarice, unbelief 2c., are therefore cheerful and have a good conscience, fear no danger, be it war, pestilence, death 2c., take an apple for a penny: and what they hear of Christ, of the life to come, they believe simple-mindedly, without all doubt, and speak cheerfully of it. Therefore Christ also earnestly exhorts us old men to follow their example, when he says Marc. 10, 15: "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." For the little children believe rightly, and therefore Christ loves the children and their childish antics. On the other hand he is hostile to the wisdom of the world, Matth. 11, 25.

## 17. of the right faith Art.

The right, true faith, which holds to Christ alone, is not in the habit of much disputing and questioning, whether thou hast done many good works, that thou mayest be justified; or whether thou hast done many sins, that thou mayest be condemned? but rather, it straightway casts and holds in the most simple and certain way, that if thou hast done many sins, that thou mayest be condemned, then thou mayest be justified.

If you have done good works, you are not justified before God. And again, if thou hast committed any great sin, thou art not condemned thereby.

But I do not mean to blaspheme good works, nor to dishonor, forbid, or reject them, much less to praise sin; but this I say: Whoever would stand before God's judgment and be found a child of grace, he alone ought and must take care and diligence how he may take hold of Christ by faith and keep him, so that he may not become useless to him when he undertakes to become righteous, pious, and blessed by the law. For Christ alone justifies me, without all my works, and without all my sins. Therefore, if I keep and believe in Christ, I have fasted and keep the true Christ. But if I think that he demands of me that I keep the works of the law, thinking that by doing so I will be justified before God, then he has already become useless to me and I have lost him altogether.

#### 18. which are true saints.

True saints are all church ministers, secular lords and authorities, parents, children, heads of households, household servants, and what is more, ordained and appointed by God, if they first hold and believe that Christ is their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and that after this each one does in his profession what God commands and ordains him, abstaining from the lusts and sins of the flesh.

But the fact that they are not all equally strong, but that in some there are still many infirmities, weaknesses and aversions, does not harm their holiness; but so far as they do not sin out of evil intent, but out of weakness. For Christians feel the lusts of the flesh, but resist them, so that they do not carry them out: and even if they fail, stumble and fall into sin, they will be forgiven if they get up again, and hold to Christ, who said that the lost sheep should not be driven away, but should be sought, Luc. 15, 4. 34, 11. 16.

#### 19. question.

(Cordatus No. 1222-1225.)

It is certain that reason, before faith and the knowledge of God, is darkness in divine things, but in the believer, through faith, it becomes a light and a very good instrument of godliness. For as in the ungodly everything they have by nature serves ungodliness, so in the godly it serves salvation. An eloquent tongue promotes faith, reason makes speech clear, and everything helps faith. Reason receives life from faith; it is killed by it and made alive again.

Just as our body will be resurrected glorified, so our reason according to faith is different from the one that was before. So it must be said of the memory, of the will, of the tongue—all are changed, as a red-hot iron is different from that which is not red-hot. And this is the rebirth through the Word, which, since the same members and person remain, yet makes the members and person different from what they were conceived and born from Adam.

Reason, and all things which we have from the first birth [of Adam] are subject to vanity, are fool's work, but faith purifies the being from vanity. So even David separated natural use and his valor from his bow, swords, steeds 2c. [Ps. 44, 7.] Thus the godly say: Woman, children, gold do not help to heaven, and separate from every being [substantia] all vanity [vanitas]. For the essence of a harlot, for example, is not to be rejected, but her vanity, which Job well knew, saying [Job 2:10], "Thou speakest as foolish women speak"; he did not say, Thou speakest as women speak, which are wont to be foolish. He does not rebuke the sex, but the wickedness.

The great heap wants to reject the essence and the wickedness at the same time, which is impossible. If there would be no good, evil could not be either, as Aristotle says: Evil cannot be alone for itself [in se ipso] in and for itself], but then it would be destroyed-



den. Thus, in the same way, all natural gifts are in the godly and in the ungodly, but in different ways.

### 20. of the righteous faith Art.

The righteous believers always think that they do not believe; therefore they struggle, struggle, struggle, struggle and strive without ceasing to maintain and increase the faith. Just as the good and skilful master craftsmen always see and notice that their work lacks something, even much, and is lacking; but the bunglers make themselves believe that they lack nothing, but that everything they make and do is quite perfect, just as the Jews think that they can well keep the Ten Commandments, since they do not learn them, nor do they respect them.

#### (21) The Christian's only comfort is faith in Christ.

(Here 7 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 37, § 133.)

(Cordatus No. 1520.)

Our only consolation is to believe in Christ. We have now often died over it. Let us keep this one alone. I will stay with the man and let my hair down. I was baptized into him, I will fall asleep on his teachings.

(Here find 7 lines omitted because contained in Cap. 37, § 132.)

#### 22 The comparison of King David and the Lord Christ.

(Cordatus No. 578.)

The scripture calls David a very tender little woodworm (2 Sam. 23, [8.]). 1) The little woodworm is a small soft dinglein, has in front a hard little bark and bites through all hard wood. Thus Christ has a hard little beak when he tears away the wicked. The rest of the body is very tender and very sweet.

#### 23. righteousness and God's justice.

(Cordatus No. 1571. 2)

These words, just and righteous, were a thunderbolt to me in the Pabstthum in my

1) According to the Vulgate II. üsZ. (Lamuelik) 23, 8.: Ipss 68t Huasl tevsrrirQus liZni vsrraieulns.

2) Similarly Kummer p. 260b (Lauterbach p. 81).

conscience and frightened me when I only heard them. But as I once pondered on this day 3) (on which the monks had been assigned a special place) on these words [Hab. 2, 4.]: "The righteous lives by faith", and [Rom. 1, 17.]: "The righteousness that is valid before God" 2c., At the same time it came to my mind: If we have to live righteously by faith for the sake of righteousness, and this righteousness of God is for the salvation of every believer, then righteousness comes from faith and life from righteousness, and my conscience and spirit were raised, and I was made certain that it was the righteousness of God that made us righteous and blessed, and immediately these words became sweet and pleasant words to me. This art was given to me by the Holy Spirit on this tower. 4)

#### 24. triple justice.

(Cordatus No. 1589.)

The righteousness that must be diligently preached in the new churches is threefold: the educational consists in ceremonies; the civil, which the emperor has described much better than the pope. These two are necessary, but they do not justify. The righteousness before God, namely the theological one, is faith, and it justifies before God. Here belongs the forecourt for the outsiders, the temple and the holy of holies. 5)

(25) By faith no man can teach rightly and purely, nor reprove and condemn the righteousness of works, except he be tried and drawn by the heel.

(Cordatus No. 1219. 1220.)

It is a great presumption if a man dares to say: I am a child of God, and yet he is frightened by His grace as once the disciples ran from the sausages. 6)

3) Thurm, as more often in Luther for "prison. This prison of the papacy was a particularly hard one for the monks. Cf. Cap. 7, § 119; 9, § 44.

4) Cf. Cap. 12, § 85 and § 76 of this chapter.

5) The last sentence should be interpungirt in the original like this: Hu" applioatur ntriura sxbsrnis, bernxlum sb SÄnetikkinnrin.

6) Cf. § 15 of this chapter.

It is a great art to throw the trust in the works out of the heart and to consider their righteousness as dirt. It requires a practice, which Paul had in the most correct way, who speaks more contemptuously of the law than any of the sectarians about the sacrament of baptism or the Lord's Supper, since he calls it an office of death, of sin, of condemnation. Even Moses himself, if he lived today, could not bear these expressions of Paul with equanimity.

**(26) What faith is understood only in temptations.**

(Cordatus No. 195.)

The so-called justifying faith is formally the righteousness of a Christian, just as the whitewash gives shape to a wall, and heat makes the water boil. This faith is understood only in the cross, without the cross not at all. I am not referring to sins of the flesh, which also challenge the godly, but I call it a cross, which spiritual sins lay upon us, which those know who have experienced them.

**27. the Christians' justice.**

(This § is contained in the previous §).

**28. faith does not respect repulsiveness.**

God despises and laughs at angry princes, as it says in the other Psalm. So also courageous preachers and Christians, who have faith, do not respect the world's anger and rage; for where there is faith, there must also be laughter. Although Satan also mocks and ridicules, when he said to Christ Matth. 4, 3: "If you are the Son of God, say that these stones become bread" 2c. And Matth. 27, 47: "He calls Eliam" 2c. But the Christian's laughter and mockery must go over the devil's laughter and mockery, and keep the defiance and the field. Therefore, just as the devil has sworn to kill us and wants to drag us down to hell and overthrow us, so we must climb over him into heaven and push him down into hell with our feet.

**Faith is a great thing, whether it is weak or not.**

(Cordatus No. 375.)

Faith is a very great thing in every way, which the Psalter amply indicates. I know that my faith stands like a fur on its sleeves. But it is faith and the church with me, in which all the devout pray for me and for all Christians. My likeness and my hands also pray for me.

**39. faith proven in the cross.**

The faith of the cross does it, for faith cannot be or exist without the cross. But when the water goes over the baskets, 1) he sees what faith is able to do and what it is. Not a speculation and a fictitious thought, but a certain confidence of the heart in God, which is righteous and the work of the Holy Spirit.

**31. strength of faith.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, Z100, last para.)

**What Joseph of Arimathea believed about Christ.**

(Cordatus No. 1385.)

Joseph and the women at the tomb accepted Christ as a good friend and did not believe that he would rise from the dead. The apostles also had such faith.

**The righteous lives by his faith.**

(Cordatus No. 1388.)

The devil cannot overthrow this reason: the righteous lives by faith. But blessed is he who believes.

**34) Abraham's faith. 2)**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1694.)

Abraham will be held against us very sharply on the last day, because we have done a lot of things.

1) Perhaps "Kolde" i.e. head.

2) This § is another redaction of a part of the alleged consolation letter of Luther to D. Benedrct Pauli, 1538. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1565-1568. The indication of the year is incorrect with Walch, since the collection of the Cordatus closes with 1537. Perhaps **it is** not a letter at all, but consolation speech. Cf. cap. 26, § 59.

have greater promises than he, and yet do not believe. Therefore, it is not surprising 1) that the Turk overtakes us.

This example of Abraham far surpasses all understanding of human nature, that he overcame the fatherly love he bore for his only begotten son Isaac, in whom were the promises that his seed should be spread out like the stars in the sky and the sand on the sea. And yet, despite all this, he was more obedient to God and, against the law of nature, wanted to slaughter and sacrifice his son. How he would have felt at that time, for three days, and how his heart would have throbbed, what he would have had to endure, is not to be denied.

The same is the example of Jacob, who lost his beloved son Joseph in his old days, because he did not know that he would perish and be eaten by wild animals. "I will now", he said Gen. 37, 35, "go down to my son into the pit in such suffering"; which probably indicates how great his heartache will have been. Thus, God has exercised them through their children's accident and misfortune. With which examples he comforted Doctor Benedictum Pauli, the honest man and jurist, since his son had fallen to his death in his absence from home.

### 35. assurance of faith in the word through the Holy Spirit.

(Cordatus No. 1213-1218.)

Let us not divorce the Holy Spirit from faith, which is the very certainty in the Word, but not without the Word, but by the Word -comes it.

All papists, Turks, sacramentarians have no certainty, and therefore also not the Holy Spirit, because they have what they claim in their unconditional righteousness, not in their words. They may do many good works, suffer many things, speak many very beautiful things, but they are and remain in doubt: "Who knows if it pleases God?"

A Christian is certain, neither wavering because of

1) In the original: non msum; instead it should probably be read: non mrim.

of his holiness, nor does he ask the least about his unworthiness. He deals with "believing in Jesus Christ". And it is only the spirit [Cor. 12, 3] that can say that Jesus is the Lord; all others call him a curse.

I believe that the Elector John had the Holy Spirit, for he did not want to deviate even a finger's breadth at Augsburg, and often said: "Tell my scholars to do what is right and not to look at me; and if he had not stood so firmly himself, many of our doctors would have fallen away. He held like a hero. He would not yield to the emperor, since he ordered him to desist from preaching, and since I admonished him to yield, because he was in a city of the same [emperor], he answered my letter 2): I do not know whether I am fooling or my scholars. For he was much more easily minded to move from Augsburg than to slacken his preaching there.

It is the Holy Spirit alone who walks along in the certainty of faith in Christ without any doubt; the sectarians always speak some words from which one perceives that their heart is in doubt: I hope I am pious, I am righteous. But a Christian: I do what I can. What I do not do, Christ's suffering pays for me. I am blessed in Christ; no one shall take away my comfort. Jesus is my Savior, and there is nothing else by which our God and our conscience can be reassured. But those who trust in their righteousness, not in Christ, naturally trust in their righteousness and therefore always doubt.

I was very presumptuous according to my prayers and my mass, but I did not see the mischief behind it, that I did not trust God, but my righteousness; also I said God sticks thanks for his sacrament, but he had to thank me and be glad that I had sacrificed his son to him, and when we wanted to hold mass, we had it to a saying: I will go and lift a child to the virgin.

2) This letter is found in Walch, old edition, Vol. XVI, 785, No. 906.

**36. difference of faith and hope.**

(The first 6 paragraphs of this § are omitted because contained in the Great Interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 5. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §§ 63-67; U 69.70. 1))

Faith is the key to the holy Scriptures, and the right cabbala and interpretation, which one receives and learns from the other, as the prophets gave the teaching to their disciples, and one is always grounded on the other, as it were. Thus we teach and speak much differently of the faith and other articles of faith in the Scriptures than do foreigners; so that it may rightly be said that it is such a doctrine as one hands over and hands on to another, and always remains in one school.

2) Faith is not a qualitas, as it is spoken of in school, but a gift of God for itself: and not only a knowledge and science, but also an assensus, an accident of the will, so that the heart certainly believes it to be so, as the Word instructs it, and says: Jesus Christ alone is the Savior of the world, for whose sake God is gracious to us and accepts us as His children and heirs out of pure grace and mercy, without any merit or worthiness on our part. Which the devils do not have, just as they do not believe all the articles of faith.

**37. what the reason of faith holds articles.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 17, 1538, p. 173.)

The articles of our faith are very foolish to reason and seem to be able to stand only by persuasion, as it were. Therefore, it is necessary to cling firmly to God's words. Three years ago there was a monk here with us,

1) In this case, Stangwald, and after him Förstemann and the Erlangen edition, notes the origin: "from the great Commentaria D. M. L. on the Epistle to Galatians, as translated by Justus Mmius". Although almost all the many passages from the Epistle to the Galatians that are found in the Table Talks are taken from the translation of Menius, this does not apply here, where it is noted.

2) This paragraph is another redaction of Cap. 13, § 60.

3) D. i. Consent.

a Moor, with whom we disputed through an interpreter, and through all our articles decided, he said: This is a good creda, i.e. faith.

**38. hope.**

(Lauterbach, April 8, 1538, p. 59.)

Everything that happens in the whole world happens in hope. No farmer would sow a grain if he did not have the hope of the seed. No young man would marry if he did not have the hope of offspring. No merchant or day laborer would work if he did not expect profit and reward.

**39. weakness of faith.**

(Cordatus No. 824.)

Since D. Jonas said that he could not believe this passage of Paul's [2 Tim. 4, 8.]: "Henceforth the crown of righteousness is laid up for me," he answered that Paul did not believe it either, because it would be too high, and I also cannot believe as I preach, although everyone thinks that I firmly believe it. Nor would it be good for us all to do as God commands us, for he would lose his divinity; and the Lord's Prayer, the faith, and the articles of the forgiveness of sins would come to ruin; he would become a liar, and he alone would not be true, and all men would not be liars. And if someone says: If it turns out like this, God will have a small, little service on earth - he is well accustomed to that, he must and will be God of great mercy.

**40. of faith and its causes.**

The materia of faith is our will. The form is that one takes hold of the word of Christ, inspired by God. The final cause and fruit is that it purifies the heart, makes us children of God, and brings with it forgiveness of sin. And from these causes comes the definition of faith, namely: faith is a gift and present of God in our hearts, so that we may take hold of and grasp Christ, who for our sake is the Lord.

was born, died, rose again, and ascended into heaven, for whose sake we receive forgiveness of sins, eternal life, and salvation, by grace alone, without any merit or worthiness on our part.

Since this righteous faith in Christ brings forgiveness of sins, it follows irrefutably that neither our works, nor caps and plates, nor devotion or vows make us blessed. When the Dialectica has thus done its work, and has briefly described faith, the Rhetorica comes to it, embellishes it and elaborates it with words, and indicates that faith brings with it forgiveness of sins, and makes children of God: but those who are children of God have the dear angels for friends and servants, and are lords of the devil, death and hell.

#### **Faith alone makes one righteous and blessed.**

(Contained in Cap. 13, § 66.)

#### **Faith must be everywhere.**

(Cordatus, No. 178 and No. 20.)

Faith is necessary, not only to justify the wicked and to calm their hearts, but it is also true in all things what Paul says [Rom. 5:1]: "Therefore having been justified by faith, we have peace with God." For if you, having a son, did not believe that he was your own legitimate son, you would feel constant struggle in your heart.

I would not have believed that my first explanations of Galatians were so weak. They are no longer suitable for this time, they were only my first struggle against the trust in the works.

#### **43. how to become quite pious.**

Once we stop lying, deceiving, stealing, murdering, robbing, committing adultery, then we will become righteous, which is when we are buried in the ground with shovels. For Paul says, "He who has died is justified from sin," Rom. 6:7.

#### **44. How to be just before God.**

(Kummer, 2. Theil, p. 285. (Lauterbach p. 202.)) .

"It is not up to someone's will or running", to this saying I answer: Paul (Rom. 9, 16.) does not at all disputirt about the election [praedestinatio] in this place, but he speaks against the Jews and the righteousness of the law, and wants to say: You must despair and give God the glory, and say: I did not begin it. Thus, when I was a monk, I was a willing and a running man, but the longer I went on, the further I got away. But what I have, I have not by running, but from GOD. Thus Paul speaks in this passage all against presumption, that we may learn to say, Lord, it is thy grace which is in us. So he also uses the saying: "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy. You will not do it without my forgiveness. In sum, all things are spoken against the trustworthy. To whom I give, he shall have it; you shall not take it from me with your holiness. What more shall he do? He will say: Ye shall have it, but ye seek it, and will have it with righteousness. I will not have it, but before I have it I will tear it all up and cut it off, priesthood, kingdom, even my law. But if ye have mercy upon me, ye shall have it.

Here the doctor was asked by someone: "If someone had not come to this teaching, would he have been saved? I really don't know, he said, because I would have looked at baptism. It could have done so, 1) as I have seen many dying people who had Christ's cross held up to them. The man [Christ] has nevertheless been over the deathbed in the custom.

#### **Without faith, even God Himself is of no use.**

(Contained in Cap. 19, § 24, second half.)

#### **46 The article of righteousness, which is valid before God, preserves from all errors.**

(Enthaltm in Cap. 12, § 35, last paragraph.)

1) We read "potnisset" instead of xotuissem,

**47 On the presumption of faith.**

(Contained in Cap. 3, § 32.)

**It is difficult and weak to believe God's word.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 154.)

**49. believe and trust in God.**

(Cordatus No. 255.)

Many even among the preachers say that they trust God body and soul, and they would cheerfully trust Him if they had to go out of the world or die for the sake of the Word. But for their wives and children they are fearful. Doesn't that mean: Believe in God the greater, but not the lesser? or surely: Doesn't that rather mean, not to trust in God at all?

**5V. Faith, not good works, makes one righteous.**

Doct. Mart. Luther said in 1542 about tables that not good works but the grace of God merited eternal life and blessedness; this would be clear and obvious from the fact that they were not the spiritual birth, but only fruits of the same birth, for we would not become children of God, heirs of the kingdom of heaven, or righteous, holy and Christians through good works. But when we have been made, created and born children of God, then we first do good works; therefore, before our good works, we must have eternal life, God's grace and blessedness. For a tree does not become good from good fruit, but a good tree bears good fruit: the tree must first be good. Thus we are born, begotten and created righteous by the word of grace; by the word of the law, or by good works, we are not thus prepared. Good works deserve something other than life, God's grace, salvation and blessedness, namely honor with God, glory and God's favor. Just as a tree is honored, loved and praised by the gardener and others when it bears good apples. If you look to the spiritual birth and substance of a

If you see and respect Christians, you will soon extinguish all the merits of good works, for they can do nothing to earn you grace and salvation, or to save you from sins, death, the devil, and hell.

The little children are saved by faith alone, without any good works, so faith alone makes them righteous. And if the power of God can do this in one, it can do it in all; for it is not the power of the child alone, but of faith: neither does his weakness or inability do it, for otherwise the same inability would be in itself a merit or equal to merit. We would like to impress our Lord God with our works, yes, we would like to be righteous with them. But he will not allow us to do so; my own conscience tells me that I am not justified by my works; nor will anyone believe it. We should say with the 51st Psalm, v. 6: "In you alone have I sinned and done evil in your sight, that you may be justified in your words." We should also remember that it says, "Forgive us our debts." I should say, I will not be pious before God's judgment, but gladly confess myself a sinner. What would be easier to say than that we say: I am a poor sinner, but you, God, alone are righteous? So it would be bad; 1) but we are our own executioners and cane-masters, tormenting and torturing ourselves with it. The spirit should say: I am pious and just; but the flesh must say: I am a sinner, you, God, are just; that you may be right in your words.

**51. we are more and more afraid of the devil, because we believe in Christ who comforts us; and of the difference of sins.**

One asked, "Why should we believe the devil who terrifies us rather than Christ who comforts and promises us? Martin answered and said: "We are better able and more inclined to despair than to hope. For hope comes from the Holy Spirit and is His work, but despair comes from the Holy Spirit.

from our spirit, and is the work and deed of our powers; therefore God has forbidden it by the highest penance and punishment. That we now believe more and before the punishment than the promise and reward is called reason or the spirit of man: Hoping and believing is different from thinking and speculating. Reason sees death before it; that it should not be frightened is impossible. Again, that God should give His Son and love us so much, we cannot be persuaded to say from the heart: Dear God, You did not let Your Son be crucified in vain. But this is beyond all human reason, that God is so merciful, not for the sake of my works, but for the sake of His dear Son. I do not want to enter into this.

The article is lacking in all the red spirits, whether they say they believe or not. But I think they all have evil consciences, which I prove with this: For when the fall and the misfortune come under their eyes, that they come into redness and danger, they despair, as Arius, Muenzer 2c. Therefore I think they know that they do wrong. Thus the bishop of Minin and Duke George make a joke out of God's word; as Adam did in paradise, and human nature is always in the habit of doing: when it sins, it thinks it has no need. Thus God causes them to fall from sin into sin against the Holy Spirit, so that they sin knowingly and willfully. George fell into sin, because he saw that he was doing wrong, and yet he did not cease and desist, and not only persisted in such sin, but also did not ask for forgiveness. This is a sin against the Holy Spirit; so one comes out of the other table into the first. But if you feel it is wrong and have an evil conscience, this is not a sin against the Holy Spirit. But if you sin and make a good conscience out of it, that is a sin against the Holy Spirit. Of this kind are Duke G[eorg], H[ein] Mordbrenner's Carlstadt, Münzer, where one knowingly punishes our Lord God with lies.

Oh dear Lord God! It is enough, yes, all too much, that one sins and does wrong: it is

It is enough that one has sin, but one still wants to be right. No householder suffers such people in his house: anger burns in the heart and becomes more intense when the one who has done wrong still wants to be right. But if you confess the sin, and yet do not refrain from it, it is a great sin, and is called despising God; but it is not a sin against the Holy Spirit: but if you know that you do wrong, and still defend it, that is too much.

Our Lord God can suffer that no sin can be so great, if you fall down before Christ and ask for forgiveness, it is forgiven. But Duke G[eorg] relies on the fact that the Christian church will forgive him, and so he continues. But he will find out differently.

(The following paragraph at Cordatus No. 33.)

My opinion is that many kings of Israel, who ruled very badly, became blessed, because in death they called on the name of God Israel, and their sins were easily forgiven. But this seems to be certain of those about whom it is written, "And he slept with his fathers," that is, in the same faith in which his fathers died. Of the godless Ahab one reads a great testimony that he became blessed, since God says to the prophet: "Did you not see how Ahab bowed down before me?" Solomon has sufficient testimonies in the Scriptures that he has become blessed. (This he answered me because I claimed that Solomon was damned).

#### **The most noble article of Christian doctrine is that of the blessedness of souls.**

This is the most noble article of the whole Christian doctrine, namely, how we shall be saved. All theological disputations should be directed to this article, which all the prophets have most often dealt with and blued themselves with. For if this article of our salvation is grasped and retained with certain and firm faith, then the other articles will come and follow smoothly after it, as of the Trinity. Nor has God declared to us any article so publicly and clearly as this, namely, that

we are saved through Christ alone. Although he also said much about the Trinity, he always rested on this article of the salvation of the soul. There is much in the others, but this is the most important; for all the works of the papists are instituted and performed for their sake, so that they may attain eternal blessedness. But they are deceived, for apart from Christ there is no blessedness, which can only be grasped in the Word through faith. Since this article remains pure, the church also remains pure; but if it is adulterated or falls away, then the church has become a whore and is gone, as we have seen and experienced in the papacy.

#### How to become pious before God.

How one should become pious, that is what one asks. A barefoot monk says: Put on a gray cap, wear a rope and a plate. A preacher monk says: Put on a black robe. A papist: Do this or that work, listen to mass, pray, fast, give alms 2c., and each one what he thinks will make him blessed. But a Christian saith, By faith alone in Christ thou shalt be saved, justified, and blessed, by grace alone, without any works of thine own, and without any merit of thine own. Now consider one another, which is the true righteousness.

#### 54. presumption of faith.

St. Paul, 1 Corinthians 13, speaking of love and praising it highly, punishes the false and mouthed Christians, who had well begun and boasted of faith, when none was left but had perished, out of sheer presumption. As also Matthäi 7, 22. the hypocrites will say in that day: Lord, have we not prophesied in your name? 2c. So Balaam blessed and confessed God in Israel with right faith and spirit, and from without with work and deed; but he fell away again and was presumptuous. Like Thomas Muenzer, when he had once rejected faith, he became presumptuous and foolish. So do all presumptuous men, and let them dream,

They may do what they want and desire under the appearance and name of faith, like Ananias and Sapphira in the stories of the apostles in chapter 5. And Saul was a miracle man in the first place, after which he was presumptuous, thinking that everything he did and did was right and good, and that God would have to let him do it. As also Apost. 15, 5. st. happened, when a concilium was held, whether the law of Moses should be imposed on the Christians, or whether good works were also necessary for salvation.

Therefore St. Paul says 1 Cor. 13, 7: "Love believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things," even though it sometimes overcomes the wickedness of men and makes them weak. Therefore he says Cap. 10, 12: "He who stands there, let him see that he does not fall"; demands a faith that is not made up and false, thereby indicating and giving to understand that a true faith tends to become a made-up faith if one does not live, watch and pray in the fear of God.

#### 55. weakness of faith.

(Cordatus No. 1369.)

The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak [Matth. 26, 41], this is what Christ says about himself; Paul says the same in Rom. 7, the spirit would like to believe, but it is hindered by prudent reason. Our Lord God must have patience and not extinguish the smoldering wick [Isa. 42, 3; Matth. 12, 20] and be satisfied with the firstfruits of the spirit that we have. s[Together] with the pope, the lawyers have deceived us. 1)

#### 56. weakness of faith in paulo.

(Cordatus No. 1392.)

That Paul was also weak in faith, we can see from the fact that he was often comforted by the brethren, and in temptation the intercourse with godly people is of great benefit.

1) In the original: Ouni ?Lpa oepit ^urista. This seems to give us the above sense, since the jurists dealt with nothing but the Pope's canons and decrees.



**An example of faith in theurization.**

On the 13th of the fallow month of Anno 39, D. Martino was told what had happened not far from the custom 1) in times of theurungs: namely, how a pious God-fearing matron with two children suffered great hardship. Since she had nothing more to live on, she adorned herself with her little children and wanted to go to a well, praying that God would sustain and refresh her in such a difficult time. On the way, a man met her, asked her, and argued with her: "Would she also like to eat from the water of the well? But she said, "Yes, why not, for all things are possible and easy for God: He who fed the great people of Israel forty years in the wilderness with manna can also sustain me with drinking water. And when she so steadfastly affirmed it, and persevered, the man (perhaps an angel) said, Behold, because thou hast so steadfastly believed, go home, and thou shalt find three bushels of flour 2c., and she shall have found it so according to his words 2c.

Then said D. Martin Luther said: "If it is true, it is a great miracle and example of faith; but if it is invented, it is a Christian and artificial poem to provoke people to faith.

**58. be sure of the faith.**

He who is not sure of his faith cannot stand: but the foundation of faith, on which he builds, is God's Word, rightly understood. Whoever has this pure and unadulterated can stand and win in the battle against all the gates of hell; but whoever is not sure of his doctrine and faith, and still wants to dispute about it, is lost.

But D. Mart. Luther said: "A Christian must be certain of his faith, or strive to become certain of it, and then, when the time and the matter demand it, confess it freely and constantly. An uncertain heart should not be sworn to God's Word and Sacraments.

(Here 12 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 1, § 31.)

Item: Every Christian should be equipped in such a way that he is certain of his faith and doctrine, and so establishes himself with sayings from God's Word that he can stand against the devil and also defend himself if he is led astray, and thus help to maintain and defend the doctrine.

**Never again will there be unity in the church, in the doctrine.**

There will never be a concilium, said D. Martin Luther, because the people should agree together out of the Holy Spirit. God allows this to happen for the very reason that He Himself wants to be the judge and not suffer men to judge. That is why he commands everyone to know what he believes. It will not help that you say you have heard and heard it preached; the devil will not inquire. But if you have God's word, you can say, "Here I have the word; what else may I ask, what the concilia say? then he must return.

Because God wills, as we see, that His word shall suffer no judge but Him: so let no man depart here, neither can there be any rest. And since God is before us, if there were silence and rest, the gospel would be over: it must rumble wherever it goes; if it does not, it is not right. Therefore Christ says Luc. 12:49, 51: "I am come to kindle a fire upon the earth: what would I rather that it were kindled? Do you think that I have come to give peace? I say, no, but discord." If this is to work, Ishmael must move his hand, and that one again. Then let the Holy Spirit separate us; when men want to separate, it only becomes worse.

**60. what faith is.**

(Cordatus No. 1807.)

Faith is not a constitution in the spirit, that is, a thought; for however great this may be, it is not valid in itself, but this is the faith that

Christ in himself and grasps Christ. Apart from Paul, this theology is not there. (This incompetent people do not believe.)

**61. to lament weakness of faith cheaply.**

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 28.)

**62. Luther's complaint about his weak faith.**

When the text from the prophet Hosea (Cap. 13.) was sung over the table of D. M. L.: "This is what the Lord says" (Josquinus 2), he said to D. Jona: "As little as you believe that this song is good, so little do I believe that theologia is true. Jonah: "As little as you believe that this song is good, so little do I believe that theologia is true. I love my daughter, yes, I love her better than myself (this is certainly true), that is, I would rather die than that she and the little children should die. I love Christ, who redeemed me with his blood from the devil's power and tyranny, but my faith should be much greater and more fervent. Oh my Lord, "do not enter into judgment with your servant" 2c.

**63. the Christians' greatest art.**

D. Luther said: "If anyone asks, 'What can Christians do and teach?' then one should answer nothing else, except that one knows Christ and believes in him, and knows that he was sent by the Father, John 17. Anyone who cannot do this, nor teach or practice it, cannot boast of being a Christian, even if someone else knows everything that happens under heaven, and how God created heaven and earth, with the sea and all that is in it, and even that he knows the Ten Commandments and keeps them. In sum, even if he knows and is able to do as much as the angels, none of this makes a Christian; therefore God says Jer. 9:23, 24: "Let not the wise man boast of his wisdom, nor the mighty man of his strength. But if any man will boast.

1) The last sentence is an addition of Cordatus, with which he aims at Melanchthon, Cruciger and Jonas, with whom Cordatus was in a fierce dispute in 1536 and 1537 because of synergistic statements. Cf. Cordatus No. 174. 221.

2) Cf. cap. 12, z 38.

Let him boast that he knows and knows me (Christ), that I am the Lord who gives and gives mercy."

**64. faith the most pleasing service.**

(Contained in Cap. 38, § 2.)

**65. believe the some rule in theologia.**

There is only one article and rule in Theologia: whoever does not know and have it well is not a theologian, namely, right faith or trust in Christ. The others all flow into and out of the article, and without it the others are nothing. The devil has contested this article from the beginning of the world, would have liked to destroy it and in its place impose his wisdom on the afflicted, miserable, afflicted and contested hearts: they like this article, and it is they who understand the article.

**Faith alone makes one righteous before God.**

Adam received the promise of the given seed before works and sacrifices, before he did good and sacrificed; so that the truth may stand, that faith without works obtains righteousness and forgiveness of sins before God, by pure grace. Therefore, the Epistle to the Ebrians, Cap. 11, 4, rightly praises the faith of Abel in his sacrifice, yes, he also praises faith in all the works and deeds of the saints, that God considered him before works, yes, through faith and from faith all works followed.

Therefore, the separation of the righteousness of faith and works is not to be allowed or permitted, as if they were two distinct righteousnesses, as the sophists teach, otherwise they will be truly and rightly separated and set apart; but it is One righteousness of faith and works in righteous Christians, just as God and man are One Person, body and soul are One Man. For as soon as they are separated and set apart, faith is gone, and works remain, which is double hypocrisy.

For, if good works are there, they are and are done by faith, otherwise they cannot be good: if a right faith is there, it is aroused, lets itself be seen, and does good works, otherwise it is pretended, as Christ says John 15:4: "The branch that abideth in the vine bringeth forth fruit."

#### **Articles of faith are inappropriate to reason.**

(Cordatus No. 1072.)

We may well hold fast to faith, for all that we believe is false. And this is the reason of Christ for his Godhead, Joh. 5, [17.]: "My Father works until now and I also work." Likewise [John 16:15], "All things that the Father hath are mine." And mark well that I may say: What I do, God does, but not: What God does, I do.

#### **Christians are righteous and holy by faith.**

(Contained in Cap. 38, § 3.)

#### **69. of our faith.**

Our faith is very weak, and yet it is a rock, for it is a cornerstone in the heart: that is, an inexpressible 'groaning, and the Holy Spirit to it, who holds fast what God has promised; who does it.

Then someone asked: Why does God not give us perfect knowledge? Luther answered: "If anyone could believe it, he could neither eat nor drink with joy, nor do anything else: God wants to preserve the church until the last day, so that it will not perish.

#### **Faith in Christ is the highest comfort of Christians.**

(Contained in Cap. 58, § 9.)

#### **71. the hardest articles to believe.**

Of the Holy Trinity and Incarnation of Christ, these are the most difficult articles. For reason can believe to some extent that a child is born of a virgin, because God is omnipotent;

but it does not want to go there, that three persons are in one eternal divine being, of equal power and authority 2c., and that God himself became man. That is too high.

#### **The world's faith.**

(Contained in Cap. 21, Z1.)

#### **73. difference between faith and hope.**

Faith and hope are thus distinguished, that faith saith, I believe a resurrection of the dead at the last day. Then hope adds to this and says: Well then, if it is true, let us put on what we have and suffer what we can, if we are to become such great lords hereafter.

#### **74) Causes of faith. 1)**

The real cause of faith, which works and creates it, is the Holy Spirit, and is a gift of God alone: the formalis and materialis is that he takes hold of and grasps Christ; instrumentalis, the instrument, is the Word; finalis, the final cause, is first of all our righteousness, so that we are counted righteous before God, and then God's glory, so that God is honored, praised and glorified: after that follow the fruits.

(Here 2 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 16, § 4.)

#### **What man's reason and other powers and members do for faith.**

(Contained in Cap. 13, K19.)

#### **The righteous lives by his faith. 2)**

I was lost under the papacy for a long time and did not know how I was inside. I smelled something, but did not know what it was until I came across the saying Rom. 1:17: "The righteous lives by faith," which helped me: then I saw what righteousness Paul is talking about, since before in the text

1) Another redaction of this L Cap. 13, § 40.

2) Cf. cap. 13, § 23.

and Justitia, righteousness. Then I rhymed the abstract and the concrete, righteousness and being righteous, together, and became certain of my cause, learning to distinguish the righteousness of the Law from the righteousness of the Gospel. Before, I lacked nothing, for I made no distinction between the Law and the Gospel, taking them all for one, and saying that there was no difference between Christ and Moses, except for time and perfection. But when I found the right difference, that one thing was the law, another the gospel, I tore through it.

Then said D. Pommer: I also began to be of a different mind, when I read of the love of God, what it means *passively*, namely, that it is called such a love, so that we are loved by God; before I understood the love active, so that we loved God, M. Luther said: "It is clear of love, that it is often called in Scripture such a love, so that God loves us; but in the Ebrew language the oonitivi of love are difficult. Pommer said: but nevertheless they explain other sayings after it.

#### **Rebirth alone makes God's children, not works.**

In 1542, Martin Luther said of the article of our justification before God that it is like that of a son: he is born an heir to all his father's goods, and does not become so by merit: he succeeds to his father's goods without any work or merit. But the father admonishes him to do and accomplish this or that diligently, and also promises him a gift or present, so that he may be the more willing to do it, and the more willing, easy, and pleasurable to accomplish it. As when he says to his son, "If you will be pious, follow me and be obedient and study diligently, I will buy you a beautiful tunic. 2c. Item: Come here to me, and I will give you a beautiful apple. Thus he teaches the son to walk by the benches: since the inheritance is otherwise and without that naturally due and due to him; but the father wants to make the child happy by the promise to do what the father has promised.

wants to have. The child is to be preserved in pedagogy. God also deals with us in this way, is kind to us with sweet, sweet words, promises us spiritual, eternal, physical and temporal goods; since eternal life is given to those who believe in Christ out of pure grace and mercy, free of charge, without all our merit, good works and worthiness, as cure children, or filiis adoptionis, who come to it through water and the Holy Spirit.

And so one should also teach in the church and congregation of God that God wants righteous good works, which he has commanded and commanded, not which we do and do ourselves out of our own choice and devotion or good opinion; as the monks and priests have taught in the papacy: for these do not please God, as Christ says Matth. 15, 9: "In vain do they serve me, because they teach nothing but the commandment of men" 2c. Thus one should teach about good works, but always so that the article of justification, namely, that only faith in Christ makes us righteous and saved, remains pure and unadulterated, as it is the main part, cause and source of all other promises: where this remains pure and endures, the church also remains pure. For Christ can no longer suffer anyone else besides Himself; He wants to have the bride alone, according to the saying: Mine alone, or let it be. He is a zealot.

Should one then also teach and say: If you believe, you will be saved; if you do what you want, it is no good at all. For faith is either false and fabricated, or, if it is righteous, it is extinguished when one knowingly and wantonly goes against God's commandments: and the Holy Spirit, which is given to the faithful, is lost through evil works done against the conscience, as David's example sufficiently testifies, 1 Kings 12, Psalm 51. Therefore we should know that such promises and rewards are only a pedagogy or child training, so that God stimulates and entices us, makes us happy and willing, like a pious, kind father, to do good and to serve our neighbor, not to earn eternal life with it, because he gives and bestows the same only out of pure grace.

**78. objection that faith makes you righteous.**

(Contained in Cap. 12, § 84.)

**79. from where one becomes fair initially.**

(Cordatus No. 1146.)

The beginning of justification is the grace and the promise. So justification happened to Abraham while he was still an idolater, to Moses as a murderer, and unexpectedly, 1) they did not think of it.

**The most distinguished main article of Christian doctrine.**

The article of justification and forgiveness of sins is the noblest and most distinguished, very comforting, and to which Satan is exceedingly hostile. That is why St. Paul has been so assiduous in his efforts, always showing grace upon grace in defiance of the devil; for the devil does not want to let Christ reign, whom he must nevertheless let remain and reign. As St. John says in his I Epistle, Cap. 4, 4, says: "He that is in you is greater than he that is in the world."

**(81) Faith alone makes one righteous.**

D. Martinus spoke much in 1541 about the majesty and glory of the article of justification, which is quite unknown to human wisdom, because we are by nature so minded that we are more concerned about the righteousness of works than about the mere mercy of God, which is offered and given to us free of charge, by grace, for the sake of Christ. Therefore, the parable of Matth. 20, 1. ff. about the laborers whom the householder hired into his vineyard is a mighty thunderclap against this carnal delusion of human reason.

He then told a story from the life of the old fathers about a hermit who had led a very strict life and was considered a living saint. When an old father came to him with a young brother to visit him in his cell, a murderer met him and went with them to the sick man,

1) The reading *illsporgto* needs no change. The word is to be understood as an adverb, not as an ablative.

stopped outside the door, heard and saw the old patient's holiness, that he had led such a strict life, wondered about it, sighed and said: "Oh, I should have lived like that. The sick man said, "Yes, you should have done as I did when you wanted to be saved in another way. And when he had said this, he died. But the young brother saw that his soul was led away by the devil in the air, and he wept bitterly. The murderer followed them, had remorse and sorrow, wanted to confess and receive absolution and forgiveness of his sins through faith in Christ, hurried and ran so much that he fell down his neck and died. Then the angels took his soul. The young brother saw this and laughed and was happy about it. The old father, when he saw that the young brother was acting so strangely, for now he was weeping over the death of the holy man; soon he was laughing at the accident of the murderer, so he asked him why he was acting like that. But he said that he had done right and Christianly: for when he saw that the trustworthy saint was damned, he would have meant it; but when he saw that this poor sinner had been converted and had become blessed, he would have laughed justly. And said D. Luther said: "Thus it is in the kingdom of Christ that the last become first, and the first last; for God cannot tolerate any sin less than the apparent hope and presumption of one's own righteousness.

**Believing in God is not everyone's cup of tea.**

Trusting God, believing in Him, and doing Him justice in all His words and works is a great art, which even God-fearing and well-practiced Christians often lack: we have had to learn this art long enough throughout our lives. But that the faithful God may awaken, kindle and strengthen faith in us, He entices us most kindly through Christ (in whom all the promises of God are Yes and Amen, 2 Cor. 1, 20, and all the treasures of wisdom lie, Col. 2, 3), since He says Luc. 12, 32: "Fear not, little host, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom," 2c.: nor are we afraid of Him. Is it not the devil?

**The Christians' religion and faith.**

There is no religion and faith more foolish under the sun than that of the Christians: for what reason and wisdom can persuade a man that there is a God? If human reason falls into it, and Erasmi head and mind, he ridicules and mocks it. Therefore, the religion of our Christian faith can never be taught enough in the world, so terrible and horrible is the fall of man. Remembering the sin committed and forgiveness is the nourishment of faith, from which it increases and grows.

**84 The consequence of faith.**

If you believe, you speak. If you speak, you will suffer. If you suffer, you will be comforted. For faith, confession and the cross belong together, and are the duty of a true Christian.

**That the enemies of the gospel must bear witness to the doctrine of the righteousness of faith, that by it alone one is justified before God.**

Duke Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony, has himself told me, Doct. Martin Luthern himself said that when Duke Hans of Saxony, Duke Georgen of Saxony's eldest son, wanted to die, he desired in his last moments the Lord's Supper of Christ in both forms. Then the father, Duke George, had an Augustinian monk from Old Dresden demanded for his son, and informed the same monk that he should give his son good words, and persuade him to receive the Lord's Supper in the same form, and should preach to the son as if he, the monk, were well acquainted with Doct. Luthern and had dealt with him a great deal.

and that he, Luther himself, had advised some that they should receive the Lord's Supper in the same form. Thus the pious prince was persuaded to receive the Lord's Supper from the monk in the same form.

When Duke George saw that his son was in his last days and was dying, he comforted his son with the article about the righteousness of faith in Christ and reminded him that he alone should look to Christ, the Savior of the world, and forget all his works and merits, including the invocation of the saints. When Duke Hansen's wife, Landgrave Philip's sister in Hesse (later called the Duchess of Rochlitz) heard this, she said: "Dear Father, why is this not preached publicly in the country? Duke George answered: "Dear daughter, it should only be said to the dying and not to the healthy.

This Duke Johann died Anno 1537 on the Tuesday after Epiphaniä on 13. Januarii dora 8. in the evening. He was to inherit Duke Georgen and be regent in Meissen, and had to swear an oath to his father that he would remain an eternal enemy of the Lutheran doctrine after his death. Therefore, he also had the old Lucas Cranach, painter, Doctori Martins Luthern, offer that he wanted to be his worse enemy than his father would have been. But then God came with his righteous judgment and brought him down.

Doctor Johann Eccius does the same, said D. Luther. Luther: he confesses that my doctrine is the truth, and serves to comfort, strengthen, and straighten consciences: but such doctrine makes wild, desolate people, so that there is no discipline in the world.

(Here 17 lines are omitted, well contained in Cap. 45, K 14, penultimate paragraph.)

## The 14th chapter.

### Of good works.

1. of one's own and other's justice.
2. that no law is given to the righteous.
3. love for one's neighbor.
4. good works of Christians.
5. to do a good work.
6. whose good works please God.
- 7 From the saying, Give, and it shall be given unto you again.

8. pious hearts anxiety. .
9. from earnings.
10. from the saying: He who has two skirts 2c.
11. never do the highest penance.
- The works of the profession shall be greatly respected.
- 13) Give freely and simply, without any pleasure.

14. reward of good works.
15. from the word reward and merit.
16. alms of D. Luther in the Theuerung.
- (17) From the saying, Give, and it shall be given unto you again.
- 18) How the children earn their living.
19. from hospitals.
20. of the woman who anointed the Lord Christ.
- The Sophists' Swarm and Doctrine of Good Works.
22. what anger and zeal are good for and serve:
23. of impatience, whether it be sin at all times.
24. from the patience.
25. interpretation of the saying of Isaiah: In silence and hope you will be strong.
26. comfort against many enmities.
- Patience is necessary everywhere.
- Sometimes you have to dissimulate and suffer a little.
29. D. M. L. Verses on the saying of the Psalm: Commit thy ways unto the LORD, and hope in him.
30. from the remedy.

- A rhyme by D. M. Luther.
32. of vengefulness.
  33. against vengefulness.
  - The faith of the saints is much more useful than their lives.
  - 35) How to do good deeds.
  - What works please God or not.
  37. works do not deserve bliss.
  - 38 D. M. Luther's protective speech by a mild hand.
  39. of three kinds of alms.
  40. of four main virtues.
  - Ceremonies in the church shall be free.
  42. of the righteousness of works.
  43. Good works do not make one righteous before God.
  44. about the ceremonies during Advent.
  - 45 The word merit.
  - 46 Von Mitteldingen.
  - 47 Which is the best work.
  - Glorious boasts and noble virtues of the works of one's own righteousness.

### 1. of one's own and other's justice.

(Contained in Cap. 24, §101, para. 5.)

### 2. no law is given to the righteous.

(Contained in Cap. 13, § 12, paras. 4, 5 u. 6.)

### 3. love against one's neighbor.

Love for one's neighbor should be like pure chaste love between bride and bridegroom, where all infirmities are dissimulated, covered up and kept to goodness, and only the virtues are considered.

In ceremonies and statutes, the realm of love should prevail and rule, not tyranny. Item, will experience of the love, not a rope. They shall all be done, judged and interpreted for the benefit of the neighbor. The greater he is who rules; the more he shall serve according to love.

### 4. good works of Christians.

The good works of holy and righteous devout Christians are unclean and defiled when they are seen in themselves alone, separated from faith, as happens when one relies and trusts in them. But lest they be trusted in, it is profitable that they should be condemned, and made sinful; as it ought and must be, when they are set apart, as a way to righteousness, separated and set apart from faith.

But because faith is and must be by nature and kind before works, we rightly say that we are justified by faith alone. For it is not by works that we believe, since they are not yet present or done, but by the Word, which promises grace, and clearly says that believers are pleasing to God and blessed, and that sins are forgiven. After this, one does good works by faith. Thus, faith is magnified and made known, indeed, made almost tangible, through works. Just as the Godhead alone, and Christ the Lord also, cannot be seen nor understood; but after he has become man, he becomes visible and tangible, as John says, 1 Epist. 1, 1: "The word that our hands have touched," and Joh. 1, 14, "that was used among us," 2c. For as soon as it is separated and set apart, there is no other God anywhere, and the flesh becomes harmful twice over.

For if we are justified by works which follow faith, we are not justified by faith, nor for Christ's sake, but by ourselves, as doing works after faith. But this is to deny Christ; for Christ is not apprehended and grasped by works, but by faith of the heart. Therefore it is necessary that we be justified by faith alone, without works before or after. The

Works, however, are praised for the sake of faith, are considered good, and please God. Therefore, the righteousness of the works is also of the faith from which they flow and origin, not of the works.

Now as it is false and unjust for them to say that the righteous are provided for salvation by the works that are to come, so it is also false for them to pretend that one is justified and saved by the works of faith that were done before. But as the grace of salvation bringeth good works afterward, which alone, without any works, calleth and calleth him that shall be justified, and doeth good works: so also faith bringeth good works, which justifieth and blotteth out sin before all works. For faith is not accepted because of works, but works are done because of faith; neither does faith wait for works to make it righteous by them, but works wait for faith to make them righteous and good by it. So that faith is *passiva justitia fidei*, that is, faith, as the working righteousness, works and brings about good works, but works are the suffering righteousness, effect, and fruits of faith. Otherwise, and without this, works would be the real cause of righteousness, as without which the effect and fruits of righteousness would not exist nor could be; even if faith were there as a cause, yet without the effect and consequence of righteousness it would be utterly void, fictitious, or lost.

**5. to do a good work.**

Many are not worthy to do one good work; and truly it is a great thing that a man should be worthy to do a good work.

**6. whose good works please God.**

Good works are pleasing to God, even to those who have forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ; they also have their reward. But if the heart relies on them and trusts in them, thinking that it will have a gracious God through them, they are useless.

and cannot please God, for trust is not due to our works or the works of others, but only to God's mercy in Christ. Our works are not to be set against grace. Oh no; but they should be done as obedience, which we owe to God, a kind, gracious and merciful Father, confessing that even if we do everything we can and owe, we are still useless servants, Luc. 17, 10.

**Give, and it shall be given to you again.**

This is a certain saying (Luc. 6, 38.) that makes people rich and poor. It sustains my house. I should not boast; but I know what I give a year. And turned to D. Gregorius Brück, and said: If my gracious lord would give a thousand florins to a nobleman, he would not receive my house with it, and have only three hundred florins; but God gives enough, he blesses it.

There was a monastery which, because it gave gladly, became rich; but when it gave no more, it became poor. One day a beggar came to the monastery and asked for alms, but was refused them. The beggar asked why they would not give him anything for God's sake. Then the porter said: We are poor. Then the beggar said, "The reason for our poverty is that you had two brothers in the monastery, one of whom you expelled, and the other of whom also turned away secretly and left. For, after brother Oats, prayed, was cast out and rejected, so the other brother, Dabitur, to whom is given, has also lost himself.

And that is also true, said D. M. Luther, the world is obliged to help its neighbor in three ways: by giving, lending and selling. But now no one gives, everyone robs, scratches, and pulls for themselves; they take well and steal gladly, but give nothing: so no one lends, but only usurps, scrounges, and scrapes: no one sells any more, but he sells and deceives everyone. That is why there is no more vadtur, our Lord God does not want to bless so abundantly anymore. Rather, whoever wants something must also give. Never run to a gentle hand.



**8. pious hearts anxiety.**

It is difficult for a pious man to get out of the works and to be right in them, for he knows that God wants them, and he gives earnestly to do them. But if he makes this distinction, that she will have God, and one should do it, but not rely on it, nor build on it, (which is very difficult and humanly impossible because of original sin, where the Holy Spirit does not stir the heart, teaches, guides and governs by God's word), but God will reward her here on earth with peace, rest and other gifts and pay well; then I should not worry about it, but believe him, because he will have it so.

**9. merit.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, § 152.)

**10. from the saying: whoever has two re.**

(Contained in Cap. 4, Z124, the last two paragraphs.)

**11. never do the highest penance.**

(Cordatus No. 1742.)

Since Christ says [Joh. 8, 11.]: "Sin no more", he demands first of all faith, secondly also the improvement of life. He who does not promise this cannot be absolved.

**12. The works of the profession shall be greatly respected.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 22, 1538, p. 117.)

He marveled at Wicel's bitterness and envy, who sought to write much against the Lutherans without having anything, but seize every opportunity where he can; how he picks on the saying, since we have taught that the works of a publican are far better than all the works of the hermits. There the wretched man argues against us. He does not take into account the works of profession, but only those of superstition. Paul has written in his letters more abundantly and appropriately of virtues and good works than all the philosophers; he also exalts the worldly works in the godly. Should not David's war and battle have been better than the very best, most pious monks' fasting, praying,

let alone superstitious monks, among whom was the one who wanted to conquer his evil lust by breaking his beloved cooking pot? truly a great killing of the flesh!

**13) Give freely and simply, without any pleasure.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 15, 1538, p. 167.)

Since they came to the small town of Jessen, he gave alms to the poor. Also D. Jonas gave with these words: Who knows where God will give it to me again. Luther laughed and said: "As if God had not given it to you before 1). One must give freely out of pure love.

**14. reward of good works.**

In 39, January 21, an Englishman, D. Antonius Barns, asked M. Luther: "Whether the Christians and the godly, who are now righteous through faith in Christ, deserve anything for the sake of the following works? because such a question would be very mean in England. Answered D. M. Luther: First, let it be known that we are still sinners, now that we are already righteous, as we believe and pray for forgiveness of sin in this life: "Forgive us our trespasses", and Psalm 32:6: "For this all the saints will ask you" 2c. This opinion and sentiment is certain that we are all sinners, and live under the grace and forgiveness of sins.

On the other hand, God promises retribution and reward to those who do good, so we deserve something, one might say. Well, let it be equal, God repays and rewards persons for good works, but differently; just as one star is distinguished from another. And these things all happen and are under the forgiveness of sins; for since heaven, that is, since justification is under grace, how much more are the stars under grace? For just as the stars do not make or decorate heaven, but only adorn and decorate it: so works do not make heaven, but adorn the faith that makes righteous.

1) formerly - before.

We are to believe the word badly and simply-mindedly, and because we have now been justified, do good works which God has commanded, then we are stars.

This single argument solves and resolves everything: I believe in Jesus Christ, who suffered under Pontius Pilate 2c. for us: He alone is everything, our work is nothing; he alone does everything, we not, as far as salvation is concerned. But after that, if by grace we have become children of God, we are also differentiated in gifts, one having this gift, the other another gift; so there is a difference among Christians because of gifts, as the heaven has various different stars. Summa, the article of justification by Christ solves it all. For if Christ deserved it by his suffering and death, we do not deserve it: in Christ there are gifts, not merit. Since the principal and self-existent righteousness is nothing, the accidental righteousness, *accidental*is *Justitia*, is also nothing. The *substantialis justitia*, principal righteousness, is the righteousness of faith: the *accidental*is, accidental righteousness, are the gifts; but God crowns nothing, but only his gifts.

#### 15. the word reward and merit.

The word reward is very well interpreted and explained by St. Augustine, against the fallacies and deceitfulness of the sophists and the school bully, since 'they say that the Virgin Mary, with her virginity, deserved to become the mother of Christ, the Son of God, that is, she was sent with her virgin body to give birth. Truly, this is a beautiful merit, a fine merit, as if I said, "The tree deserves to bear fruit, for God has ordained and created it for this purpose, so that it may stand on God's gifts, not on our works.

So Augustine looked diligently at the word merit, and concludes from the words of Mary, the virgin: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord. He has considered the lowliness of His handmaid"; that it is on God's grace, not on our merit. For the merit of our works is nothing with God, but the merit of our righteousness.

The only way we can be justified before God is by grace, or Christ must have died in vain. Apart from this, we are all non facientes, sed patientes, who only suffer, not work; for there must be a difference of gifts. This error comes from the confusion and mixture of the law and the gospel, which are mixed and brewed together: if each doctrine does not remain in its circle, as God has ordered it, then we make hell out of heaven, and again, a heaven out of hell.

#### 16. alms of D. Martin Luther in the Theuring.

I, said D. Martinus Luther, tried it, and stopped at the Schösser, he wanted to lend me several bushels of grain for poor people, just at the time when the pestilence reigned, and complained to my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, that there was a shortage in the city, because nothing was supplied to us, so we had to suffer three kinds of plague, pestilence, hunger and frost. In addition, I indicated that I would have to share and access the grain and wood of His Electoral Grace with the citizens 2c. His Electoral Grace graciously wrote to me with these words: You should also take hold with me, dear Doctor 2c. On such words I will now dare to help the poor.

#### Give, and it shall be given unto you again. Luc. 6, 38.

This is a certain saying that makes people rich and poor. Those who do not give, and think to leave their children much behind and after them, the same keep nothing. It is a common saying that will probably remain true: *De male quaesitis non gaudet tertius haeres; unb roie bie Italians say: Male quaesit, male perdit Uebel gewonnen, übel zerronnen.* Unjustly good does not talk, does not come to third heirs. Again: Who gives there gladly, to him is given; that receives the house. Therefore, dear Käthe, he said, we have no more money, so the cups must follow; one must give, if we want something else.

have. Farming brings poverty. When someone here did not want to count the dirt, the pennies, and weighed them, that is why he has now become poor. There was also a woman in Zwickau who despised the peasants' wives, and now she has to beg. Therefore, money does not make you rich, but date, et dabitur vobis: give, and it will be given to you again. In the prophets it is often written: "The wine, which they hoped to get a thousand barrels of, became barely three hundred; for the Lord, they say, blew into the vineyards, because you gave nothing to the poor.

### 18) How the children earn their living.

Martin Luther took his child, who had defiled himself, and said, "These people also earn their food and drink by shitting, crying and weeping, as we earn heaven with our good works. And said soon after, "This is what the world lets happen, that we preach and give money for it.

### 19. from hospitals.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 1, 1538, p. 104.)

After that, Luther said of the care for strangers [de hospitalitate] in Italy, how their hospitals were well provided, royal buildings, the best food and drink in readiness, very attentive servants, the most learned physicians, the beds and clothes very clean and the resting beds painted. As soon as a sick person is brought in, he is stripped of all his clothes, which are faithfully kept for him in the presence of a notary. Then a white gown is put on him, clean cloths are placed in a beautifully painted bed, then two doctors are brought in; the servants bring food and drink in very clean glass cups, do not touch them with a finger, but present them on a plate. There come the most respectable matrons, completely veiled, and serve the poor for several days as strangers and then return home. I have seen in Florence with how much care the hospitals are served. So also the foundling hospitals, where the children are best cared for.

1) All of them are dressed in the same clothes and colors, and are provided for in the most paternal way.

### 20. of the woman who anointed the Lord Christ.

Doct. Luther was asked in 1542 if a woman had anointed Christ at Bethany in Lazari's house and before that in Simoni's house, or if another had anointed him as well. To this he answered, that it was certain that only one woman had done both, and that it was nothing that it was said in one place that Judas had murmured of it, for in the other place it is not reported; Judas murmured out of malice, but the other disciples out of simplicity. But there the knot is, that I would like the woman, Luke 7, 37. ff., of whom the Lord Christ cast out devils, to be the very woman whom they call the sinner. But she was not a harlot, for the Jews did not have such public whorehouses; but she is called Peccatrix because she had devils with her, and the Jews called all possessed sinners. For where there was punishment, they said, there was also sin. Perhaps it was a cheerful Vettel, and with words a little frivolous.

Doctor Luther was asked: Why did the Lord Christ add these words: "Truly I say to you, wherever the gospel is preached in the world, this woman and her deed should be remembered"? Then the doctor answered, "It is because of this that it should be seen that Christ greatly esteems the works of mercy, especially when one helps a man who is lying on his deathbed. Secondly, it is also an allegory: for Judas is a transgressor of all good works, while he praises and exalts all evil works. This is actually the devil's way and the world's way, which praises what one should desecrate and desecrates what one should praise. So the devil is also merciful, because he is supposed to be hard, and on the other hand he is hard.

1) Instead of "themselves" should probably better be read "they" with the old table speeches and Binvsel II, 283.

He is hard when he should be merciful: the world punishes when it should not punish, and is slothful in things wherein it should otherwise punish.

### The Sophists' Rhapsody and Doctrine of Good Works.

(Cordatus No. 320 and No. 321.)

Whenever the sophists, understanding their such words from time to time, otherwise He will not philosophy, found a word commanding good works, or hear. It is quite a murmur of Jeremiah. So Christ also a word in the subjunctive [or imperative, or indicative] said Luc. 9, 41: "O unbelieving and perverse kind, how mode, they interpreted it in the same way, as long shall I be with you and tolerate you?" Just as commanding, possible, and real, and added that a Moses threw the keys at the door of our Lord God, good work must be of such a nature that it comes from saying, "Did I bring forth this multitude and crowd? I right understanding and good will, for otherwise it am not their father.

could not be a morally good work. This is what they It can't be any other way, it upsets you when teach and what they want us to believe. Further, if we someone means so much, and yet it doesn't go from teach, not from the philosophy of Aristotle, but of place to place; that is certainly being murmured at and Christ, that reason and will are neither good nor right impatient. So I never let go of the thought that I wish except by faith which the Holy Spirit works, and that and wish I had never started this thing. Item, I would they [reason and will], thus purified by faith, do good rather be dead than to see the contempt of God's word works, they do not believe us. Further, that works are and His faithful servants. Therefore, those who not good except by faith, thou hast it in the first condemn such impatience are theologians in arte commandment; Jeremiah [5, 3.], "Lord, thine eyes speculativa, who play with thoughts and deal with behold by faith," and 7, [22.], "I have neither told them speculatives: if they get into the matter, they will nor commanded them," and Psalm 50, (8.), "Because become well aware of it and experience it. Such of thy sacrifice I punish thee not."

The vain sophists have said that they are three dispute with thoughts and speculations. theological virtues, which they have not understood at

all. For if they are theological, they are purely divine **24. from patience.**

and flatly opposed to reason, for faith believes in God Patience is the best virtue, which is highly praised whom it does not see; it hopes in him who seems to and extolled in the Holy Scriptures by the Holy Spirit. abandon his own; it loves him who seems to do so Although the philosophers and learned pagans also much evil, or at least to see through his fingers that it praise it highly, they cannot put it before God's will and happens to the faithful by loss of their property and the help, because they neither understand nor know like.

### For what anger and zeal serve and are good.

(Cordatus No. 520.)

I can never pray, preach and write better than when everything you know. Do not do everything you like. I am angry, for anger refreshes my whole blood, sharpens my mind and drives away temptations.

### (23) Of impatience, whether it be sin at all times?

When the saying of Jeremiah (when the prophet curses the day on which he was born, 2c., Jer. 20, 14.) was spoken, it was asked whether such thoughts and words were also unchristian, against God and sin? M. Luther said: "Our Lord God must be awakened with

histories are very great, of which one should not

anything certain about it. Epictetus, the wise Greek pagan, said very well: Suffer and avoid; 1) as also the Ebrews say in their language with good works:

Don't believe everything you hear. Do not say

everything you know. Do not do everything you like.

1) I.e. Be peaceful and patient. Cf. de Weites Briefe, Vol. VI, 262: meidsam und leidsam.

**25. interpretation of the saying of Isaiah (Cap. 30, 15.): In silence and hope you will be strong.**

This saying was interpreted by D. M. Luther in 1541 over the table: If thou wilt learn to overcome the greatest, most dreadful and most shameful enemies, which otherwise may well devour thee, and also harm thee in body and soul, against which one should buy him all manner of weapons, and give all money to learn this art, then know that there is a sweet, lovely herb which serves for this purpose, that is called Patientin.

Yes, you say, how can I get such medicine? To this is answered: Take the faith before thee, which saith that no man can hurt thee without the will of God: but if it be so, it is of God's kind and gracious will: so that the enemy himself doeth him a thousand times more hurt. For out of this flows love for us Christians, which says, "I will do him all good for evil, and cast fiery coals upon his head. This is the armor and harness of Christians, that they may smite their enemies, who seem like the great mountains, and otherwise cannot be overthrown, or won with iron and steel. This same love learns to suffer all kinds of things.

**26. comfort against many enmities.**

One of them said that he lived peacefully with everyone, did no harm to anyone, and kept quiet and withdrawn, and yet many people were hostile and angry with him. Then said D. M. Luther said: "Be patient, and do not give cause for this. Dear, what do we do to the devil? What is wrong with him that he is so hostile to us? If he does not have that which our Lord God has, he is so vehemently angry with us that he burns with hatred toward us. Therefore, if God gives you food, eat; if he gives you fasting, be patient. If he gives you honor, accept it; if he gives you shame and harm, endure it. If he throws you into prison, suffer it; if he wants to make you a lord, follow him; if he throws you down again, respect it and do not worry.

Item: No one will harm me; he will be harmed before he dies. I do not sin by tolerating and suffering such things, but he who harms me harms me.

**Patience is necessary everywhere.**

(Cordatus No. 249 and No. 466.)

I must have patience with the devil, I must have patience with the enthusiasts, I must have patience with the Scharrhansen, I must have patience with my servants, I must have patience with Käthe von Boren, and there is still so much patience that all my life wants to be nothing else but patience.

"By being still and hoping you would be strong." (Is. 30, 15.] Be patient, suffer and hope, and do not despair in conscience.

**Sometimes you have to dissimulate and suffer a little.**

One must suffer an evil branch for the sake of the. For the sake of the tree, for the sake of the body, for the sake of the body, for the sake of the body.

**29 On the saying of the Psalm: Commit thy way unto the LORD, and hope in him;**

**D. M. Luther made this verse:**

Silence, sorrow, avoid and forbear. Your distress alone complain to God.

In God never despair. Your happiness comes every day.

**30. from the remedy.**

A Christian suffers violence, and does not resist evil; whether he may nevertheless use the right, and what it permits and allows him? Answer: A Christian always suffers from the authorities, and only from the authorities, because they always persecute Christ and God, that is, the law and the gospel. But I also call those who rely on the office of the authorities, as not to be resisted; otherwise, if anyone resists or is able to resist and protect himself, he needs the authorities to protect him and stand by him. Therefore, if the authorities are for him or against him and act, a Christian does it or suffers it, and it follows that a murderer or highwayman who is superior to one is like the authorities against him. But a fainting murderer, who is too weak, is under him as under an authority.

The law is for him and protects him. For violence thou shalt suffer, but justice thou shalt not forsake: for one thing is violence, and another is justice.

### 31 Dr. M. Luther's rhyme of one.

In luctu gaudium, In gaudio luctus,  
Gaudendum in Domino, Lugendum in  
nobis. In Traure" Freud, In Freuden  
Trauern; Fröhlich im HErrn, Traurig in  
uns sein.

### 32. bon vindictiveness.

The first anger is the best, so that the good deeds are not lost; but man does not do that, but continues and relies on men. Again, the first atonement is the best, so that not so much evil may happen; but a man always continues, does not let up, wants to take revenge; but if one wants to live, one must finally get along. For war cannot last for ever, nor be eternal, if the land cannot be built, nor provisions be left. How are we then so senseless, mad and foolish through the devil's instigation and activity, since we must at last reconcile ourselves with harm, and depart from each other as friends and part, since all good deeds are lost?

### 33. against revengefulness.

Have you not at least learned that when you do harm to someone, it must unfortunately happen to you a hundred times over? What happened to one of the nobility of G., who was the chamberlain and councilor of a prince, certainly harmed many; at last he had to punish himself and kill himself horribly. Therefore, if you are in a great, high office, where many people must be annoyed and offended by you, against your will; do not seek revenge, but what gives or interprets a right, follow it and execute it. For to suffer injustice, and to control and resist wrath and vengeance, makes and keeps a good, safe, and cheerful conscience; but vengeance

must always make a guilty, restless and evil conscience. This is not lacking.

What is it now? Dear, what do you gain? By striking another, you wound or pierce yourself. But he suffers the punishment of injustice with a cheerful heart, but you suffer the guilt of revenge with a wounded conscience; therefore you harm yourself most of all when you harm another. Therefore, let our Lord God take vengeance, that he may punish the wrong publicly; he will certainly not give it to anyone, no one will escape him. It is said, like a sheep to the slaughter; not, like a cry to war. Christ was a sheep before Pilato, not a tyrant; so shall a Christian be.

### The death of the saints is more devout than their life.

I wanted, said D. M. Luther, that the adversaries would kill me, because my death would be more useful to the church than my life. So Samson the Philistine killed them rather when he died than when he lived. Judg. 16:30 For this reason I would gladly go to war with our prince against the Turk; if I were to remain dead, then the Turk would also be destroyed.

### 35) How to do good deeds.

One of them apologized and said that he wanted to help the people, to serve and to do good, but their ingratitude put him off. Then said D. M. L. said: "Charity and good deeds should be done secretly, not gloriously; they should be done quietly and without a request for enjoyment, and for the sake of God's honor and the neighbor's good.

### What works please God or not.

In all works one should look to God's word; therefore, which works are done by and according to God's command, they are not our will, but we are only God's instrument and tool through which He works; they are not ours, but God's. As the works of the law are called and are called, which are done and are done by commandment.

and commandment of the law, not voluntarily. Therefore, all works that are not done by God's command are works of our hands and are done without God's word; they are ungodly and condemned, especially if one thinks that he will be justified before God by them.

The righteous does good works not by force, but voluntarily, in honor of God who commanded it, and for the service and benefit of his neighbor; for he can do nothing else, just as a good tree brings forth good fruit by nature. Therefore, these two kingdoms at the end of the world are the two last abominations, the priest and the Turk. The one is the rule of the priests; the other is the rule of lies. Therefore the end of the world is near at the door, it wants to fail.

### **37. works do not deserve bliss.**

(Contained in Cap. 13, § 50.)

### **38: Luther's speech of protection by a lenient hand.**

M. Johann Holstein, D. Martin Luther's table companion, said to D. M. Luther: One can see it on one's hands if one is mild, free of cost and kind; and understood that one could judge it from the chiromantia. Martin Luther answered and said: "That is true, one can see by the hand if one is mild, because one must spend with the hand, one does not give with the feet.

D. Martin Luther said that at Speier on the beautiful Oelberg, which is in the cathedral, the Jews all carry halberds, which images are quite artistically carved out of stone. Now it was asked: Why do they wear no other weapons than halberds? A mischievous man answered: "They have lent our citizens the spears. He wanted to show that they were running and running wild with the Jewish spear.

### **39. three kinds of alms.**

There are three kinds of alms, said the doctor: First, that we give something to maintain the ministry. Second, that we give to poor friends who are related to us, as parents, children, blood friends, and the like. Thirdly, that we also help others and strangers who live with us, or who

otherwise need our help, and so suffer hardship that they cannot live without other people's help.

### **40. four main virtues.**

The ancients, said D. Martin Luther, have set four main virtues: Temperance, which preserves the body; righteousness, which nourishes; manliness or magnanimity, which weathers; and wisdom, which governs all things.

### **Ceremonies in the church shall be free.**

It has been an old custom to bury and lay the dead with their faces turned toward the morning and the exit of the sun, for the sake of a secret and spiritual interpretation, which is indicated by this; but this has been done freely, and without law and superstition. Thus all laws in the church should be, namely, free, which no one would be forced to do, as they neither justified nor condemned before God, but were kept only for the sake of respectability and outward discipline.

### **42) The righteousness of works. 1)**

D. Martin Luther said that the righteousness of works and hypocrisy is the most harmful pestilence, innate in us, which cannot easily be expelled nor gotten rid of, especially when it is confirmed and confirmed by habit. For all men by nature want to act with God, to reason, and to do enough with their powers and works. That is why Doctor Staupitz used to say: I no longer want to talk about being pious, I have deceived our Lord God too often; I want to ask God for a blessed hour.

### **Good works do not make one righteous before God.**

One argued and said: "Evil works condemn, therefore good works make righteous. Then said D. M. Luther said: "The argument is still not suitable Ratione contrariorum, because they are not right against each other. For evil works are fully adequate

1) Another relation of Cap. 18, § 5. Cf. Walch, Vol. VIII, Explanation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 5, Z223.

evil, because they come from a heart that is totally depraved and evil; but good works, even in righteous Christians who are now born again by the word of the Holy Spirit, without their cooperation, are imperfectly good, because they come from a weak obedience that is somewhat restituted and made right.

(Here 18 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 13, § 50, in the last paragraph).

We cannot suffer nor hear that death is the consequence of sin. We do the sin and flee the punishment: we do not want it. Yes, it should be ordered for us. For what is sin without death? It is a figure and sign of sin to have an angry God 2c. Therefore, we can never rightly say that he is and remains righteous, for we truly want to be righteous with him and not leave the glory to God alone. But God tempers and makes it so with the temptations that we can bear it. The challenge does not kill, if it is done in such a way that it leaves one alive, and comfort follows. Now we should thank God that he does not let us sink into temptation, because it does not lead to death. If in the last hour, when we wrestle with death, we can only say: Lord Jesus Christ, I commit my spirit into your hands, then we are not among those who blaspheme God.

(Here 19 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 13, § 50, abridged here).

#### 44: Ceremonies during Advent.

(Lauterbach, Dec. 1, 1538. p. 185.)

Luther then said of the ceremonies of Advent, how they were best used for thanksgiving for the incarnation of Christ. For truly unspeakable has been the mercy and love of the Lord s--Ua^w7rca] toward men, that he took on flesh and blood. This can never be considered enough with human thoughts. But it has lately become the most atrocious idolatries of Advent. The Rorate 1) (Is. 45, 8.) is an inward and outward

1) The quoted passage in Isaiah begins, in the Vulgate, with the word: lioruts; therefore, the Advent Mass at which this text was read was called the Rorate Mass, or Rorate par excellence.

The people of the city of Leipzig, especially, where there was so much fornication that it exceeded all human understanding.

#### 45. from the little word merit.

(Cordatus No. 511 and 512.)

Once I was thinking over a sermon on Matthew about merit, that there was no merit here, but in that life, I shared and explained it; but under the prayer I lost my whole context, so that God would teach me that He alone wanted to be a preacher, not us. And neither I nor the listeners were worth it.

The word merit is a heavy and dangerous one. For when one reads [Math. 19, 21]: "If you want to be perfect," reason soon concludes: "Therefore it is merit. Therefore this word is to be eradicated, 2) otherwise it is lost. God is the effective cause of merit.

#### 46. middle things, adiaphora.

Ceremonies, as there are: Eating meat, fasting, clothing, place 2c., are free and allowed in themselves, because they violate neither divine nor natural law, but often make a burned and confused conscience.

#### 47 Which is the best work.

The best work on earth is listening to sermons. Common prayers, the week of prayer and processions all aimed at God's giving us rain and blessings for the sake of it, since we called upon the dead saints. But how is it that one does not ask for justice?

#### 48. glorious boasts and noble virtues of the works of one's own righteousness, from St. Paul's

##### Epistle to the Galatians.

(This K is at the end of the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, at the end).

2) The reading extsrui nauäuin, as it is found in the original, is the only correct one according to Lutheran doctrine. Compare also Cap. 7/H 152, not sxtsnuanäuM, which D. Wrampelmeyer recommends.



## The 15th chapter.

### Of prayer.

1. what power prayer has.
2. about prayer and its power.
3. a different one from the power of prayer and from the Lord's Prayer.
4. another one of these.
5. another one different from the power of prayer.
6. that prayer should be practiced and practiced daily.
7. that peasants do not like to pray.
8. of a monk's prayer.
9. that preachers should put their prayer together.
- 1V. Causes of prayer.
11. D. M. Luther's prayer for a gracious rain.
12. of the papist prayer.
13. D. M. Luther's exhortation to prayer.
14. to ask for peace.
15. Asking for peace.
16. an exhortation to give thanks for peace.
17. about world peace.
18. from unity.
19. of disunity in churches among the servants.
20. about the power and ability of prayer.
- 21: Admonition of D. M. Luther's Exhortation to Pray Against the Devil and Papists.
22. that the prayer will surely be heard.
23. sighing of the heart.
24. D. M. L. and other plague in the Pabstthum with the Horis canonicis.
25. whether to curse in prayer.
26. of the spirit of grace and prayer.
27. your will be done.
28. the power of prayer.
29. righteous prayer is surely heard.
30. prayer for a child prayer.
31. negligence to prayer.
- The best prayer is the Lord's Prayer.
33. exhortation to prayer,
- 34 Whether foreign faith helps anything.
35. Christ directed the prayer to the Father alone.
36. Against temptation one should not pray.
- The children's prayer.
38. of some sayings.
39. as D. M. Luther prayed.
40. Through prayer one should command everything to God.
41. the power of prayer.
42. With prayer, one must stop.
43. D. M. L. Prayer that the last day may come.
44. God demands the heart in prayer.
45. you have to pray, and what it creates.
- Christians pray forever.
- 47) How lawyers should begin their dealings with prayer and the fear of God.
48. of the father-our and its power.
- 49) That one must stop with prayer.

#### 1. what power prayer has.

(The first three paragraphs in Cordatus No. 355, No. 1411 and No. 1234.)

Well, no one believes that the power and effectiveness of our prayer is so great who has not experienced it. But then it is also a very great thing to be able to resort to prayer when sad cases occur. As often as I have been serious about my prayers, I have been answered more abundantly than I have asked. God may sometimes forego and yet he hears.

The prayer of the righteous is heard before it is finished. But no one performs such a prayer unless experience teaches him and necessity drives him. I have often experienced this, obtaining more than I asked for.

Jesus Sirach says that the prayer of the godly can do more to heal a sick person than the treatment of doctors.

Item: Oh, what a great thing it is about the

a righteous prayer of devout Christians! Jac. 5, 16. How powerful it is with God that a poor man should speak to the high majesty in heaven in this way and not be afraid of it, but know that God is looking kindly upon him for the sake of Jesus Christ, His dear Son, our Lord and Savior! The heart and conscience must not run back, nor be in doubt because of his unworthiness, nor be deterred. As once happened to a Bavarian who called on St. Leonard very devoutly. There stood one behind the idol and image, who answered and said: Fie you, Bavarian! and often drove him back, would not hear him. At last he went away and said: Fie you, Ledla! We must not let it come to this, but in our hearts we must surely believe and conclude that we are ready to hear what we have asked in faith in Christ.

Therefore, the ancients described prayer very finely and well, that it is an ascension of the heart to God, *Ascensus mentis ad Deum*, when the heart rises and sighs to God. It is very well said. I myself, and the others in general, did not understand the definition correctly. We praised and said of the rising of the heart, but there was a lack of syntax, so that we could not bring the *Deum* (the word God) to it: yes, we fled from God, could not freely and surely go before God and ask Him through Christ, in whom all power and certainty of prayer is seen; but have always prayed conditionally, with a condition and a certainty, uncertainly, on adventurousness and counsel. Therefore, dear brothers, pray in your heart, sometimes also with your mouth, because, by God, prayer sustains the world, otherwise it should be much different. At home I am not so brave and cheerful, for I must always protest beforehand; but in church among the congregation it is heartfelt and also penetrates.

#### 2. about prayer and its power.

As a cobbler makes a shoe, and a tailor a skirt; so a Christian should pray. A Christian's trade is prayer. And the prayer of the church is a great miracle. In our time, three of them have been raised from the dead: I, who have often lain deathly ill; my housewife Käthe, who was also deathly ill; and M. Philippus Melancthon, who lay deathly ill in Weimar in 1540: although deliverance from illness and bodily dangers are bad miracles, they should be noted because of the weak in faith. For these are far greater miracles to me, that our Lord God baptizes every day in the church, administers the sacrament of the altar, and saves from sin, death and eternal damnation. These are great miracles to me.

#### 3. a different one from the power of prayer and from the Lord's Prayer.

In the Lord's Prayer, the Lord Christ has understood all needs in very few words, what we should ask and how we should ask. But apart from the temptation, no right prayer can be

happen. That is why David says Ps. 50:15: "Call upon me in time of need"; otherwise, without that, it is a cold babble and does not come from the heart; as they say, "Need teaches to pray.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, no date, p. 155.)

The papists say that God understands all the words of those who pray. But Bernard judges differently, saying that God does not hear the words of a prayer if they are not first heard by the prayers.

The pope has tortured the consciences as a real cane-master and weighed them down without measure. The assembly of his scribblers and religious, priests, monks and nuns, was nothing else than a frog's fiddle, which neither served nor built anything: and if one thought that they had taught and done much, it was only sophistry and deception, without any benefit and fruit.

#### 4. another one.

What a strong wall and rampart of the church is the dear prayer, and weapon of the Christians and godly, no one knows and learns, except a Christian and believer who has the spirit of grace and prayer. Oh, how an excellent master has composed these words, in which there is and is an infinite rhetoric and oratory, in which all things, needs and troubles are comprehended! The first three petitions contain and comprehend such great, excellent, celestial things that no heart can ever be able to comprehend them. The fourth petition includes, as if in a bundle, the whole police and economy, the worldly and domestic government, and everything that is physical and temporal, which is necessary for this life. The fifth petition is against the devil's own evil conscience, both inherent and committed sins that weigh down the conscience 2c. Truly, a wise man has made it, and no one can do the same.

Furthermore, Martin Luther said of the Lord's Prayer that it would not be called prayed if it were spoken without faith, and that we could not pray it without Christ, the mediator. Turks, Jews and godless people can tell it and repeat the words, but they cannot pray it.

prayed often, but they did not pray. For Christ says to John in the 16th chapter, v. 24: "You have not asked anything in my name before," since they undoubtedly prayed much and spoke the words: but when the Holy Spirit came, only then did they pray rightly in the name of Christ. Summa, the righteousness of the law makes no one righteous before God: if prayer and reading is a mere work, it is nothing. Righteous prayer of Christians is a strong wall, as God Himself says in the prophet Ezekiel, Cap. 22, 30: "I sought among them if any man would make himself a wall, and stand against the breach against me, for the land, that I should not destroy it; but I found none" 2c. Therefore let us pray, since others blaspheme.

Anno 1532, den 18. Augusti, da keine Hoffnung mehr der Besserung und Gesundheit des godmen, christlichen Churfürsten, Herzog Johannes zu Sachsen 2c., sprach D. Martin Luther: 1) Dear Lord God, hear our prayer, according to your promise: let us not throw the keys at your feet; for if we become angry with you in the end, and do not give you your honor and interest, where will you stay? Oh dear Lord, we are yours, do it as you will, only give us patience.

On August 20, he spoke again with great heartfelt compassion about the pious, sick Elector, and said: "Dear God, you have a title that you hear the sighs and prayers of the poor, as David says in Ps. 1:45, 19: "He does the will of those who fear him, and hears their prayer. Dear Lord, let us ask no evil, let us not throw the keys at your door.

#### 5. a different one from the power of prayer.

Said D. Luther: Our Lord God always gives more than we ask: if we ask for a piece of bread, he gives us a whole field. When my housewife was sick, I asked God to let her live; so He gives her the Zülsdorf estate in addition, and otherwise gives us a rich, fruitful year.

1) The two following prayers are already printed in Valch, St. Louis edition, Thxil X, Col. 1519.

But I think it will be a good pestilence

follow it, for we are too wicked and cause heresy even among ourselves.

The doctor said to him, "Doctor, how is it that in the priesthood we prayed so fervently, so diligently, and so often, but now our prayer is quite cold, indeed, we pray seldom? Then the doctor answered and said: "The devil is always driving his servants, who are laborious and diligent in their worship; but the Holy Spirit teaches us and instructs us how we should pray rightly; but we are so cold, and so lacking in prayer, that it does not want to go anywhere.

#### 6. that prayer should be practiced and practiced daily.

D. Luther said that he had enough to do with himself every day so that he could pray, and let it suffice him when he lay down that he could pray the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, and then take a saying or two from the Bible and fall asleep with the same contemplation.

#### 7. that peasants do not like to pray.

M. Luther said that the pastor of Holzdorf did not want to let his peasants go to communion, because they did not know the main parts of the catechism. Now the peasants accused him before the Visitatoribus. The priest answered: "Dear sirs, I confess that I did not want them to go to communion, because they cannot pray. Then one of the peasants came out and said, "We are not allowed to pray, because that is why we keep you and give you your wages, so that you may pray for us.

#### 8. bon of a monk prayer.

(Cordatus No. 404.)

Monachus super latrinam Non debet orare primam? Deo quod supra, Tibi quod cadit infra.

This is how someone answered the devil. 2)

2) The other half of this number of the Cordatus is found Cap. 24, § 23.

**9. that preachers should put their prayer together.**

Once upon a time in Wittenberg, D. Johannes Aepinus was the superintendent of Hamburg. When he departed from there again, and D. M. Luther blessed and said: I entrust myself and my church in Hamburg to your reverence" prayer; then D. Martinus answered: "Dear Domino Aepine, the matter is of our Lord God, let us sit down together with our Lord's Prayer, then the matter will be decided; otherwise nothing helps: I will pray against the Pope and the Turks while I live. And I like it very much that in the Hamburg ordination you seriously command to pray against the pope and the Mahomet.

**10. of the causes of prayer.**

(Cordatus No. 1717.)

The causative cause [causa per se] of prayer is faith, but the incidental [per accidens] is necessity, the form [forma] is seized by undeserved mercy, the matter involved [materia circa quam] is the promise and command to pray, the end [finis] is the answer or deliverance.

(A single sentence that follows here, torn out of No. 1481 of the Cordatus, rst omitted here ; communicated in Appendix No. II.)

**11. prayer of D. M. Luther for a gracious rain.**

(This § is already printed in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, Col. 1498 f. - The second part of this 8 is printed again Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1591, No. 157. - Cordatus No. 1492. 1493. 1)561.)

Since he always prayed and sighed at the time of drought, he always complained that the stinginess of the peasants prevented the prayer of the Christians, that GOD did not give rain when reminded of His promises. God wants to punish the peasants, but He also knows how to provide for His own in times of famine. Those mammon servants have become quite confident.

God has different means to preserve and to destroy. Thus, God could also strike down the Turk with the greatest army by locusts, as one reads in the church history that a very great army of the king

of the Persians, which besieged Nineveh, was chased away by mosquitoes. 1)

In the time of drought he prayed with his eyes lifted up to heaven: "O Lord God, you have said by the mouth of David your child [Ps. 145:18, 19]: "The Lord is near to all who call upon him, to all who call upon him with earnestness. He does what the godly desire, and hears their cry, and helps them." How then, that thou wilt not give rain, because we cry and entreat so long? Well, if you do not want rain, you will give something better, a quiet life and peace. But what will the wicked say to these words [John 16:23], "If ye shall ask anything of the Father in my name" ? I know that from our hearts we cry out to you and groan 2c. And the same night rain came.

**12. from the papist prayer.**

(Here 24 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 12, § 55, last paragraph).

After that, he, Martin Luther, began and said how he had toiled in the first week, when the Gospel had begun, with the horis canonicis, which he had omitted and not spoken, before much business. On Saturday he would have locked himself up in his cell, and what he missed that week he would have fulfilled. Finally, however, he would have been so burdened and prevented by business and weakness of his body that he could not have complied with and fulfilled it. And since the others, as Amsdorf, laughed at and despised such prayers, he would also have dropped them, for it would not have been possible for him to do so, and would therefore have refrained from doing so out of despair, and said: "It was a great torture and torment from which we are redeemed through the gospel, and if I had done no good but this alone, I should be thanked for it. No one can believe what a torture it was, how ver-

1) From the above relation of Cordatus, Kummer seems to have formed his own, which we have already communicated Cap. 2, Z121. The date given there (1542) is certainly incorrect, because Cordatus concluded his diary with the year 1537. The year 1532 was a year of great drought, therefore this speech is probably to be put there. The statement "at this time of drought came many locusts" is a later addition.

and burdensome: and it cannot be otherwise than that without spirit innumerable laws and works are given and taught; as in the book "Rationale divi- norum" innumerable monstrous things are written.

### 13. exhortation of D. Martin Luther's exhortation to prayer.

In 1539, January 6, on the Feast of the Three Kings, Martin Luther exhorted the people to pray diligently against the devil's raging and raging in the blinded papists, who incited the emperor and other kings, potentates and great princes and lords against the gospel. They are, he said, mad and foolish with their blasphemy, and still want to defend it as right. On the other hand, we provoke God's wrath with our great wickedness and ingratitude. Therefore, repent, amend, and pray that God will judge, guide, and keep the emperor's heart, which he has in his hand, for the planting of the Gospel, so that he will not wage war against the revealed teachings of the Gospel, to preserve the great, shameful abominations, errors, and excesses of Pabstism and its worms and vermin. For we have, by the grace of God, the true, pure Word of God, the sacraments, and how to live a proper Christian life, along with fine Christian ordinances. Therefore, let us pray diligently and repent in this time of grace, that we may not be condemned with the world. And thus concluded: Dear God, 1) govern me, that with spiritual eyes I may recognize and confess my inherent sickness and weakness, and thus be led to the right knowledge of Christ, and be governed, cleansed and sanctified by your Holy Spirit, amen.

### 14. to ask for peace.

Anno 1539, Sunday Reminiscere, D. M. Luther made an earnest exhortation to ask for peace in these very perilous times, since we have had peace in a most marvelous way for twenty years; since no time, when the Gospel is preached

1) This prayer is already printed, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, Col. 1505.

has been as long as there has been peace. Dear God, 2) Protect us from war, which desolates the country and all estates. Rather, give us a strong pestilence, in which the people are pious, and religion, police and economy, the church, true pure doctrine, secular and domestic government are not so devastated and violated, corrupted nor adulterated.

Item: In the same year, on the 15th of March, there was talk about the fury, rage and fury of the papists, who described and gathered war people in the country of Bohemia under a foreign name. Then Luther said: "Lord God, give us peace, spare us, and do not let us be repaid for our sins: we are too wicked, ungrateful and secure, since Satan does not sleep. They can soon invade this land and destroy everything, for it has no fortified city or castle inside; everything is open to them. But I am glad that we are not the first to attack, and if we were to remain in this little country and be strangled, the noise would then continue to spread across the Rhine, Bavaria 2c. We Saxons are weak, sit among thorns, have evil neighbors as patrons, the M[ainz] and H[archduke] G[eorg]; but God is the supreme patron, who says: My will shall be done. Even though we should be more pious, he has patience with us, only that we do not despise his grace and word.

Well then, if they attack us, God grant us patience: if we bet a penny, they must bet a florin; for they have hair, we are bare. The LORD will terrify the Amorites and defend Jacob, as Moses says. If God were not for us and on our side, we would have been discovered long ago; and since they are about to strangle us and kill us, they will not gain much nor accomplish much.

### 15. Asking for peace.

Doctor Martin Luther read a letter that M. Philip had written to him, as it would be on the Colloquio; and said: what Philip-

2) This prayer is already printed, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, Col. 1489.

pus writes, that has hands and feet, authority and gravity, is important, in few words; as I notice from his writing, so I think it will be a war. For the papists would like it, but they do not have so much courage, so ours cannot; so that it would be. Well then, let it go in *nomine Domini*, in the name of the Lord, I will let God rule, and I will be Crito in the game and Homo pax. 1) We want to ask God to change our adversaries; we have a right good cause: who would not want to fight pro Sacris, for the sanctuary (which is God's word, which sanctifies everything), to lose life and limb, goods and blood? Moreover, the secular rights and political orders are also right, for our people have always and still ask for peace and confess that they would be provoked and provoked in such a way that they would have to protect and defend themselves and their subjects against unjust violence. But they do not want to give peace.

But the sissy at Mainz wreaks all misfortune, and Hseinz] Mordbrenner continues in his malice. Therefore, our people must answer promptly and immediately. It is not good to wait long; it is better to come first, before others come. If I were a landgrave, I would bet the three of them, and either perish or kill them, because they do not want to give peace in a very good and just cause. But it is not for me, as a preacher, to advise such things, much less to do them. If they sincerely desired peace without falsehood, they would have given it immediately from the beginning, and not delayed twelve days. At last he said, "This letter was given ten days ago; it will now be decided how it is to be. May the eternal merciful God give His grace to it. Let us pray and watch, for Satan truly does not sleep nor celebrate.

#### 16. an exhortation to give thanks for peace.

On May 11, on the Sunday Vocem Jucunditatis 1539, D. M. Luther exhorted the people to give thanks that God had given peace this year. For we see publicly,

1) In ?1autu8 Irinumi". 4, 2. 94 ff. (Förtemann.)

he said that God is watching and still resists the bloodthirsty papists, who rage and rage against us out of devilish hatred, and every year get pregnant and thirst for our blood, which God has often put to shame and will continue to do so; as the dear God Himself has now miraculously made peace, in that the godless man Duke G[eorg] has been killed. Therefore, we should thank God for this, pray and repent, for there is no peace to be hoped for: because the Pope reigns and the Gospel shines, hatred and disunity will last forever and will not cease. God protect us from bloodshed. This is what we should ask for.

When the same time was said about the peace that was made at Frankfurt, D. M. Luther said: "I cannot think how peace can be made between us and the papists. M. Luther: "I cannot think how peace can be made between us and the papists, for neither part yields to the other, and there is an eternal war between the seed of the woman and the old serpent. They do not tire of each other, as secular kings, princes and lords do; when they have tired of each other, they make peace for many years. Such conditions and means do not apply in this matter, for we cannot depart from the confession of the right, true Christian religion and the Word of God, which they insist upon. In turn, they do not want to let go of their idolatry and abominations. The devil does not want to cut off their feet, so Christ wants to preach and spread his word unhindered. Therefore I cannot think and hope for any decency or peace between Christ and Belial.

#### 17. world peace.

(Cordatus No. 1002.)

Civil peace is a very great gift of God on earth, but it is a very great abuse of it when everyone lives in peace, as he pleases, against God and against the authorities. Oh, how the nobles, peasants and citizens will pay for it one day, like the Hungarians and Austrians.

#### 18. from unity.

There was talk of quarrelsome jurists and despisers of theology; then D. M. Luther spoke:

By unity we take too small things and goods, as the pagan says; but discord and dissension is dangerous and harmful, especially in schools, professions, high arts, and the same professors, since one should and must reach out and kiss the hand of the other. But if we bite and devour one another, let us take care that we are not consumed among ourselves. Therefore let us pray and fight, for the word of faith and the prayer of the righteous are the mightiest weapons: so God himself sends his holy angels round about them that fear him, Ps. 34:8. We shall fight, for we are under one Lord of hosts and princes of war; therefore with one hand we must build, and in the other hand we must wield the sword, doing both to teach and to defend.

It must have been very serious, since the Jews led the trowel in the hand and walled, and soon twitched the sword; therefore we may well pray against the old serpent, which stabs Christ in the heel. Now is the time to watch, for it is for us; for they will join with the Turk against us. They truly mean us, we may and must dare, for the Antichrist will war against the saints of God and prevail, as Daniel says. Externally, we are in great danger from traitors, for the papists will take it upon themselves to corrupt and smear all our captains with money. A donkey loaded with money can do anything, as the pagan Cornelius Tacitus writes of the Germans: We have taught them to take money. There is no more faith nor belief on earth. The Welsh and the Spaniards conspire and hold themselves together against us, only for the sake of their own enjoyment.

#### 19. disunity in churches among the servants.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 2, 1538, p. 21.)

On this day came the request of a pastor who complained about the disobedience of his deacon. Luther answered: Ah dear God, how hostile is the devil to us that he stirs up even the ministers of the Word with hatred against one another! The devil always lights one fire after another. Let us extinguish it by praying, by reconciling and yielding.

We may disagree in morals, but there must be unity in true doctrine. Not like the papists, who are very unequal both in doctrine and in life. Afterwards he sighed with uplifted eyes: "Lord God, how great is the ungodliness and ingratitude of the world, which so neglects and persecutes your ineffable grace; even we, who boast ourselves evangelical and know that the word of God is genuine, as the testimony spoken from heaven indicates (Matth. 17, 5.): "This is my dear Son, hear him!" But we hold this most holy gospel of Christ in such low esteem, as if it were a word from Terence.

#### 20. of the power and ability of prayer.

Praying from the heart, and poor people's lamentations raise such a clamor that all the angels in heaven must hear it. Our Lord God must have great ears and a sharp, silent hearing.

#### 21. exhortation of D. Martin Luther's Exhortation to Pray Against the Devil and Papists.

(Lauterbach, Dec. 25, 1538, p. 194.)

On December 25, Christmas Day, Luther preached at noon, after which he exhorted to public prayer for the course of the Word against all attempts of Satan, especially against the bloodthirsty papists, who would be the most bitter opponents, could not provide us with anything better than that they daily counsel against God's Word and the public peace. Therefore, you who are pious, pray, repent. Do not only hear the word, but also live according to it, so that we may put a little candle 2) or incense on our Lord God, because all the world, papists, epicureans, nobles, peasants, cause so much trouble, who live freely according to the flesh, without all faith and love. They accept everything from God without thanksgiving, serving no one.

#### 22 The prayer will surely be heard.

All who call upon God in right faith with earnestness from the heart will certainly be heard, and

1) The same thought Cap. 15, § 23.

2) trutzischk, English trookislsc, a medicinal cake, cookie, here probably for incense.

They receive what they have asked for and desired, although not immediately at the same hour, time, measure, or just what they ask for; yet they receive much better, greater, and more glorious things than they can hope for. As St. Paul testifies in Romans 8:26, "For we do not know what we ask," since we do not know what or how it would be better. Thus, if I pray that Duke George may die and not be heard, I should not be taught that my prayer is in vain and in vain, for it is perhaps better that a godless ruler should live than that, if he should die, there should be six, seven, or more godless rulers in his place. Therefore God heareth them that pray in faith, though not at the same hour, nor in the manner, and for that which they prescribe; but when and as it shall please him, and he knoweth that it is profitable for us. If we are sure that it is for the sanctification of his name and the increase and honor of his kingdom, and that it is done according to his will, he will surely hear us. But if we ask against these things, we will not be heard, for God does nothing against His name, kingdom and will.

### 23. sighing of the heart.

(Cordatus No. 825. 826.)

Even in the greatest saints, faith has often been weak, which can be seen in Moses. For when he had the people grumbling against him, and he himself knew no way of deliverance, he trembled in all his words and almost despaired, and yet he hears God saying to him, "Why are you crying out? [Ex. 14, 15.] O how a cry will 1) he have raised, when he could not lift up his tongue. Nor will he fill God's great ears. O how hard will O he have struck into the sea who did not believe this. And yet he obeyed the word of God, which he would not have done if he had had another way of escape. He would not have believed that the people would go dry-footed through the depth of the sea.

We are talking about the greatest miracles that

1) Both times in the original: "shall".

are quite inscrutable to reason, mostly with cold words, such as that there was a way in the Red Sea as long as from there to Koburg, through which Moses, without the children, led six times a hundred thousand men, for which he must have had fourteen days, and so long always had to keep house. In the meantime, the angel stood between them until they passed through, and Pharaoh entered with his own and perished. Mosi's faith in the meantime was small with him, but with God it was great, and so faith is powerful in weakness.

### 24. M. Luther's and other plagues in the papacy with the Horis Canonicis.

When I was still a monk in the monastery, I had so much to do with reading, writing, preaching and singing in the church that I could not pray my Horas Canonicas before that. Therefore, if I could not pray them during the six days of the week, I took the Saturday before me, and stayed without eating at noon and in the evening, and prayed all day long. So we were poor, troubled people with the decrees and statutes of the pope, of which the young people know nothing now.

In Bononia 3) there were students who sought a dispensation from the pope for the sake of the Horas Canonicas: the pope wrote again: LurZo vaanius ota eittuo: Surge manius et ora citius Get up earlier and start praying. But when Mercurinus, Emperor Carl's chancellor, who had first been a bishop and then became a cardinal, did this and prayed early in the morning, quickly and hurriedly, the devil appeared to him in the form of a poor soul and said to him: Tu non justa hora oras: You do not pray at the right hour. So the devil could vex us. We also had a brother in the monastery who missed many hours of prayer for the sake of his studies, but he could not attain indulgenz: so he hired someone to pray for him during the day, so that he might read twice during the day.

2) Cf. § 12 of this Cap.

3) d. i. Bologna.



**(25) Whether one also curses in prayer.**

(Cordatus No. 1326.)

All who pray curse; for example, when I say, "Hallowed be thy name," I curse Erasmus and all who contend against the Word.

**26. the spirit of grace and prayer, Zech. 12, 10.**

(Contained in Cap. 8, § 1, para. 1.)

**27 Your will be done.**

One of them complained to M. Luthern: "Dear Doctor, it does not want to go anywhere, nor do we want to go the way we want. Yes, said the doctor, that is just right; why have you surrendered your will to our Lord God, and pray every day: "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven"?"

**28. the power of prayer.**

In 1540, D. M. Luther said to Philipppo: "Let good things come to pass, whatever they may be, they come to pass, they go, and are brought about by prayer, which alone is the almighty Empress. In human affairs we direct everything through prayer: what is ordered, we govern; what is erred, we change and amend; what cannot be changed and amended, we suffer; overcome all misfortune, and preserve all good. There is no counsel against violence, but only prayer.

**29. righteous prayer is surely heard.**

It is God alone who gives life in the midst of death, is merciful and saves, and laughs in the midst of the wrath and rage of men; so when we think that our prayer is in vain and unheard, he gives what we have asked according to his will. All his works are marvelous and incomprehensible: for before him is that which is not; that which is corrupt becomes before him; that which falls down stands; and nothing is all before him. To him alone be glory, who alone is God and the Creator, who alone governs all things.

**30. prayer for a child-worshipper. 1)**

(Cordatus No. 933. 934.)

We have the advantage that our prayer is always answered. For if it is not answered according to our will, it is nevertheless answered according to the will of God, which is better than ours. And if I did not know that my prayer would be answered, then 2) the devil should pray in my place.

It is not necessary that God always hear me according to my will, for He would be my prisoner; and why should He hear us, since we ask, when He knows better?

**31. negligence to prayer.**

(Cordatus No. 1551.)

If I were as devout to pray as Peter Weller's dog is to eat, I would still want to achieve Judgment Day by praying; for he thinks of nothing else all day long but licking out his bowl.

**The best prayer is the Lord's Prayer.**

When they were talking about prayer, D. M. Luther: "I have never prayed the Psalter all my life without ever taking some psalms from it. The Lord's Prayer is my prayer, that is what I pray, and from time to time I mix in something from the Psalms, so that they (the loose despisers and false teachers) may all be put to shame and disgraced. Summa, none is like the Lord's Prayer among all prayers: I prefer to pray it rather than any psalm.

**33. exhortation to prayer.**

(Lauterbach, Oct. 10, 1539, p. 145.)

Friday, October 10, he preached at the castle. Afterwards he exhorted to pray for the daily bread. For in the gardens is such a damage by the mice, which gnaw everything 4) and crush in the earth that to

1) The superscription is fictitious.

2) In the original "bettet" is conjunctivus imperfecti.

3) So Stangwald instead of: "des Vater-Unsers ist kein Gleich".

4) "to ride" perhaps: to tear? - Immediately after: a necessary teuring, i.e. teuring by necessity.

I am afraid that a theurge will follow through necessity. For we have otherwise the wanton theurge through the wickedness of the peasants and usurers who ride the thalers; I fear that from necessity a theurge will follow as punishment. Let us pray for the pious poor, who must bear the highest, that they may have daily bread and God's blessing. Amen.

#### 34. whether foreign faith helps anything?

One of them asked, "Does someone else's faith help you to salvation? Luther answered: "Stranger's faith is only useful to him who has it; but I will not be saved because of your faith, for no one can believe for another; each one must believe for himself, and through this [his own faith] he will be saved. But the prayer of another, which is done in faith, helps and promotes, yea, obtains, that another may be converted, and receive his own faith, and so be saved.

Therefore, it is said that Paul was converted and saved through the prayer of St. Stephen. However, he was not pleasing before God, nor did he become God's dear child and a chosen instrument of Christ for the sake of Stephen's faith; but through Stephen's faith, through prayer, Paul obtained faith from God, through which he became blessed before God. Thus, many are still preserved through prayer, as we prayed M. Philippum alive in Weimar, 1) otherwise he would have died. Prayer does much.

Then someone said, "Was Paul converted long after Stephen's death? No, said Luther, he was converted in the same year. He was still a fine young man, and learned: he stood firm and firm on the righteousness of the law, which says: whoever does this will live inside. Therefore, he thought that it pleased God that he consented to the death of St. Stephen by keeping and preserving the clothes of the witnesses while he was being stoned to death. 2) He was not a man of the law. It is impossible that God will not accept the prayer that is in faith.

He should not hear the request that is made to Christ. Whether he does not always do it, nor soon gives what one asks, that is a different matter. God does not give according to the measure, manner and time that is prescribed for him, he wants to be free; but he heaps it up and shakes it, as Christ says Luc. 6, 38.

So he did to St. Augustine's mother. She asked God that the son be converted. But it would not happen anywhere. She appealed to all the scholars to persuade him and persuade him to do so. Finally, she suggested to him that she wanted to free a Christian virgin for him, so that she would draw him back and bring him to the Christian faith and baptism; but it would not work either. But now that our Lord God comes, he comes well and makes such an Augustinian out of him that he is now called a light of the church. That is why St. James says Cap. 5, 16: "Pray for one another, for the prayer of the righteous is heard" 2c. This is also one of the best sayings in the same epistle. It is a strong thing about prayer, if only we could believe it; for God has joined and bound Himself to it.

#### 35. Christ directed the prayer to the Father alone.

(Cordatus No. 70.)

Before his glorification, Christ did not want to be glorified. That is why he prescribed the Lord's Prayer to the apostles in the Jewish way, since it only worships the Father. But now we will not be heard if we do not ask through Christ.

#### 36. Wider 3) the temptations should not be prayed.

Some have prayed so hard and so much for temptations that they would not be idle without the cross; but I will never pray for some temptations, but only, Lead me not into temptation. Many have been heard by God, but afterward have fallen into great temptations, out of which they could hardly have come.

1) Cf. § 2 of this Cap. and Erl. Vol. 56, 226, Luther's letter to his wife, July 8, 1540.

2) In all editions: his clothes.

3) This heading is wrong. It should read: To contestations etc.

### The children's prayer.

Jonas said that his little children prayed against the Turk, whether they did not understand what they were praying for. Luther said, "The children's prayer is good, because they still have pure voices and have not had an opponent who contradicts them and holds oppositum.

### 38. Bon quite a few sayings.

Martin Luther was asked if these sayings were against each other, since God says to Abraham: "If I find ten of them (in Sodom), I will not destroy them", Gen. 18, 32. and since Ezekiel Cap. 14, 14. says: "Even though Noah, Job and Daniel would pray, I will not hear them" 2c., and Jerem. 7, 16. does God tell the prophet not to pray for the people? To this the doctor answered and said, No, they are not against one another; for in Ezekiel it was forbidden them that they should not pray, which was not with Abraham. Therefore one must see where the word is. When God says: You shall not pray, you may well stop. As I may say: Do not pray for my Andres N., if you already pray, it will not help. But if I say: If someone asks for my Andre N., that would be different.

Another said: "How can we know now, when we should pray, whether God will hear us? Said D. Martin Luther: We do not have the word or command that we should not pray; if we did, we should not pray, but we have it that we should pray. That is why I would have stopped praying against the Turks long ago if I had a command, but because I do not have one, I have to pray, even though it seems as if we should never pray.

### 39. as D. Martinus Luther prayed.

(Contained in Cap. 15, § 6.)

### 40. By prayer one should command God everything.

In 1543, Luther said: "You should command God to do everything, He will do it well; as he finely says Isa. 46, 3. 4.

to me, you of the house of Jacob, and all the rest of the house of Israel, who are carried in the womb, and lie in the mother; yes, I will carry you to old age, and until you grow gray. I will do it, I will lift, and carry, and save"; therefore only lay it on me, dear one, command me. So also St. Peter says 1 Epist. 5, 7: "Cast all your care upon him." That is a fine comforting saying; and Psalm 55:23: "Cast thy care upon the Lord, and he shall supply thee: he shall not leave the righteous in trouble for ever." These are beautiful, comforting sayings. But we want to do and accomplish everything, since we are not able, indeed, it is impossible for us. We want to lift and lay, and forget our Lord God in the process; so we sink, and make evil worse. Yes," you say, "I have commanded him, but he will not come: he consumes too long. Wait for the Lord; you must wait and endure, for he will surely come at last. It is better to wait for the Lord than to go to the side of the pope or the bishop of Mainz, since there is no hope that they could help, for they themselves are poor sacks of maggots.

Eck is now dead, as they say. I am sorry for the loose man: I would have hoped that he would have recognized his blasphemy; but he has not done so, but has been accustomed to boasting, flaunting, fornication, whoredom, 2c., has become obsolete in it, and out of constant practice and habit has become a nature, and thus [he has] died and corrupted. What does he get out of it, but death? nothing more; although eternal death is still behind.

### 41. the power of prayer.

In 1542, Martin Luther spoke of the power and benefits of prayer and told this story: "When the king of Persia besieged the city of Nasili 1)) and the bishop saw that he was too weak for human help and could not stand or protect himself,

1) Perhaps "Nisibis", which was em episcopal see at the time of the Arian disputes. Cap. 2, §121, Lauterbach p. 201 states "Nineveh", in the old table speeches "Edessa"; Cordatus No. 1493 also Nineveh. Cf. Appendix No. II.

and could not protect or defend the city against such a mighty king, he climbed the wall, lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed; then he made a cross over the enemies. Then the eyes of all the horses were full of gnats, and [the Persians] fled out to the land. 1) So God could also order and direct the heart of the Turk, if we only prayed diligently in faith.

#### 42. With prayer, one must stop.

When Martinus prayed for rain, but none came, he said: God hears us, but he does not do otherwise than like the unjust judge in the Gospel Luc. 18, 2. ff, he does not hear, but one overpowers him with constant perseverance.

(Here 11 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 6, § 7.)

#### 43 A prayer of D. M. L. that the last day may come.

(This § is already printed in Walch, St. Louis Edition, Part X, Col. 1520. Originally it comes from the second sermon on the 4th Sunday after Trinity, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XII, 735, § 18, and is somewhat changed from it.

#### 44. God demands the heart in prayer.

One says of a monk, spoke!). Martin Luther, who daily hid in a corner, fasted and prayed a lot. When he was tired and weary from praying, he asked God if it was enough that he prayed for and for? Then he heard a voice saying to him: "Speak to me *mediam Lunam, Solem et Canis iram* 2); that is, Cor. And it is also thus. God does not want to have only outward giving, but to be called upon with all the heart: and it is not to be said how hard a thing it is to pray from the heart.

1) Thus changed by us, instead of: "and flown out to the country".

2) In this and the following Latin saying is the same word play. The half moon is 6, the middle letter of 8ol is 0, the middle letter of irn is R. - A half circle is 6, a circle is O, the beginning of coma - H, so in both cases Oor.

That is why another said: To a righteous prayer belongs *Dimidium Sphaerae, Sphaeram, cum principe Roma, exigit a nobis summi creator olympi*; that is, Oor, because the prayer must go from the heart.

#### 45. you have to pray and what it create.

Dear God, said Doctor Martin Luther, we must pray. I think that if we prayed earnestly, the Turk should not break off anything from our people now. When a man asks a king or a prince for something, 3) he thinks himself so proud, and pleases him well: why then do we not let Christ say: Dear, kneel before me, lift up your hands and your heart, ask only what you want, I will give it to you, only have no doubt about it.

#### Christians pray forever.

(Cordatus No. 1182.)

A Christian always prays, whether he is sleeping or awake. For his heart is always praying, and groaning is a great and powerful prayer. For thus says [the Lord] (Ps. 12,) [6.], "Because the poor groan, I will arise, saith the Lord." Thus a Christian also always carries the cross, even though he does not always feel it.

#### 47. How the lawyers should start their trade with prayer and the fear of God.

D. M. Luther said: "Affects are like a painted glass: as it falls before one's eyes, so he sees it; for he sees nothing as it is in himself, or as it has a form. So the lawyers in their schools also know what is right, indeed they teach it to others; and this cannot be blamed, because they are in *theoria*. But when it comes to the *practica*, the painted glass is soon there and the affects, and hinder it; be it *Cupid, Odium, Avaritia*, or whatever it may be.

Therefore, a lawyer must be a pious man who prays diligently and says, "Dear God, I am to do justice; help me not to be lacking, nor to be too close to anyone. This do

3) So Stangwald instead of: requested.

But they do not, for they think they can do it all. If a matter comes before them, they soon answer, "The matter can be helped; and God is not thought of there. But we poor theologians must first kneel down with the church and pray if we want to preach a sermon. But the lawyers are not allowed to pray, as the peasants of Holzdorf 1) said; that is why things are so bad in the secular government.

#### 48. of the father-our and its power.

(Cordatus No. 1657.)

The Lord's Prayer binds people together, therefore it becomes the strongest prayer.

#### 49) That one must stop with prayer.

Doctor Martin Luther said that the church was preserved by prayer, because prayer had done the best for the church until now;

1) Cf. Cap. 15, § 7. Stangwald also correctly has "Holtzdorff", i.e. Holzdorf near Schweinitz, instead of "Golsdorf".

therefore it must still be prayed. Therefore Christ says: "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. First of all, he wants us to ask when we are in temptation: for God often hides Himself somewhere, and will not listen, yes, He will not let Himself be found; so then one must seek Him, that is, stop by praying. If one then seeks him, then he closes himself up in a closet: if one then wants to enter to him, then one must knock: if one then has knocked once or twice, then he interrogates a little. Finally, if one knocks too much, he opens and says, "What do you want? Lord, I want this or that. Then he says, "Get it for yourself. So he must be awakened. I believe that there are still many devout people here who pray very diligently, although there are also many bad boys here. Therefore this saying: "Ask" means nothing else than: ask, shout, scream, knock, rumble. And this one must do for and for without stopping.

## Chapter 16.

### Of confession of doctrine, and consistency.

1. example of the constancy of the Christians under the emperor Julianus.
2. another example of consistency.
3. what Christ requires of us.
4. what follows faith.
5. denial of the word.
6. every Christian is guilty of confessing Christ.

7. of the confession of the gospel and constancy of Duke John, Elector of Saxony.
8. Duke Henry, Elector of Saxony, Confession, of the Gospel and Beständigkert.
9. how God cares for the confessors of the gospel and graciously averts all danger.
- 10th John, Elector of Saxony, Dream-

#### 1. an example of consistency.

(Cordatus No. 1655.)

Through God's word and the article of justification, sadness must be dispelled. One reads an example in church history that Julianus, in order to test the constancy of his Christian soldiers, ordered them to be beheaded. When they were brought in, they hold a youth among them who asked that he be beheaded first. As he was now happily offering his neck to the executioner, it was ordered that he be set free. When he stood up, he said:

Oh, have I not been worthy to die for the sake of my Christ's sake? Thus sadness is overcome and even the terror of death.

#### 2. example of constancy.

A schoolmaster in England punished a man who taught many ungodly things in writing, in a subtle, modest and friendly manner: he was then accused by the preacher before the king and led to torture. But when he was admonished by the king that he would revoke and recant what he had said and written

He would not do it, but held the little bush with the rod in front of his nose (which is a sign among them that one who carries it is condemned and damned to death): Oh, what a lovely little bush, he said, you are to me! And he turned to the king and said, "After God I have no one better than you, and I would gladly be obedient to you, if it were not against God. 5, 29: "One must be more obedient to God than to men". So he was executed. Oh that we could also be so constant when it comes to this! said D. M. Luther. And he said further: "If the authorities themselves are enemies and against the word of God, then we give way, sell and leave everything, flee from one city to another; as Christ commanded: for the sake of the Gospel one should neither make a noise nor resist, but one should suffer everything.

### 3. what Christ requires of us.

(Contained in Cap. 7, §100.)

### 4. what follows faith.

If you believe, you speak and cannot be silent: if you speak, you suffer and are afflicted: if you suffer, you are comforted. So faith, confession, and the holy cross belong to each other, and are proper to a godly man.

(The following Cordatus No. 1432. 1433.)

A Christian is said to have the greatest strength in the greatest weakness, the greatest wisdom in the greatest foolishness, and just as he is another in feeling, so he is entirely another in faith. 1)

With good works we give interest to God, through faith we receive the inheritance.

### 5. denial of the word.

A priest in our principality took a wife in marriage; then, when he was tired of the wife, he left her and went back to the principality, to the lands of Duke George. When his magistrate heard of this, he sought him out and put him in prison. Therefore

1) Instead of ü<1si is to be read üäs. Meaning: The Christian feels weakness and foolishness, strength and wisdom he believes.

M. Spalatinus D. M. Luthern, what should be done with him? He answered: If the captain did not want to behead him, he would like to hang him; one would be as much as the other.

Anno 38, on the 5th of September, D. J. Sch[urfs] was remembered, who in the beginning had been quite favorable to the Gospel, but now he had been so taken in and persuaded by his canon and Drecket that he had become a great cavilator and blasphemer; so that he disliked the whole church, with all its servants, for the sake of digamy and ordinances, that the church servants were again freed, illegitimate, and not ordained, as the canons set. Then said D. M. L.: I am sorry for the good friend that he is so blind, and gives more to human laws than to God's word and authority. Seven years ago I prophesied about him in the presence of M. Philippi: "This man (I said) will fall and will hardly come back. This prophecy of mine has come true, and is now coming true, not without great heartache. Well, I had to get used to the cases; for the Lord Christ does not do otherwise, who makes disunity among father and children, among husband and wife. So we must take it for granted that the fault is not ours.

### 6. every Christian is guilty of confessing Christ.

Every Christian, especially those who publicly hold office in Christendom, should be ready for himself at all times, so that he can stand where it is necessary to confess his Lord Christ and to represent his faith, and always be prepared against the world, devils, mobs, and whatever he is able to muster. But no one will do this soon, unless he is so sure of the doctrine that even if I myself become a fool (since God is for me) and recant, or deny my doctrine, he will not step away from it; but say: Even if Luther himself, or an angel from heaven, teaches otherwise, he is maligned, Gal. 1, 8. 9.

### 7. the confession of the gospel, and the constancy of duke John, prince elector to Saxony.

(Contained in Cap. 45, § 72.)

2) I.e.: now catches the eye, stands out.

### 8 Duke Henry of Saxony's Confession of the Gospel and its Consistency.

D. M. Luther said that Duke Henry of Saxony, Elector Moritz and Augusti father, would have been a pious and constant prince. For when our Lord God attacked Duke Georgen, his brother, and punished him so that his sons all died in marriage, for he (Anno 1537, on 18. Januarii, his eldest son, Duke Hans, died, and Anno 1539, on 24. Februarii, Duke Frederick, the other son, died): he had sent to his brother, H[Duke] Henry, to Freiberg and had him informed that if he wanted to leave the gospel, he would make him heir to his hands and people, otherwise he would give the land to the emperor and other people in the will. To this H[archduke] Heinrich answered: By Mary! (which was S. F. G.'s proverb) before I would do this and deny my Christ, I would rather go out of the country with my daughter begging on a stick. He remained steadfast to God's word and shortly thereafter inherited the Meissen land. His brother, Duke George, had to be his faithful guardian and acquire and save wealth for him, and make him a rich prince. Thus God honors those who honor and confess him. And when Duke George's body was led to Meissen for burial, and Duke Henry followed the body as it was driven over the bridge at Meissen, he sang the responsory De divo Martino: Martinus hic pauper, coelum dives ingreditur.

At another time, M. Luther said: "When this praiseworthy, pious prince was to die, and much had been said to him about the Lord Christ, and he asked whether he also wanted to die on him, he would have answered: I think so, I will not be able to get a better procurator than this one.

### 9. how God cares for the confessors of the gospel and graciously averts all danger.

D. M. Luther told how in 1539 the papists had great practices and war armor.

against the protesting estates had intended to exterminate them; so that Duke George of Saxony had said: his brother, Duke Henry, should not rely on the Elector of Saxony and his alliance, because they would see where they would stay on Pentecost. And after Emperor Carl had ordered a meeting of the princes at Frankfurt am Main, where peace was to be negotiated, and Duke Joh. Frederick, Elector of Saxony; Count Palatine Frederick, Elector; Margrave Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg; Landgrave Philip of Hesse, and other princes; and the imperial majesty also sent their councillors of the places; since they only led the protesting estates around with their noses for the sake of peace (for around Bremen and Lüneburg nine thousand choice good warriors converged, who were to be used against them. However, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse had the same men discussed with them by Mr. Bernhard von Mila, a knight, and had them drawn to them, and had given them money in hand. This happened by God's miraculous providence, so that the servants who had been appointed against the Protestants had to be their protectors):

Suddenly and unawares, Duke George of Saxony died in Frankfurt on that day. When this great link was torn from the chain, all the armor remained. And said D. Luther said: "Thank you, merciful God, that you are awake when we sleep. For in this no one but our Lord God may be praised. The Christians' prayer has been our wall, that they have prayed the Psalm: Domine, dissipa gentes, quae bella volunt. God will give them war enough.

### 10th Elector Hansen's dream in Saxony.

(Cordatus No. 1228.)

The dream of our Elector, which he had at Augsburg, is now beginning to come true. For the mountain he saw falling on Duke G[eorg] was the emperor. This has now collapsed and therefore H[erzog] G[eorg] now humbles himself before our prince.

## The 17th chapter. Of Holy Baptism.

1. of the sacred sacraments.
2. Baptism and the Word are the greatest gifts of God.
3. whether to baptize a baby who is only half-born.  
The power and effect of baptism.
5. the testimony of the Lord Christ to children.
6. of the final estate of circumcision.
7. of three kinds of baptism.
- 8) Holy baptism is followed by the cross.
9. arguments of D. M. Luther about infant baptism.
10. the benefits of infant baptism.
11. arguments from infant baptism.
12. warning of the sacraments to keep them well.
13. concerns of baptism, so in the emergency of women
14. that baptism is much more glorious than ordination.

15. a rule of D. M. Luther.
16. a form of D. M. Luther, *Gevattern zu bitten*.
17. from the baptism power.
- 18) Whether to baptize with warm water.
- 19 Of the uncertainty of baptism.
20. confirmation of infant baptism.
- 21) Whether the children believe and are baptized rightly.
- 22) Whether baptism is right, even if one does not believe.
- (23) What is and is not to be done at baptism.
24. of the benefits and power of baptism.
25. an answer to D. Hieronymi Weller's question.
- 26) Whether a church servant who cannot use his left hand may baptize.
27. concerns of *Kindbetterinnen*, M. Anton Lauterbach, *Pfarrherrn zu Pirna*, given.
- (28) That the baptism of infants should not be reproached nor despised.
29. a form of baptizing the Jews.

### 1. of the sacred sacraments.

God (said D. Mart. Luther Anno 1531) has often changed his sacraments and signs in the world. For from Adam's time until Abraham, the Church has had for sacraments the sacrifices, that fire fell from heaven, and set the sacrifices on fire and burned them. This has been much a glorious sign, because we have. After that Noah had the rainbow as a sign. Then Abraham was circumcised. From that time circumcision continued until the Lord Christ. From the time of the Lord Christ, baptism has lasted until this day. The signs have gradually diminished, but the cause and the work have increased.

But the sign and the promise are to be bound together, not torn apart. And he is far wrong who would let the sign stand and go, and thus say, God is the God of the Gentiles; therefore I will not let myself go. Or that a Jew would have said: I am the son of Abrahama, therefore I will not be circumcised. For the promise is always that the seal and the letter shall be together; for the seal or signet that is on the letter

The promise is confirmed and reaffirmed and assured. None is valid without the other. One does not believe a blanket, since only on bad paper a seal is printed, and nothing is written on it; again, a bare writing or prescription, to which no seal hangs, is also valid nothing.

This is how it is with the sacraments, therefore one should strive for baptism, because the word and the sign are connected together. If you have the letter, have it sealed. The promise, joined with the water, makes a baptism. Abraham has God's word, and also circumcision: so baptism is also water, fasted in God's word, and gives baptism here as much as circumcision there. Abraham must say: I am circumcised, and in this circumcision the Lord Christ is promised to me. This promise, which does, we also have in the New Testament, that God says: I will be your God, and you will be baptized. But if the promise or the word is gone, then circumcision does not help and is not valid in itself: as, it does not help the Turk today that he is circumcised, because the promise is gone. If that also were gone from baptism, I asked nothing.



according to the water. Therefore the fathers received the promise that God would be their God, and they were circumcised.

## 2 Baptism and the Word are the greatest gifts of God.

(Cordatus No. 412.)

Since a challenged 1) answered: I do not know how I am, I answered him, Are you also baptized? O it is a great gift to be baptized, which neither the Turks nor other unbelievers receive. Moreover, love for the word of God is a great gift of God's grace. Thus Paul gives thanks for the pledge [Eph. 1, 14.]. Then, as he says to Titus [3, 3.]: That we should not serve the lusts and various pleasures, but trust in the living God, that should certainly comfort us.

### 3. whether to baptize a baby who is only half-born.

(Cordatus No. 935.)

Those who baptized a part of a child that came forth [in birth] were mistaken according to Aristotle, who said that the whole soul is in the body and in any part of it. If still something should be missing, then the child GOtte is to be ordered. For what is suitable for a bath is also suitable for baptism. 2)

### The power and effect of baptism.

(Cordatus No. 1205. 1206. 1207.)

When I once asked my wife if she believed that she was holy, she pondered for a long time and answered: "How could I be holy, since I am such a great sinner? So much has the pope stained our whole being, whose teaching has penetrated our innermost being, that we do not hear with healthy ears that Christ is our Savior, our righteousness, and our peace.

1) According to Aurifaber, this challenged person was D. Hieronymus Weller. Likewise Bindseil II, 184.

2) Luther to Leonhard Beier, Walch, old edition XXI, 1254: No one can be born again who has not yet been born. - Cf. also De Wette IV, 505 f. and Walch XXI, 1288 s.

It is wonderful that we believe that we are baptized, even Christians, and yet we do not believe that we are holy. For in baptism our sin is condemned and we are given the righteousness of Christ, but we do not believe that we have been made holy. As far as we are men, as far as we are sinners, but because we are baptized and believe, we are holy through Christ. Thus the woman answered. 3)

Rather, the whole Christian is also holy, because if the devil took away the sinner, where would the Christian be? Therefore, my wife's distinction is no good. He who clings to his baptism with firm faith is truly holy. That is what David calls himself a saint. The papists, who do not grasp the article of the forgiveness of sins, can neither believe nor understand this holiness, and are only annoyed when they hear such things from us.

Dear, tell me how God should do it with us. He has given the law, and we do not want to be sinners; he has given grace through the gospel and the forgiveness of sins, and they do not want to believe. He whistles and cries, yet it does not help. It is still said [Hab. 2, 4], "The righteous lives by faith." Therefore he who believes is holy.

### 5. the testimony of the Lord Christ to children.

This text speaks of the children, and not of old adult people, as the apostles were, but of the children it says Marc. 10, 14: "Such is the kingdom of heaven"; that is, I am their Christ also, I am promised to them, just as I am also promised to you old adult Jews; but you have become too wise, and do not want to have me. So infant baptism also has a promise and command. For when the Lord Christ says, "Go into all the world and teach the gospel to all nations, baptizing them," he does not mean by the word "nations" to exclude infants from baptism, for God wants to be God to them all, whether they are great or small, young or old.

3) The following paragraph contains Luther's answer.

Therefore we must not look at this saying, Marci 10:14, with the eyes of a calf, or look at it as a cow looks at a new gate; but do with it as one is accustomed to say at court: Letters of princes should be read three times; that is, read often and many times, for they are written carefully. So we should also consider the saying diligently, for there is a beautiful promise in it that the kingdom of heaven shall be for the children. Therefore they should also be baptized, for those who otherwise grow old generally fall from the childhood of God and become children of the devil. Just as God said to the children in the Old Testament, "I will be your God, and for a sign I will circumcise you. And so the circumcised are God's people. The children accepted circumcision in the Law, on the word: I will be your God; all this brings the alliance to the promised Seed, the Messiah.

#### 6. from the end of circumcision.

Circumcision is no longer valid, for it alone was to last until Christ. But we are reproached that the day of circumcision was actually determined in the law as the eighth day on which the children had to be circumcised; but there is no certain time from baptism. To this I answer D. M. Luther: I am not interested in the work, but in the word. The eight days do nothing for it, neither the command nor the sign does; for Abraham was righteous before circumcision. But learn to uphold the word: Circumcision is a command, a commandment, which hath appointed eight days; is true. But say thou, Day by day, commandment by commandment, that is not the chief thing; but this, "I am thy God, and the God of thy seed"; upon which let yourselves be circumcised.

So this also does nothing; one is baptized old or young; but it does that God, the heavenly Father, says: I am the God of all the Gentiles, and have given my Son for them, on which let yourselves be baptized. Otherwise no Gentile may say, God is my God, unless he has first heard the divine word; whoever then does not have the word, does not have God either.

#### 7. triple baptism.

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, Feb. 13, 1538, p. 29.)

He then spoke of the threefold baptism of water, the Spirit, and blood. 1) The Church of Christ has kept these three ways of baptizing. The catechumens were baptized with water. Others, who did not receive the water baptism, believed by the Holy Spirit and were saved by the Spirit, like Cornelius, in the Acts of the Apostles (Cap. 10.), before the baptism. The third were baptized by martyrdom and blood.

The papists fabricate and pretend that Emperor Constantine was baptized by Melchiade, the pope, while the histories indicate that he was baptized at Nicomedia by Eusebio, bishop there, in the year of his age in the fifth and sixtieth, and of his reign in the first and thirtieth, five years after pope Sylvester had died.

#### 8. baptism is followed by the holy cross.

Because we are baptized, said D. M. Luther, and confess Christ, we must serve the devil and the world.

#### 9. On infant baptism arguments of D. M. Luther..

The children, said D. Martin, they should be baptized and not left unbaptized, mostly because. Christ says Matth. 19, 14: "Let the children come to me, and do not hinder them." For they are baptized at God's word, they accept the word, and nothing prevents them from this, neither childhood nor lack of understanding, for even in circumcision one did not look at childhood. John the Baptist heard Mary's greeting in his mother's womb, Luc. 1, 41, and it was not known that he was baptized, but he began to baptize at the first, even the Lord Christ. He went on to say: "Those who despise God's word must despise everything else, so they cannot see the majesty and glory of baptism.

1) In the original: fluminis, flaminis, sanguinis.

(The following at Cordatus No. 1148.)

That God gives His Holy Spirit to little children when they are baptized, we know from the great gifts of the saints who lived in the Church, like Bernard. Likewise, Christ says: Go and baptize all, and makes no mention of age. Here belongs circumcision, which has the same promise as baptism.

#### 10. benefits of infant baptism.

(Cordatus No. 1149-1157.)

The Anabaptists conclude that no one should be baptized who does not confess his faith. They prove this with Cornelius and thus conclude from the particular to the general. Therefore, nothing follows from this and Peter did not baptize Cornelius because of his faith, but because of the justification of Christ and because of his word and the command of God, for if no one had to be baptized unless his faith was first certain, then no one could ever be baptized. And if I were baptized for the sake of my faith, faith would be greater than the word and command of Christ, by which He commands to baptize. Likewise, [God's] word would have no power at all unless our faith were added to it. This would be to measure the power of God according to our weakness, but this is blasphemy.

And they [the rebaptizers] say that the children have no reason, as if reason adds to faith. But it is precisely for this reason that children are most to be baptized, because they lack reason, and the less reason there is, the greater the ability to accept faith, because the objects are lacking which most greatly avert the wise.

Reason is the greatest obstacle in relation to faith, because everything divine seems to it to be inconsistent, that I do not say stupid. In short, if God can give His spirit to adults, He can give it much more to children.

Since faith comes from hearing the Word, and children also hear the Word of God when they are brought to baptism, they consequently receive faith. This becomes

proven by John the Baptist, who, hearing God's word, leapt in his mother's womb.

Infants were circumcised in the Old Testament, so they can also be baptized in the New: for both signs have the promise of grace and eternal life 2c. Christ commands the little ones to come to him, saying that theirs is the kingdom of heaven. So infants may be baptized. For to all those to whom grace belongs, the sign of grace also belongs. Therefore Christ also blessed them, which surely means to receive someone by grace and to present him to the Father to be sanctified and preserved. And the children who were killed by Herod, did they not belong to the kingdom of God?

The Anabaptists say that no commandment compels that infants be baptized; but Scripture has nowhere forbidden this, and we have examples which are just as valid as a commandment. And the children do not obtain the forgiveness of sins other than in the church, consequently they must be baptized. And since John the Baptist could be sanctified without the help of reason, God can do the same to others.

This reason: "The children do not understand the word, therefore the sacrament is not applicable to them", is to be resolved by holding up circumcision, which testifies that grace and faith in the promise is in some, in whom the understanding of the word is not; for its sacraments indicate that the forgiveness of sins belongs to the children.

Circumcision was a sign of Christ who was to come, but baptism is a sign of Christ who has come. But each of them is a sign of grace and forgiveness of sins.

When they counter: "If the kingdom of heaven is theirs, then they do not need baptism", one must say: the kingdom of heaven is indeed of the children, but they receive it only in baptism, not before.

#### 11. argument from infant baptism.

Either there must not have been a church before, or the baptism is neither worth nor efficient

have existed. But it is impossible that no Christian church has existed for a thousand, four hundred years; therefore, the baptism of children must be strong.

**12 Warning of D. M. Luther's warning about sacraments, to keep them well.**

Heaven is given to me freely and is my gift, and I have letters and seals over it, that is, I am baptized and go to the Sacrament. Therefore, keep the letter so that the devil does not tear it, that is, live and remain in the fear of God and pray the Lord's Prayer.

God could not have assured me of salvation and the gospel higher and better than with the death, suffering and dying of His dear Son. And if I believe that he overcame death and died for me, and I see the promise of the Father; if I have the letter in full, and the seal of baptism and sacrament of the altar, of our Lord Christ's true natural and essential body and blood, attached to it, I am well provided for.

**13) On the Baptism of Women in the Red, M. Luther's Concerns.**

(This whole §, namely four concerns of emergency baptism and baptism of foundlings, is found Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, col. 2130-2135).

**14. that baptism is much more glorious than ordination.**

Since it was said that one had come from Hungary, where Ferdinand had to command, he should have been ordained in Breslau, so they sent him back here from Breslau. There spoke D. M. Luther: Why did the people of Breslau not ordain him? Philip: Ferdinand has forbidden them to do so. Martin: Do you think ordination in Hungary is such a big thing? Philip: Yes, Doctor, they consider it a great, glorious thing, even greater than when one is baptized, M. Luther: In the papacy, no one was allowed to attack the sacrament, for he would be ordained, but ordination is not such a great thing: baptism is much greater than ordination, for baptism makes holy,

forgives sin. I have baptized, administered the sacraments, preached, forgiven sin, these are the most glorious works and offices of the church. O baptism is a great glorious thing.

**15. Doctor Martin Luther's Rule.**

(Contained in § 17 of the Appendix.)

**16 Doctor Martin Luther's Form of Asking Gevatterns.**

(A letter of Luther to Magister Goritzin (De Wette III, 448, Erl. A. 54, 691, which will soon be printed in the St. Louis edition in the XXI part).

**17. from the baptism power.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, § 112.)

**18. baptize with water.**

One of them, who was absent, asked in writing through another: "Do you want to baptize with warm water as well? M. Luther: Answer the drip: Water is water, be it cold or warm.

**19 From uncertainty of baptism.**

If one is not sure whether a person has been baptized, whether he may be baptized under one condition, namely: If you have not been baptized, then I baptize you? Luther replied, "Such baptisms are not to be done out of the church, and are not to be suffered; but if there is any doubt whether a man has been baptized, he is to be baptized outright, without any condition or distinction, as if he had never been baptized. What the cause is, let it be read in an epistle, 1) so D. M. Luther wrote to D. Wenzel Link, preacher at Nuremberg, in the second volume of Luther's Epistles, printed here at Eisleben.

**20. confirmation of infant baptism.**

Now the Church has baptized infants from a thousand years until now, and God has given them the Holy Spirit, who are thus baptized in infancy 2c. And this final speech has taken place and is valid a posteriori, from the-

1) The letter in Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1194.

because of what follows. For thus concludes St. Peter, Apost. 10, 34, when he preached Christ among the Gentiles in Cornelius' house, saying: "Now I know with truth that God does not look at the person" 2c.; for God bears witness that He gives the Holy Spirit also to the Gentiles 2c. This is an argument and proof, taken from the fact, or from what follows, a *facto vel a posteriori*, namely: God has made believers of the Gentiles like Him, without law or merit; therefore, the works of the law do not make one righteous before God.

*A priori*, from that which goes before, thus: the Church has baptized infants longer than a thousand years ago: but because the Church is nowhere but among those who are baptized, and the Church must always have remained and been; therefore infant baptism is a true baptism, in which God is pleased.

Now I argue and conclude *a priori*: Christ commanded to teach and baptize all nations, Matth. 28, 19; among them will certainly also the little children have to be and be counted among them. Secondly, the person of the church minister does not baptize, but Christ, the Son of God, baptizes Himself. Since the child is baptized by Christ, how can I take it away from him and say that the baptism of children is wrong?

The pope still received the baptismal font and the altar out of carelessness, and God administered and gave the sacraments through the pope's priests, as through drowsy full people. The Anabaptists and Waldensians in Bohemia base the sacrament of baptism on the faith of the persons, therefore they destroy the baptism of children, because they say: One should teach first, then baptize. Answer: Christ does not speak of the institution of baptism, but of the effect, use and effect or fruit of baptism. But to suppose that the baptism of infants should be useless and in vain, it does not follow that they should run again when they have grown up and come to their senses, and believe the law. Should one therefore, if one believed afterwards, give and establish a law again? The effect, benefit and fruit are much different.

have; another, have the thing and the work itself. It is all a matter of distinguishing God's work from man's work, and that which God Himself works and does from that which man does. God's work is unchanging, it remains constant.

**21) Whether the children believe and are baptized correctly, Luther's answer.**

(This § is in the Large Catechism. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, Col. 129, § 231.)

**22) Whether baptism was right, even if one did not believe? Answer Doctor Martin Luther's.**

Luther's.

(This § is in the Large Catechism. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, Col. 130, § 232.)

**(23) What is meant by baptism and what is against it.**

First, it is to be considered certain that baptism is God's ordinance, which He instituted for this reason, so that we might know where to find Him. He seeks us, he comes to us, we cannot come to him from ourselves. Therefore, if your conscience makes you anxious and despondent, you have the Word, baptism, absolution, and the Lord's Supper to keep you and seek comfort. Do not go to St. James at Compostel in Hispania, or to any other saint, or to a monastery. So do not seek him, because you will not find him.

On the other hand, one should consider the effect and power of baptism: this is also from God, who has instituted and ordered it; just as the lakes and ponds bring fish, even if they are not occupied, by the power of the Word in creation. In the same way, do not look at the person of the Baptist, for his life does not give the baptism its power and effect: just as the sun shining in mud retains its essence and effect, as God created it; or if a woman grasps a veil with an unclean hand; and a prince's command and commandment is powerful, whether you accept it or not. Neither shall one consider the person of the one being baptized: if he confesses his faith, I shall be satisfied.

and be satisfied, even if I do not know whether he believes or lies; he will have to answer. So do many Jews who are baptized for the sake of money; as if I give one twenty guilders, he takes them, well and good; if not, the debt is not mine.

Third, what baptism is, namely God's word, water and power, Marc. 16, 16. Joh. 3, 5. 1 Joh. 3, 9. Tit. 3, 5. Eph. 5, 26. And here one must also remember those who call it a dog's bath; item, the Pabst's error. For the barefoot monks say from their Scoto: It is a true baptism, God stands by and baptizes spiritually. Which is darkly spoken. But we say: that he, God himself, baptizes. Item, against the monks who called their order a new baptism, and who wanted to persuade the dying to be buried in a monk's cap, because by doing so they earned the third part of the forgiveness of sins, and paid several florins into the monastery for the service, vigils and masses. Item, against St. Jerome, who says that apostasy is like shipwreck: whoever falls out of the ship grabs a plank, on which he swims out and comes to shore. And this is what the papists call repentance and personal satisfaction, since this is perhaps not what St. Jerome meant. Hence, in the papacy, come repentance, pilgrimages, purgatory, invocation of the deceased saints.

Therefore, it is dangerous to speak the Scriptures with other and foreign words, and not with their own words. Baptism, however, is water fasted in God's Word and connected with it, and is done by God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit Himself. Therefore, it has been the custom for the baptized to walk along dressed in a white vestment eight days after baptism, since they were not all Christians, but most of them were pagans. And around the Easter feast they also went dressed in white. Therefore, the first Sunday after Easter is still called White Sunday; 1) as if they wanted to say by deed and deed and publicly

confess that they have been baptized and cleansed by Christ. But because we are now all baptized, the custom has passed away, which I do not want to negate nor bring back; although still today in the custom is the Westerhemde.

**24. another, of the benefit and power of baptism.**

(This § is transferred to § 4 of this chapter, where it belongs).

**25. to D. Hieronymus Weller's question answer.**

(This § is Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 1299, No. 853.)

**26. Whether a church servant who cannot use his left hand may baptize?**

There is a chaplain who cannot baptize because he has lost his left hand or otherwise cannot help himself. Now the question is asked, "Can he also let the sacristan or sexton hold the child, and with the other hand, so that he is able, water it? Answer: If the priest preaches well and the congregation likes to hear him, he may well do so, especially if the common man is not annoyed by it: since they let them like it, it goes well.

Then another said, How if he fasted the child in both hands, and dipped it in the water with the feet alone? No, said D. Martin Luther, innovation is not good: if the chaplain cannot baptize, the priest should do it himself.

One of them said, "Yes, he would like to complain about that, and perhaps he would be too close to his dignity, because he would then be taken for a chaplain, and the chaplain for the priest. Answered D. M. Luther: "That is not fine, that the servants want to seek dignity and honor in God's works. What will one say much about dignity? No priest, bishop or angel in heaven is worthy to baptize a child for his own person, so it is a great thing about the church office; why would a priest be ashamed to baptize? I do not like to hear that they want to mix their dignity and honor into God's things.

1) Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XII, col. 526, § 1.

**27. concerns D. Martin Luther von Kindbetterinnen, M. Anton Lauterbach, Pfarrherrn zu Pirna, 1) given.**

(This § is Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1442-1444, no. 62.)

**(28) That the baptism of infants should not be reproached nor despised.**

One evening, Martin Luther spoke about infant baptism and said: "In the past, many of them had spared the baptism of infants and raised them until they had grown up, out of this delusion and thought that they had seen that the children of Christians had fallen away from their Christianity again and had fallen into an ungodly, wild and desolate life of the world. Then they thought it would be much safer to bring up baptism until they grew up, so that they would not defile baptism with sins. But those who were devout Christians held baptism in high honor. Videbatur quidem pius error, sed occasio malitiae erat; for since St. Augustine and others were thus baptized slowly, they despised baptism altogether, so that they did not want to be baptized afterwards.

And D. Luther told a story ex Confessione Augustini, who had had a compatriot and playmate, who had also not been baptized; now, when he was deathly ill, he had been baptized.

1) The place where Lauterbach was pastor at that time is given by Luther Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, Col. 1441, Leisnig. Likewise with De Wette, vol. IV, 671 ff.

When the young man became sick and wanted to die, his parents hurriedly had him baptized. When Augustine, who was still young, visited him and heard that he had been baptized, he mocked and ridiculed him; but the same youth said: "Oh, dear Augustine, be quiet and do not attack holy baptism, God's covenant, in this way; I have been baptized and also want to die on it. With this speech he dissuaded Augustine to stop blaspheming and despising baptism. The safest thing to do is to baptize little children.

**29. form to baptize the Jews.**

(Cordatus No. 789.)

If I find any more pious Jews to baptize, I will lead them to the bridge, put a stone to their neck and throw them into the Elbe, because those boys mock us and our religion. To Justus Menius, who asked the Doctor for advice on how he should teach such a one, he replied: he would not be deceived by his deceitful words. The use [ritu8] had been until now that they were baptized in a bucket full of water and then dressed in a white robe. From this usage, the Sunday after Easter would be called "white Sunday" [Dominica in albis], and the dead would be clothed in white garments. But baptism means death, and I believe that Christ was also baptized in this way in the Jordan.

## Chapter 18.

### Of aural confession.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. of the abuse of auricular confession in the papacy.</li> <li>2. secret and serious cases in confession should be handled carefully and in a Christian manner.</li> <li>3. whether it is necessary to tell all sins in confession.</li> <li>4. whether a minister of the Word may bear witness to what he hears in confession.</li> <li>5. promise to become pious.</li> <li>6. causes why the auricular confession is used.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. whether one who disputes with one in court may be admitted to the sacrament.</li> <li>8. from the absolution.</li> <li>9. the church key custom.</li> <li>10) Whether it is necessary to report all circumstances in confession.</li> <li>11. that confession was a difficult thing in the papacy.</li> <li>12. a form of Christian confession, how to make it.</li> </ol> |
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### 1. on the abuse of auricular confession in the papacy.

Doct. Martin Luther said: "That in the confession of the ears of the papists, only the work was considered, and it would have been such a run to confession that one would never have been able to confess enough. For if one remembered something more that he had perhaps forgotten, then he had to confess it again quickly. For one had to confess all sins, so that a priest once said to me: God has commanded and commanded that one should hope in His mercy. And I knew a doctor of law who was so troubled that he went back to the confessor three or four times before he received the sacrament; indeed, when it was handed to him, he said it in one ear. We made the confessors tired, so they made us anxious with their conditional absolutions; for so they absolved: I absolve and absolve you for the merit of our Lord Christ, and for the repentance of your heart, and for the confession of your mouth, and for the satisfaction of your works. 2c. This condition and the appendix caused all misfortune.

We did all this out of fear that we might be justified and saved before God; we were thus weighed down and overburdened with innumerable human statutes, so that Gerson 1) had to let the consciences loose a little and advise them. He was the first to break out of this prison. For he wrote that it is not a mortal sin to transgress the statutes and commandments of the church and to act contrary to them, except out of contempt, wilfully and obstinately. The word, though weak and insignificant, has raised and comforted many consciences. The pope laughed in his fist at this darkness and error; he was pleased and delighted that he should rule, govern, torture and torment consciences.

Against such prisons and sticks of conscience I have written and taught about Christian freedom, that one should not keep such laws so strictly. Now, however, there are some unintelligent, coarse fellows, so un-

1) Cf. cap. 27, 840.

Those who have never experienced such imprisonment are presumptuous enough to despise and reject all laws.

Summa, the consciences in the papacy have been so martyred, stung and pecked that no one would believe it now, if we did not have their books and our own experience, which are still alive, as witnesses, who have unfortunately tried it: no one would believe that such a great blindness had existed. And since the pope had neither sinned nor done anything wrong, except in the days of the week of martyrdom and fasting, with confession, he would still be worthy to be torn apart with red-hot tongs. Our people at present know nothing of the prison and torture of conscience, live in great freedom and security, feel neither law nor Christ.

### 2. secret and serious cases in confession should be handled carefully and in a Christian manner.

It is highly necessary that we deal carefully and Christianly with consciences in confession, that secret and annoying cases and things be kept covered and concealed, and that the persons be admonished to true righteous repentance, said D. M. Luther. M. Luther. And he told a case that had happened in Erfurt 2): A young man had often asked his mother's maid to sleep with him, but the mother did not want to do so after the maid had complained to her, and lay down in the maid's bed. When the son came, but did not know that the mother was there, he lay with her, who was inflamed, did his will, conceived and gave birth to a daughter; the latter was secretly brought up by others. Finally, the mother took her into her house as a foreign child, and because she was beautiful in form and honest in deeds, the son liked her: he took her in marriage with the mother's foreknowledge, but knew nothing of these things, that she was his daughter, sister and wife. The university recognized that, because it was a secret and otherwise a good marriage, they were with each other.

2) This narrative is detailed in Luther's interpretation of the first book of Moses. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. II, Col. 1003 ff, §§ 48-50.



so that no great annoyance would result.

Therefore, one must be careful in such and such cases; for matrimonial matters cause a lot of trouble for the pastors, although they belong before the consistory, not before the theologians, unless it concerns the conscience. And I believe that the apostles never had such displeasure in innumerable cases, for they had just come to the Roman Empire, where everything was well ordered.

There was talk about the confession of ears, in which people were betrayed, because one was asked whether one had not heard something from the other? Then said D. M. Luther said: "In confession, a person should not confess such things, nor is he guilty of betraying another, for such things belong before secular courts, where witnesses belong; but this belongs to be judged before God alone, and concerns the conscience. Therefore one should say: Dear Lord, I know nothing about it, as you should know it.

### 3. whether it is necessary to tell all sins in confession?

1) In auricular confession, it is not necessary to tell all sins, but people may say whatever they want; let us not stone them. If they heartily confess themselves poor sinners, then desire the sacrament, and can show the cause of their faith, we are satisfied. And this is the most important reason why we keep confession, so that the catechism may be especially repeated and heard, whether one can and understand it. However, I do not want to refrain from it (the auricular confession) for the rest of my life, because it is not a human being but God Himself who absolves and absolves me from sins.

Also, people should be taught above all things, and they should think that they are not confessing to a man, but to God and the Lord Christ; item, that not a man, but Christ is absolving. But now people do not understand and believe this. Today I answered the Bohemians, who want and insist that God alone forgives sin, and are annoyed by my booklet of keys.

1) Similar thoughts Cap. 18, z 6.

Therefore teach the people to confess to Christ, that Christ may pass through the mouth of the servant. For the mouth of the servant is Christ's mouth, and the ear of the servant is Christ's ear. One should look and rely on the word and command of God, not on the person. Christ sits there confessing, Christ hears it; it is Christ's words, not man's words, that are heard and spoken from the confessor's mouth.

Then said one, So it shall follow that Christ's word, which he spake and preached on earth, and his ministers, is one word, both of the mouth, and of effects or efficacities. Yes, said D. M. Luther: for Christ says Luc. 10, 16: "He that heareth you heareth me, and he that heareth me heareth the Father." And St. Paul calls the gospel "God's power and might", Rom. 1, 16.

### 4. whether a minister of the Word may bear witness to what he has heard in confession.

One of them asked Luther and said: "If a priest and confessor absolved a woman who had strangled her child, and this was then revealed by other people and could be prosecuted, would the priest, if asked, also have to testify before the judge? Then he answered, "Certainly not, for a distinction must be made between church and secular government, since it has given nothing to me, but to the Lord Christ; and since Christ keeps it secret, I should also keep it secret, and say straight away, "I have heard nothing; if Christ has heard something, he will say so. 2) And meanwhile I would say unto her privily, Where, do it no more.

But if she said: She was absolved from us, and thus wanted to protect and save herself, because she had let go of Christ, therefore the worldly judge could no longer judge and pass sentence on her; and I would be cited, demanded and asked: then I would deny it again, because I am not the man who should speak before the court in worldly matters, but only what concerns the consciences, which I should frighten with God's wrath against sin through the law. But those who recognize and confess their sin, I shall

2) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 224.

in turn, comfort and uplift through the preaching of the Gospel.

Therefore I say: If she is absolved, I do not know D. Martinus about it, but Christ knows it. Martinus nothing about it, but Christ knows it, with whom she has spoken; for I do not hear confession, nor absolve, but Christ. They shall not draw us to their judgment-seats and hadermarkets. Therefore we have hitherto held above the canon law and justice, and still do, and will no longer leave anything to the secular court in matters concerning doctrine and conscience, nor will we concede anything to them therein, not even in the slightest. They wait for their command, they have enough to do with it, and let us carry out our office as Christ has commanded; that and no other.

But how would it be if a confessor gave you a confession slip? As was done in Venice by a monk who absolved a woman who had strangled a young journeyman who had slept with her and thrown him into the water. But the monk let himself be bribed with money and betrayed her. The woman protected herself, said she was absolved, and presented the monk's handwriting. The Venetian council recognized and judged that the monk should be burned, but the woman should be expelled from the city.

Thereupon D. M. Luther: This is a right, good, reasonable verdict, and wise consideration of the council, and the monk is justly burned as a traitor. But if I had given my handwriting to a frightened, fearful conscience, and the judge had it with him, I would rightfully demand it again; as I have done with H[archduke] G[eorg] (of Saxony). For whoever holds other people's letters without a good title is a thief. Now this manuscript is given in matters of conscience, by God and office, which the church has from Christ, through his blood very dearly earned and acquired, therefore a secular judge cannot rightfully hold it.

#### 5. talking about becoming pious.

A godly, pious, and honest man, 1) having confessed, said: I will

no longer confess and lie like this, because I always promise and agree that I will improve my life and become more pious, and yet I do not do it, and thus I become a liar and an unman before God. Then said D. M. Luther: It will not do here with us, man remains man, and kind does not leave kind; therefore let us only ask God to grant us a blessed hour, so that we may depart from here.

#### 6. causes why the auricular confession is used.

D. M. Luther said: "That the auricular confession was instituted for the sake of these causes in the first place, that the people there might give cause and account of their faith, and confess that they desired the sacrament from the heart. We do not force anyone to do this, although I certainly do not want to refrain from it; for it is not a man who absolves, but God Himself through the mouth of His servant, be he what He wills.

#### (7) Whether one who disputes with one in court may be admitted to the sacrament?

(Lauterbach, Feb. 13, 1538, p. 27.)

On that day (Feb. 18) I (Lauterbach) asked Luthern about this case: If one who wants to go to the Lord's Supper confessed that he was in dispute with someone, the matter was in court and not yet decided, but he had no hatred against his opponent and was awaiting the verdict of the court, whether he could be admitted to the Lord's Supper? To this he replied, "The person who is in public disagreement cannot be admitted; for if he were admitted, although he had no private hatred, there would still be an annoyance if he were admitted publicly who lived in public court strife. After that he said he would consider this case and give a more certain answer 2).

2) From this one recognizes that Luther does not know the answer given by him as finally regarded zero, therefore also a preacher, where such a thing would occur to him, would not have to judge himself according to it. About the answer given later by Luther in 1540, compare Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, Col. 2222. Compare also Cap. 19, § 2.

1) Staupitz. Cf. Cap. 14, § 42 and Walch, Vol. VIII, Explanation of the Ep. to the Gal. Cap. 5, § 223.

**8. from the absolution.**

The power of God's word is great, said D. M. Luther, that one brother and Christian informs and comforts the other with God's Word. The benefit and fruit of the key and special absolution in auricular confession is very great, by which the conscience can be satisfied, therefore I want to have it without reproach. Under the priesthood I was a poor, sorrowful monk, always in the greatest work and temptation; at last I received comfort from the word of a brother who told me: "I should be confident and hope, our salvation and blessedness is faith in God in Christ; why then would we not trust God, who calls us and commands us to hope? And with this word he comforted me so that I was satisfied.

**9. the church key custom.**

Christ has given the keys to the Church for her comfort, and commanded the ministers to act with them, as He commanded to bind the impenitent, and to loose them that repent, acknowledge and confess their sin, make them sorry, and believe that God forgives them for Christ's sake.

**10) Whether it is necessary to report all circumstances in confession?**

Then, speaking to D. Martin, said D. Staupitz to D. Henningo 1): Lawyers, theologians and

1) The reference is to the provost D. Henning Göde at Wittenberg. Förstemann, Vol. II, 292.

Doctors should and must report correctly, so they can also advise, help and absolve. But what is said to such persons, they shall keep silent and secret; but if they say it, it shall be nothing.

**11. that confession was a difficult thing in the papacy, from which we are now delivered.**

No one can be absolved in the church unless he promises to amend his life. This includes believing in Christ and changing and improving his life. My sins, which I confess, are that I do not pray so much, nor give thanks so much, and am sometimes angry and curse Duke George. Confession was a miserable carnificina before this time: but how we have such a noble life now in comparison! I was a poor wretch because of confession, you now have master's days (he said to his table companions). But the devil will also cheat you one day, where you do not recognize it. Now we can't believe the dear man Jesus Christ, and I could believe all the shitheads before. Now just strike and kill that we do not want to believe the pious man, Christ. Oh, it would make me very lazy if I were our Lord God.

(4 lines omitted here because included in Cap. 2, § 154.)

**12 Luther's form of a Christian confession, how it should be made.**

(This § is in the instruction on how to confess. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, Col. 2158, U 1-8.)

**The 19th chapter.****Of the Sacrament of the Altar, the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.**

1. the papists, error of the power of the church.
2. a question from two brothers.
3. one figure of the holy sacrament.
4. whether to receive one form of the holy sacrament.
5. to serve one and both forms of the Lord's Supper at the same time, whether it is right.
6. compassion between spouses.
7. the change of the sacrament.

8. common sacramental rites.
9. sign of an evil conscience.
10. whether a death-witcher who has not yet been reconciled with the church may be admitted to the sacrament, since he has otherwise made his peace with friendship and authority.
- 11) Whether a householder, in case of need, may offer the sacrament of the holy supper to his household.

- 12) Whether those are excused who, under tyrants, take the sacrament under one form, since they cannot have both.  
 13. elevation and elevation of the sacrament.  
 14) Where the elevation of the sacrament comes from and why it should be omitted.  
 15. those who have not gone to the sacrament for a long time.  
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 19 Pabst's Behavior with the Sacrament.  
 20 From the Pabst's Stand.  
 21. of the sacraments of the old testament.  
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 26 Another answer to the same question.  
 27 Judgement of D. M. Luther and D. Pomer of one who considered the blessed and unblessed host to be one.  
 What a sacrament is.  
 29. Christ's true body 2c. in the sacrament is also in many places.  
 (30) Against those who do not believe that Christ's body and blood are in the Lord's Supper.
- (31) That the act of the Lord's Supper is not to be used in vain or in jest.  
 32. from the little word: "Drink from it, all of you".  
 33. an argument against the papists.  
 34. of the same shape.  
 35: The Consecration of the Sacrament.  
 You fall however you want and wherever you want, that's how it fell.  
 37. the taking of the sacrament for oneself.  
 38. a question to D. Luthern, and his answer.  
 39. from faith to the sacrament.  
 40. Spiritual things also have their time.  
 41 The Devil's Advantage.  
 42: Luther's serious talk with Bucer and Lycosthenes about the evening meal.  
 43 Luther's certainty about the Lord's Supper and how one must protect and defend oneself against the devil.  
 44. an example of great sanctity of the pope and his jurors.  
 45. 46. Etliche Fragstücke vom heiligen Sacrament, von einem guten Freund D. Luthern, and his report thereon.  
 47 Of the Sacrament.  
 (48) Whether the sacrament should be given to one who lies.  
 The cries of the Sacramentarians that we Lutherans forget all love toward them.  
 50 On the abuse of the sacraments.  
 The priests are ordered to do this.

### 1. the papists' misconception of the power of the church.

(Cordatus No. 1279 and No. 1119.)

On this the pope, as the strongest foundation of all, has built all his teachings and works, that he is the head over all the churches of the world and over the Scriptures 2c. Therefore he has used and instituted this law, that the cup of the Lord may be ordered according to the judgment of the church; as it is ordered that the sacrament be given only to those who have fasted, although Christ has given it to those who have eaten, 'in that the boys will not distinguish between the essence, which is the cup, and the accidental, such as having fasted and being full. And that [the essence, the cup] has the commandment [of God] this [the accidental but stands in free will. And fasting, which is a middle thing, serves for reverence, but that violates the institution of Christ, and the Germans would have gone to the Sacrament more drunkenly than once the Corinthians [1 Cor. 11, 20. ff.].

Because of the reverence for the Sacrament, I also do not dislike it when someone

teaches that one should not spit on the earth soon after taking it, and although there is not much in it, it is good that the people be kept in reverence for the sacrament by this outward thing.

### 2. one question. 1)

D. M. Luther was asked this question: Three brothers are at odds with each other about an inheritance: the oldest brother wants to have too much of it, more than may be due to him; the other two do not want to confess it to him, and put it to the council's judgment. Nevertheless, because the matter is before the authorities, they both ask in writing and orally for reconciliation, so that they may be reconciled. Now the question is: Whether these two should be admitted to the sacrament? The doctor answered and said: "Because they have brought nothing to him, and have wanted to reconcile with him, and have not brought anything to him.

1) Cf. cap. 18, § 7.

2) The "not" should probably better be missing. The sense would then be: because they have brought the request of reconciliation to the eldest brother etc..

they may well be admitted, especially since the matter does not rest with them but with the judges.

### 3. of one shape.

(Cordatus No. 1231.)

Miraculously, it has happened that the Sacrament of Christ is instituted under one form. But I have never read where, by which person, or on which occasion this is so instituted; certainly in the Council of Constance the Canons are first published, but in these they raise nothing with higher praise" than the praiseworthy custom.

### 4. whether one may receive a shape.

(Cordatus No. 1350.)

I have been questioned by various people about one figure. I asked them again about the knowledge of the institution of Christ, whether they knew and believed it, because it is not proper for such people to use one figure. But those who fear tyrants, or that they might deny them, it is better for them to abstain from both forms and from one form. Whoever does not want to face the danger, let it stand.

### 5. to serve one and both forms of the Lord's Supper at the same time, whether it is right.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1351.)

Since the sacrament is a public confession, these are false priests who offer wine from a chalice to those who desire one form, and the blood to those who want to communicate according to the institution of Christ. 1)

Mr. Hans Ungnade, an Austrian gentleman, was once in legation to Duke Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony, at Torgau on behalf of King Ferdinandi, and asked the Elector to send for D. M. Luther from Wittenberg, so that he might see him and talk to him. This was now done,

and when D. Luther had come, and had sat over the table with the Elector, Duke Philip of Brunswick, and Mr. Hans Ungnade, D. M. Luther had been unenthusiastic, and had not really stood around him. Then Mr. Hans Ungnade started, and said: Doctor, I would like to ask you something, if you would answer me right; then D. Luther had spoken: He should only speak freely; if he knew, he would tell him. Then he said: "In Hungary it is now the custom that the priests serve the Lord's Supper to the laity in one and both forms, and yet approve of both; what do Your Honor think of such priests? To this M. Luther had answered: He considered them perjurers, traitors, and evil-doers; for if they confessed that the Lord's Supper was right in both forms, they would not administer it in one form (which is contrary to the order of the Lord Christ).

This question has snuffed D. M. in the nose, but he has bitten it, and soon started: Mr. Hans Ungnade, I answered E. G. to your question before. I ask E. G. to hold it too well for me, I have to ask E. I have to ask E. G. one thing again. Then Mr. Hans Ungnade answered: Yes, dear Doctor, tell me, I would like to hear it. Then Doctor Martin said, "How is it that you and other advisors at the courts of the great kings and princes know that the teachings of the Gospel are right and the Word of God, and yet you pursue them? M. Luther had quickly fallen into the speech, had said to Duke Philip of Brunswick: "Gracious Lord, how much older are E. F. G. than I? F. G. older than I am? and had thus denied the question, so that the Lord Ungnad had not been allowed to answer it.

### 6. compassion between spouses.

A burgher's wife in Oschatz, a pious Christian matron, since she had used the sacrament in both forms and had freely confessed the same, she had to vacate the principality and move away, forced to do so by H[archduke] Georgen of Saxony; however, she left her landlord at home in the city, who was also a God-fearing man. After that, D. M.

1) Perhaps the following paragraph is formed from this number of the Cordatus. Another relation of it is found in Mathesius in the twelfth sermon, St. Louis edition, p. 226.

Luther was asked what the man should do about this. He answered: "Because they are both one flesh, they should also bear the same cross with each other. However, he was advised to send his wife to her friends in our principality for half a year, waiting to see how this tyranny would end, and if the wife were to stay with the friends for this short time in the name of Christ, the length of time with Duke G[eorg] would not last.

### 7. the change of the sacrament.

(Lauterbach, May 21, 1538, p. 84.)

The papists raise their prestige in the Church above the Word by this argument: the apostles changed baptism, therefore the bishops may change the sacraments. The answer to them is: Granted that the apostles changed something, there is a great difference between an apostle and a bishop. The latter is a person directly ordained by God and called with gifts of the Holy Spirit, but a bishop is a person chosen by men to preach the word and to ordain ministers in a certain place. Granted, then, the apostles had the authority, the Bishops do not have it. As Elijah killed the false prophets, so any pastor may not do. Therefore Paul clearly distinguishes: He appointed some as apostles, some as teachers, some as shepherds (Eph. 4, 11.). Among the apostles there was no primacy, but equality. But an apostle is a general person above the bishop. But the declaration of Peter's supreme power over the bishops is false, because the declaration extends further than what is declared; because thus it is concluded: The pope is the supreme power to decree ecclesiastics, to convoke the rest 1) and to transfer kingdoms [from one to another]. The definition we do not concede to him, because every good definition must be clear, actual, and clearly stated, that in the definition there is neither more nor less than in what is defined.

1) The opinion of this will be: to convene and assemble conciliums.

### 8. common sacramental rites.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 5 and Sept. 22, 1538, p. 109 u. p. 135.)

Some Hungarian students requested Holy Communion in both forms in our church, but because they did not understand German, they requested a separate and special celebration of Holy Communion in Latin. Luther refused them, because they knew Christ's institution, and they should stay with the common order of the church.

(Sept. 22) On this day some Hungarian students stopped with requests for the sacrament under both forms, but because they did not understand the German language, they wanted it to be given to them privately in Latin. Luther replied: "That would set a bad example in the church if one wanted to communicate privately. Even if they did not understand the words, but knew that it was the true order and institution of Christ, Christ's testament, and that it was given publicly and together in our church through the Word and in the Word, they should not separate themselves from the church in any way, since it would be much safer for their conscience and less annoying to the church if they took the sacrament in public communion. They did so obediently and gave thanks.

### 9. sign of an evil conscience.

Duke Georg is said to have said to one in Dresden: He did not want to force him to take the sacrament under one form; but since he did not want to take it the way it had been ordered and used in the church, he should leave the country. Finally it came to this, if the priest kept quiet about it, he should stay; the priest told him that he should be satisfied, and that nothing should happen to him. There spoke D. M. Luther: This is a sign of an evil conscience, which neither before itself nor behind itself may go, is everywhere challenged by itself. As Jeremiah says, Lamentations 1:2, "All her persecutors hold her evil, and affright her, and find no rest." These are real angustiae, fears; yet H[archduke] G[eorg] would not desist from his transgression, nor come to his heart again. 2)

2) So all German editions. Bindseil III, 31 offers: redire noluit ad cor suum, which would like to be translated: "still become sincere again".

**(10) Whether a death-row inmate who has not yet been reconciled with the church may be admitted to the sacrament, since he has otherwise been reconciled with friendship and authority.**

In 39, on the ninth of February, a citizen 1) went to the sacrament in Wittenberg, who had committed a death three years ago; however, he had otherwise reconciled and gotten along with everyone, except with the church and its servants and fathers. For this reason, M. Luther punished him publicly in the pulpit, 2) and did not want to admit him to the sacrament, he should also get along with the priest beforehand, and was angry with Magister Frösche, who had admitted him. But if someone, unknowing to the chaplains and church servants, conceals his sin and shame, and is thus absolved and admitted, let him take it on his conscience; then the church servants are excused.

**11) Whether a householder, in case of need, may offer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to his household.**

M. Luther answered and said: "Not at all; for first of all, there is no vocation nor profession, as Joshua said, 4 Mos. 11, 28: "My Lord Moses forbid them that prophesy" 2c. Deut. 4:6 and Deut. 6:6: "Put therefore all my words into your hearts." Apost. 2, 16. 17. and Joel 3, 1.: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith GOD, that I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy" 2c.

From this it follows that those who are not called may not preach; so it is also reasonable that they may not administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, for the sake of avoiding trouble. For many would therefore despise the ministers of the church, and leave them unattended, if they could help them themselves.

**(12) It was asked, "Were those excused who under the tyrants take the sacrament under one form, since they could not have both?"**

M. Luther answered and said: "This question is mean and often asked of me.

1) Schubart; cf. Cap. 21, § 5, para. 15.

2) Cf. cap. 21, § 5.

3) But I have answered in the most simple way, namely: Those who are not yet well reported, and still doubt the institution of the sacrament, they may take one form: but those who are certain that both forms are instituted, and take only one form, they do wrong and sin against conscience. For many under Duke George are now thus afflicted and scourged; which tyrant also shall die in his impenitence, because he hath grieved many consciences miserably, would gladly return, and yet cannot.

Anno 1539, the twelfth of May, D. H[ieronimus] S[churf] 4) sent to D. M. Luthern, and asked that he be allowed to choose a person to administer the sacrament to him, since no deacon pleased him, because they were digami, had two wives, and were not smeared. Then spoke D. M. Luther said, "Let him go to Kemberg or Torgau and take it there. So much I have allowed him. I would give it to him myself, if it were the custom; but I cannot grant him any more, so that the ministry of the church and the ministry of preaching will not be endangered and despised; for it sets a bad example and annoys.

On Easter Monday, April 7 of the same year, M. Luther ordered D. Jonas, because he himself could not preach, that he wanted to confute and embarrass the pope's argument, who wanted to defend the One Form with the breaking of bread at Emmaus. And when he was asked what ceremonies should be held in Communion when the Sacrament was administered? He said: "One should indeed keep it as in our Electorate of Saxony 2c.

### 13. elevation and abolition of the sacrament.

What is it necessary, said D. M. Luther, to argue and quarrel much about the abominable idolatry of elevation? M. Luther, much disputing and quarreling about the abominable idolatry of elevation, that the sacrament should be lifted high and shown to the people? since it has no testimony of the fathers, and is

3) Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 2274.

4) Cf. cap. 43, § 115.

without any benefit, except that the errors were confirmed, namely, worship and transubstantiation, as if bread and wine should lose their essence, and only the form, smell, and taste remain 2c. This is what the papists call transubstantiationem, and obscures the proper custom of the sacrament. Since in the diocese of Milan, from the time of St. Ambrose until this day, neither the Canon, nor the Elevation, nor the Dominus vobiscum is used or kept in the Mass.

(Here 6 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 35, § 6.)

#### 14) Where the elevation of the sacrament comes from and why it should be omitted.

Doctor M. Luther was asked in 1542 by his table companions: Where does the elevation (that one lifts up the host and the chalice in the papist mass) come from? To this he answered and said, It is taken from the Old Testament: for they keep two words, one called Trumah, the other Tnuphah. 1) Now Trumah was when they took a sacrifice in a basket, or whatever it was in, and lifted it over themselves, as we lift up the host, and showed it to our Lord GOD to see it, after which they took it and burned it, or ate it. Tnuphah was the sacrifice when they did not lift it over themselves; but pointed and showed it to the four ends of the world, just as the papists in the mass made the crosses and other umbrellas to the four places of the world; for hence they took the same manner and ceremonies.

And when D. Luther began to make the same crosses, with a strange movement [gesticulatione] 1) of the fingers, and could not meet the old custom, then he said: Marge, God's Mother, how we were troubled with the mass, and especially with the crosses. Mr. Friedrich Mecum often told me that he had not been able to make them all his life. Ah, we were poor people, and yet it was nothing but idolatry, we were real idolaters. They made some people so anxious with the words of institution, especially those who were pious.

1) XXXXXX and XXXXXX (Förstemann).

They were so serious that they trembled completely when they said the words: Hoc est corpus meum: "This is my body," because they had to be spoken without offense. Whoever stammered or left a word out had committed a great sin. For this he had to read the words without all foreign thoughts, and so that he alone heard it and those around did not. I have also been such a devout monk for fifteen years; God forgive me.

Then one of the table companions said, "Doctor, are there any other reasons why elevation should be discontinued than adoration, that is, the worship of the Lord's Supper? M. Luther answered: "I do not know of any other. Then he said, "Doctor, in places where the gospel has not been preached for so long, may one be patient and not discard the elevation so soon, especially where the people have not yet been confirmed? Then the doctor said: "We do not care about that, let it be taken away or not, we do not ask anything about it, if only the abuse is not there, the worship. Some churches have seen that we have dropped the elevation, so they do it after us; we are well satisfied with that.

#### 15. those who have not gone to the sacrament for a long time.

One spoke to D. M. Luthern: Doctor, what should I do, how should I behave, if I find people in my church who have not gone to the sacrament in twenty years and a long time? Then M. Luther said: Let them go to the devil, and when they die, put them on the shingle. 2)

He was further asked, "Should they be forced to take the sacrament? No, he said, because that is papist: tell them; if they want to do it, good; if not, let them go. But I am surprised that people abstain from the Sacrament and take it so rarely and unwillingly. Perhaps they are afraid of confession to the ears; but they really must not: he who feels his sin rightly, and who takes it seriously and loves the word of God with all his heart.

2) Cf. Cap. 1, § 93, and Cap. 21, § 18.



He will come and be glad that his conscience will be comforted and his weak faith strengthened.

#### 16. of the sacrament of the altar cause.

(Cordatus No. 1718.)

The causa efficiens of the sacrament is the word of God or the institution of Christ, the materia is bread and wine, the forma is the body and blood of Christ, the finis is that we receive our faith, so that we do not doubt that Christ has passed away for us and that our sins are forgiven. And from this we obtain this benefit, or rather he himself offers it to us, that he wants to be our Savior, not our judge; our Redeemer, not our accuser; our Deliverer, not our avenger, and that we, who are guilty of death and condemnation, are justified and saved by the blood of Christ.

#### 17. of the words in the Lord's Supper.

It was asked about the word "given for you" in the Lord's supper 2c.: Whether it is to be understood of the present kingdom, when the sacrament is administered, or when it is given and offered up for us on the cross? Then said D. M. Luther said, "It pleases me best that it be understood from the present kingdom and distribution, although it can also be understood from that which took place on the cross. And do not prevent Christ from saying, "This is given for you," when he should have said, "This will be given for you," for Christ is called hodie et heri, today and yesterday. It is I who do it, he says. Therefore it pleases me that the little word datur, given, should be understood to indicate the custom of the work.

#### 18) Whether to pay homage to the sacrament?

One of them asked: "Should we pay homage to the sacrament of the altar? Then said D. M. Luther: "When I take the sacrament at the altar, I bend my knees in reverence, but in bed I take it lying down.

#### 19 The Pope's conduct with the Sacrament.

The pope does not deny the sacrament, but has robbed and stolen one form or part of it from the laity, and has not taught the proper use of the sacrament. The pope does not reject the Bible, but persecutes and kills righteous, pious, faithful teachers and people; just as the Jews persecuted and killed the prophets who interpreted the Scriptures correctly. As far as substance and essence are concerned, the pope lets the sacraments and the Bible remain; only he wants to force us to use them as he wants and prescribes.

We teach the right custom of baptism and the sacrament of the altar: "He who believes and is baptized will be saved" 2c., Marc. 16, 16. But the Pope adds: He who believes and does good works will be saved. The priest does nothing else, but that he converts everything that God has ordered and commanded. I," he says, "will put on a low garment and use it for a crown, and my pants for a bodice. Thus he denies not the work in himself, but the custom; therefore all my disputing, writing and doing is against the abuse of the pope.

#### 20. the pabst's stand.

Against this a Bohemian fought, 1) who wanted to reject the pope. Then said D. M. Luther said: "It is written: "You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain. Since one does not misuse God's name, it would be unavoidable to forbid that one uses it uselessly. We can use the name of God well and badly, otherwise no one could find or do wrong. Therefore it follows that he who takes God's name in vain has the right name of God; he who takes a false name in vain does not sin, but he who takes the right name of God in vain complains about it. Because of the abuse the name does not become false, which the Waldensians in Bohemia do not believe, nor can they believe it.

1) Dr. Henning.

So a rebel who sits down against the authorities and makes a noise sins, but he does no harm to the authorities but to himself, for the authorities will and must remain. Thus Judas is a mischievous man, and yet he baptizes, preaches, and heals the sick: when he says to a lame man, "Arise and walk," it is so; for he does this in the name of Jesus Christ, even though he does not believe in Christ; indeed, he thinks nothing of him.

Therefore the ministry is not that of Judah the betrayer, nor of the pope, nor of the bishops, but the ministry of preaching is commanded and entrusted to them by Christ. Thus God pours wine, oil, through a stinking reed or vessel, and yet nothing is taken away from the wine as far as its substance and essence are concerned; although the taste is somewhat changed, so that it tastes and smells like the unclean vessel. Item: A magistrate and commander gives grain or a donation by order of the prince; although he is a mischievous man, I accept the gift he gives me out of the grace and benevolence of the prince: what is he to me who gives it and distributes it? I look to the prince.

If Thomas Aquinas, a preacher-monk, had called God's word *Opus operatum*, he would have come through. Then Heineck said: 1) Doctor, a sorceress has God's word and needs it, should one believe her, like the pope? To this D. Mart. Luther and said: She is not in the preaching office, nor does she have a command from God, as the pope and the bishops have; but is only a private and individual person. The offices are various and different, but it is God who sits there and condemns and works all in all.

Thomas Aquinas also says that there should be a secret power in the baptismal water. Therefore, the disputation arose that a character, that is, an indelible mark should be imprinted on the baptized person, as one burns a mark on the forehead or face. But Scotus denies this,

1) The same Boehme, Dr. Henning. Henning he is called Cap. 8, § 1 and Cap. 43, Z144; Heineck Cap. 13, § 35; Hennike Cap. 9, § 63; Hennick Cap. 13, § 67; Dominus Heinneck Bindseil II, 23, and Cap. 37, § 3.

He said, "Let it be because of God's covenant; when the priest baptizes, God is present with his covenant. And he was right in saying that he was a very fine man.

### 21. of the sacraments of the old testament.

The sacraments of the Old Testament and Law did not make righteous by their power and their own effect, but were only mere signs, meanings and indications before the people. But baptism is a water involved and connected with God's Word, in which grace is promised; for the sacraments of the New Testament are not mere signs, as those of the Old Testament were, but also work forgiveness of sin, righteousness and blessedness in those who need them with right faith. As the words read: "Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved" 2c, Marc. 16, 16. "This is my blood, shed for you for the forgiveness of sins", Matth. 26, 28.

Summa, it was only because the Bible was not read in high schools: and those who read it at the same time thought that it had to be understood according to the sense and opinion of the See of Rome, as the Pope interpreted it and wanted it to be understood. It has been nothing but child's play. But I hope that many people have been blessed who have remained simple-mindedly with the bad text and have adhered to it alone; for the text of the Holy Bible alone holds the sting. Ambrose, Augustine and other fathers do not.

### 22. auxiliary of the pope.

So also the pope says: I have the Bible and the right text, and I also say, as you do. How shall one do to him? God alone must be the judge of which part is right, in which the Scriptures are presented most clearly and plainly, according to the content of the words, what they are actually and plainly called, and what they are put on paper by the Holy Spirit. Not to interpret, understand and twist according to reason and philosophy, but as God Himself has spoken them through the mouth of His prophets and apostles and godly teachers, as we have it, praise God, pure and unadulterated.

**23 The Sacramentarian Argument. 1)**

The wicked do not receive the body of Christ, because they do not believe. So one would also say, said D. M. Luther, one would say: an ungodly person does not believe the ten commandments of God, therefore the ten commandments are nothing: an ungodly person does not believe the laws, therefore the laws are nothing. They should give half their lives so that this consequence and consequence would be right. For thus no man would be condemned, and all things could be excused and solved and dissolved. And I wanted this argument to be practiced with them, namely: the godless do not believe in God's creation, therefore they have no money; that one should reach into their pockets.

But it is a great foolishness to argue and conclude from the impiety of the ungodly, and from this conclude God's truth: the ungodly cannot receive Christ spiritually, therefore he cannot receive Him bodily. So it would also follow that the Jews could not have crucified Christ bodily, they are godless people, struck with blindness.

**Both worthy and unworthy receive the right sacrament.**

(Cordatus No. 373.)

Neither God in Himself nor the Holy Spirit is of any use except through the Word, for what does it help the devil that God is his Lord if he does not believe, nor wants to believe, that He wants to be his gracious God? This I have said, moved by the contradiction of the swarms, because they say: Flesh is of no use. When God speaks a word, one should believe it.

**(25) Whether an ungodly and unbelieving man will pass and receive the right sacrament?**

(This § is in the Great Catechism. Walch; St. Louis edition, vol. X, col. 137, § 846 and col. 130, §232.)

**26. other answer to the same question.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1208.)

Faith is not deceived, for example, if hidden enthusiasts give only bread and wine to a Christian who desires the Sacrament, his mouth is certainly deceived, but not his faith.

Wherefore the public confession of the word is, God grant, the wicked be as he will, yet nothing escapes the holy sacrament. And this is the reason: A wicked man also swears by the name of the Lord, and yet it is the true name of the Lord; and he would not sin if it were not the true name of God. For the name of God is not the devil's name, though I find it; but by this I sin, that I blaspheme the true name of God. Thus the pope also abuses the divine word; but the essence in itself must be put: and the abuse does not cancel the thing itself, or the essence. But the sacramentarii take away the substance altogether; therefore they have nothing in the Lord's Supper but bad bread and wine.

I use to solvate it thus: The scripture says: The Antichrist sits in the temple of God, and the temple of God is truly a nest and seat of the devil. These may be dangerous times for me, as the Lord Christ himself calls it. And who can put it together that the devil should sit on the throne of God, and yet the throne should remain God's temple? that nevertheless under the papacy God still had his church, but the pope sat and remained in the church, in the temple of God, and had the sacraments, the Bible, the power of the keys, and ruled the church of Christ, and yet he also used the sacraments against the church. Therefore, in sum, one must say: I did not establish the sacraments, but God did; for otherwise there is no solution. It should be: God; that is how it stands.

**27. by one who considered the blessed and unblessed host to be one,  
Urtheil D. Martin  
Luther and D. Pomer.**

(This concern is Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1585, no. 154.)

1) In the § Cap. 37, § 74, the heading to this piece is: Bucer's Argument from the Sacrament. Anno 1531. This information is correct, cf. chap. 37, § 3.

### 28 Sacrament.

(Cordatus No. 1720.)

Sacrament is an act of a man with divine promises, or a visible sign with [divine] promises.

### 29. Christ's true body 2c. in the sacrament is also in many places.

Just as a thousand days are only one day before God, so also one place before God is all places, and all places are only one place. Therefore it is no wonder that in the sacrament Christ's body is in many and various places at the same time and at once.

In the sacrament is possible what is otherwise impossible in nature, as, dimensionum penetratio, that is, one body is in the other body, and yet each retains its size, and no one exceeds the other's size, similarly there is the length and width of the body.

### (30) Against those who do not believe that Christ's body and blood are in the Lord's Supper.

Doctor Martin Luther once said: O Lord God, whoever cannot believe that Christ is in bread or in a grain of wheat, will believe much less in creation. This is a high article, that all creatures are created from nothing. And even less will he believe that God became man. Least of all that there are three persons and only one being. That leaves reason well satisfied.

It is easy for me to believe that Christ's body is under the bread; but it is difficult that so many glorious bodies in heaven and earth should come from nothing. This I cannot understand, it is not possible for me. Much less can I understand that the Son of God was born of Mary the Virgin, and that the other two Persons of the Godhead did not take on flesh. Do they want to take offense at the article? If they do not want to learn the ABC, how can they learn the Donat? The article of creation is such a high thing that no man can understand it: so the holy scripture remains hidden to the wise and prudent, says St. Paul, 1 Cor. 1:20, 21.

If they do not believe this, the consequence will soon follow. The word of God, even God Himself, sits at the right hand of the Father. And yet I live here in the word of God. "In Him we live, weave, and are", Apost. 17, 28. Where then will my life remain?

### 31. that the act of the Lord's Supper should not be used as a joke or a joke.

It was attributed to Doctor Martin Luther from Nuremberg that a priest, a Gauch, should have given communion to a woman in her area, and since he did not have a chalice, he would have taken a spoon and said: Take it and drink, it is the spoon of the New Testament. Doctor Martin Luther laughed a little at this; but he said, "This must be a knave. And if I were the lords of Nuremberg, I would give him the spoon; for it is a blasphemy; I would have him cast into the tower for a year, and say, This spoon belongs in such a spoon's food.

### 32. from the little word "All drink from it".

(Contained in Cap. 45, § 84.)

### 33. an argument against the papists.

All those who do not keep the Sacrament as Christ instituted it, have no Sacrament. Now all papists do, therefore they have no sacrament. For they do not receive their Sacrament, but offer it; after that they pass only one form, contrary to Christ's institution and command. The major, the first saying, is true, because the sacrament is God's work and order, not a man's.

### 34. of the same shape.

The church can therefore be excused in one form: just as if someone desires baptism in true faith and dies beforehand, he is baptized in his faith and death instead of water, whereas otherwise others are always baptized to death. So also: He who desires both forms, and yet cannot have them, is as one who is caught ignorant, and has died with faith.

all both received shape. In this way God was able to preserve His own, even in another way, unknown to us. Because the right knowledge and faith remained with them, that it is Christ's order that the true body and blood be in the sacrament, they received it with faith, and no sin could harm them to condemnation, because they were deceived, and did it unknowingly, not knowingly; so that they are not condemned even if perhaps the devil only gave them bread, because faith in Christ's institution devours it all. But that faith remained with them, this song proves: "With his flesh and with his blood" 2c., also indicates that both forms were in use among the laity. But I will let it be, otherwise they, the papists, should also forbid this little hymn, even though it came from their church and was not made by Luther.

### 35: The Consecration of the Sacrament.

D. M. Luther was asked in 1541 whether it was in the preacher's power to consecrate the Lord's Supper, and how the bread could become Christ's body? whether such a great thing was in the preacher's power, because preachers were often bad boys? To this he replied, "Just as God ordained in creation that the sun should rise and shine daily, giving light and warmth to the creatures; so also the Lord Christ ordained and commanded that in his church his essential body and blood should be in the Lord's Supper, not only spiritual but also bodily, and yet incomprehensible. For thus says the Lord Christ, "Receive, eat; this is my body; this do in remembrance of me." Therefore in the church of the Lord Christ's body is in the Lord's Supper, when it is received according to Christ's order. And one should not look to the priest who administers it, but only to the word of the Lord Christ, who has promised this to his Christianity. Just as the Holy Spirit is also in the Christian church, that is, with the saints or believers.

In sum, one should admonish the astute disputatores that they should therefore be very careful about their

Rationes and Argument" do not insist, build and trust; for God is wont to make fools of worldly men, as happened to Ahitophel, Absalon's councilor. And the holy scripture says that what is high and excellent in the eyes of the world is an abomination in the eyes of God. So this worldly wisdom of the Sacramentans can also be very deceived and displeasing to our Lord God. For what other proof and reason do these disputators have for themselves, but vain human thoughts and rational causes, spun and taken from reason, which are not comforting to a conscience, and do not strengthen or satisfy a conscience? Yea, let them be concerned about that which is most needful in the Scriptures, namely, faith, judgment, and mercy, as Christ commands, more than with these things and disputations. What do such fellows do more wrong than to leave the doctrine of justification (how to become pious, righteous and blessed before God, and of love), and to quarrel about sacraments, and to be mosquito swallows and camel devourers?

They should be reminded of this, either by those who doubt the sacraments or by those who stubbornly defend the new doctrine. For it is of no use to dispute sharply with them about the matter, since seldom can one be sufficiently instructed and satisfied by disputing, since one comes together once or twice. It takes a good long time to tear such erroneous opinions and delusions out of the heart: this requires fine friendly conversations and decent modest people.

But I think it best to teach the Catechism, the Ten Commandments, the faith and the Lord's Prayer in the pulpit. For it is certain that even those who think they are mightily learned in the Gospel and are masters of the craft do not yet understand.

**You fall however you want, wherever you want, that's how you fall.**

Some err and fall too much on the left side, that they give too much to the sacraments, namely, that they do justice ex opere operato, when the work is done and one uses them.

with the deed, even without faith; as in the papacy. The sacramentarians err and fall too far to the right hand, namely, in that they break off everything from the sacraments, considering them to be mere signs of life. Thus it goes: if one falls out of the ship in the back or in the front, one lies in the water.

### 37 The Taking of the Sacrament for Itself.

One of them asked M. Luther: "If someone should die and could not have the whole sacrament from the papists, would he like to give him the sacrament himself? No, he said, because there should always be at least two persons: one who gives it, the other who takes it. Just as a woman may baptize a child in distress, but the child does not baptize itself. If one cannot have it, it is enough in faith, according to the saying of Christ, "Thy faith hath saved thee" 2c. But if he can have it, let him not despise it.

St. Ambrose says the like in one place, that he had a catechumen, so he reported in the Christian faith, and the Catechism taught and converted. The latter, when he set out, wanted to go to Ambrosio and be baptized by him, so he died on the way, unbaptized. This made Ambrosio think hard that he said: *Doleo ventrem meum*: my belly is hurting me (misused of the words in the prophet); he wanted to show his heartache and sorrow for the unbaptized boy with such words. Finally, after having argued with him for a long time, he concludes that he was saved even without baptism, through his faith: because he considered baptism to be right and did not despise it, he would also have been baptized in faith if it could have happened to him. I have had many questions, especially from the land of Meissen, where Duke G[eorg] tyrannized. But it is wrong that someone wanted to give him the sacrament himself.

### 38 Another question, addressed to D. M. Luther Anno 1542.

Whether one may take the sacrament from a minister who publicly holds and teaches that the true body and blood of Christ are not

in the sacrament, but that Christ is there spiritually, as he is in all places with his grace? Some admit it and let it go, because one should not consider the person or the dignity, worthiness or unworthiness, which the sacrament bestows. But M. Luther said straightforwardly no to this; for there ceases not the worthiness of the person, but the thing itself, *res ipsa*, there is no sacrament. Item, if he does not keep the sacrament right, they must not do against Christ, who shed his blood for them.

(Here 12 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 19, § 30.)

### Faith in the Sacrament.

(Here 2 paragraphs are omitted because contained in Cap. 19, § 30.)

If the opponents, the sacramentarians, can only make sure that the little word *est*, is, in the Lord's Supper means as much as *significat*, I will believe them. They have not had the temptations and thoughts about the Sacrament that I have had. That is why I have often said before this racket that Carlstadt started: I do not know of any challenge to the faith on the part of the rotten, except the two, of Anabaptists and Sacramentarians.

### 40. Spiritual things also have their time.

One said he still doubted the baptism. Thereupon D. M. Luther said in a friendly and humble manner: "You have not been on the level when you first came here, now that you are up. Continue to wait, let our Lord God take his time; let the trees blossom before they bear fruit. Who have I been? I have worshipped the saints who have never been born. It is not yet time, or I would say it; but wait, and it shall be seen what the outward oral word is and can be.

Christ is true in our hearts; it will not enter into men's hearts that God is able to do more than heaven and earth and all things. This is what I am saying, so that when you hear that God has said this, you may say, "How could God do more? If he was able to make the world, he can also make

create more. Why then should I not believe His word: "This is my body"?

Here they say: Yes, now I do not believe it, because heaven and earth are created so that they must have space. Here I answer: Our Lord God has made one world for men, and the other world for spirits. How, if he had made the third also? For it is possible for him. Why then do they argue against this and say that Christ is only after the Godhead and everywhere? So the Zwingel wrote about this. When I think of God, I think as if God and humanity were present everywhere; for Christ, God and man, is one person; if I want to find God, I look for him in the humanity of Christ. Therefore, when we think of the Godhead, we must put time and place out of sight, for our Lord God and Creator must be something higher than place, time and creature.

#### 41 The Devil's Advantage.

In 1533, on the 22nd day of February, Luther said: "The devil has no better way of overcoming us and defeating us than by leading us from the Word to the Spirit. That is why I consider it a miracle and a miraculous sign for the sacramentarians, that they do not "look at the word or consider it," but only at the things that are set and done in the word, as bread and wine. But one should stick strictly to the word, and not concede the spirit to the people. The sacramentarians see only bread and wine, the Anabaptists the water, but they do not see the word.

(Here 12 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 37, § 3.)

42. serious speech of D. M. Luther with Bucer and Lycosthenes 1) from the night meal, Thursday

after Reminiscere 1537 at Gotha. 2)

Ego sum homo candidus, nihil minus possum quam simulare et dissimulare, sed quic-

1) German "Wolffhardt. Cf. De Wette IV, 344.

2) On this §, compare Mathesius, St. Louis edition, pp. 196 and 197, and Walch, old edition, vol. XVII, 2593 and 2486. An excerpt of this letter in Seckendorf Nir. III, § 22, p. 62.

quid dico in hac summa Eucharistiae causa, ex corde dico; that is: I am a sincere man; as I mean it

in my heart, so I also speak it with my mouth, can do nothing less than simulate and dissimulate, hide and pretend; but as I hold it in this highly important matter of the holy supper, so I also speak it from the heart, it is no joke to me. And I beg you, dearest Bucer and Lycosthenes, to believe it to be so, and not to doubt me, even to indicate to your people outside, and especially to those who have written to me, that they believe that I am dealing with them in this matter without falsehood.

For my own part, I can be patient with you, and I believe that because the matter has been so deeply seduced by you, you will not be able to tear it out so suddenly, and you will not be able to make up for what has been spoiled so soon. So I have seen large groups here in the country, as you have seen here in Schmalkalden, and without that, I cannot lead them all in my fist and force them to provide the best for you all the way. For if such books go out, and you write and teach of the matter as is written and taught, there can be no patience among our people. Again, your people will of course not soon be satisfied if you quickly speak and teach differently than you did before. And we cannot by any means suffer or tolerate that you should say that you have not erred; neither will it do to pretend that we have not understood each other on both sides. For we have understood you very well, but if you do not want to understand us, we must tell you and let you pretend.

The best thing to do now would be that you either silently swear about the matter and teach right from now on, or freely and openly confess: Dear friends, God has let us fall, we have erred, let us now take care and teach rightly. For there are on our side, who cannot stand your mantling, as Amsdorf, Osiander, and others more. So do not do it enough without the conscience of the people. If you cannot do it quickly and at once, then do it in a quarter, half or whole year; for it must be done in a short time.

We must give an account to God and be judged on how we have conducted the high ministry (the preaching ministry).

I have written to the mayor of Basel 1) in the friendliest, most amicable and sweetest way, and have not at all offended him: he will show you my writing, and you can refer to it. We have to deal with such things properly, and must not forgive anything to our Lord God, because he does not confess it to us; and if the people thought that we had given them the right sacrament, then we had deceived them.

Blaurerus taught, as I am reported, that bread and wine are *objecta sensuum* (that is, that which the senses perceive); but the body and blood of Christ are *objecta fidei* (that which faith grasps); so make them first *duo objecta*. Well, what is that?

Carlstadt is also no good outside, neither a *dialecticus* nor *rhetoricus*, and can teach nothing if he already knew something. He has given me a doctorate, and I am not angry with him; but I cannot fall for his foolish presumption: you will not be able to do anything good with him. If you want to use him, let him read and argue at the University of Basel; there it will not harm the common man, and he will find those who will answer him.

It is not necessary to teach the common man with high, heavy and hidden words, because he cannot grasp it. Poor little children, maids, old women and men come to church, for whom high doctrine is of no use, nor do they grasp anything of it. And even if they say, "Well, he said a wonderful thing. When you ask them, "What was it then? I don't know, they say. One must say to the poor people: *Scapha, Scapha, Ficus, Ficus*, they still hardly grasp it. Oh, how our Lord Christ was diligent to speak plainly, using parables of agriculture, harvest, vines and sheep, all so that people could understand, grasp and remember. You have large, excellent, populous churches outside, and many people,

in which you must take great care to carry out the high divine ministry of *Verbi* and *Sacramentorum* (the ministry of the Word and Sacraments), and must give God great response in return: ever strive to teach them singly, faithfully, and clearly.

If I die, please refer to the letter that I have written to the mayor of Basel, whom I have always loved and consider a pious and faithful man. But if I live, and our Lord God, to whom I have surrendered myself, strengthens me, then I will gladly serve the people who wrote to me so kindly, in the most faithful and kindest way again with my writing. So, praise God, the arts are now pure again and are taught purely in the schools, and the youth is being properly instituted, so that there is hope that God will nevertheless, where peace remains, give grace so that one can have people: you can also help and support them outside. In addition, Magdeburg is finely decorated and is the crown of all schools, where six hundred boys are best instituted. Georg Major, schoolmaster there, has done well with his institution.

#### 43 Luther's certainty about the Lord's Supper and how to protect and defend oneself against the devil.

I truly know that the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper are true, therefore I will defend them against everyone: for I have never heard an argument that men have thought up and invented against the Lord's Supper, which would have moved me very much. My night wars have become much more sour to me, because the day wars, *quia the<sup>2</sup>* ) *adversarii* have seldom made me displeased, but the devil can bring me arguments that put me in harness: he has often brought me such arguments that I did not know whether there was a God or not. Therefore, I will tell you, so that you will not believe the devil and his arguments. If the devil finds me without God's word, that I think of the Turk, the pope and the prince, he soon has fiery arrows, which he shoots into my head.

1) Jakob Meyer. Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI,

2) Aurifaber has *äisl*, which Förstemann changed to *6is8*. The contrast against night wars, however, requires *älv*.



I have won, but if I take hold of the Scriptures against him, I have won.

Again, if he leads me out of the way, tunc me sic tentat, that I may not reproach it. The outward temptations only make me proud and hopeful, as you see in my books, how I despise the adversaries, I take them straight for fools. But when the devil comes, he is Dominus Mundi, a lord of the world, and he gives me then a good posuisti; for the Lord Christ has set us contra potestates Aeris, non contra Carnem et Sanguinem. Otherwise I want to defy all lawyers; but when the companions come, who are called spirituales nequitiae, then Ecclesia must fence with them. A Christian asks nothing about the misfortune hujus Mundi, because he knows that Christ will help there. But the devil does not want to have that life, which is eternal, so we have to lose the temporal life; that is a bad loss.

1) Pugnemus igitur contra Satanam; sicut dixit Cardinalis quidam. It would not be good for us to know pugnam Angelorum pro nobis, for we would have to despair; for the devil's thoughts are no different than that he intends to destroy us completely, for he is hostile to the Lord Christ and his members. Therefore it is best, ut jungamus nostra vota et manus, et oremus Christum, that he keep us from the devil. For my own part, I do not fear any devotee, for I know of none who could raise such arguments against me as would deceive me. 2) Quia ipsorum Argumenta per otium audivi a Diabolo, et graviora quidem, sed per verbum Dei vici. Luther then said that he did not believe that Cochleus, as long as he spoke a word, could suffer his devil, who often plagued him with all kinds of arguments, because he and his crowd knew nothing of these spiritual temptations.

#### 44. examples of great sanctity of the pope and his jurors.

(Contained in Cap. 27, § 105.)

1) Cf. cap. 23, ?4.

2) Cf. cap. 37, § 141, last paragraph.

#### 45: Some Questions about the Holy Sacrament, presented by a good friend of D. M. Luther, and the doctor's report from it.

The first: Whether one may take the reverend sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Christ in Bohemia from the Hussites or Picards 3) with a clear conscience? because the Hussites, according to Christ's command, do not speak the words about the bread and wine: "This is my body, this is my blood" 2c. publicly, as here in Wittenberg, but secretly, but do so in church before the people. The Picures, however, whether they do it according to Christ's command, I do not know, but they do not do it publicly in church, like the Hussites, but secretly in the houses where they come together. Therefore, since the sacraments should and must be performed and used publicly, according to Christ's command, please report to me favorably, from which (Hussites or Picards) would it be safer to receive such?

Answer by D. Martin Luther.

Because one does not know what these or those do, it is better to abstain from the sacrament: especially because the Hussites hold to the pope and no longer follow the priest, their communion in the sacrament is to be avoided, lest one become partaker of their nature as the pope. And because they celebrate private masses and speak the words secretly, no one can be sure that they are spoken; for all men are liars, and it is also contrary to the institution of Christ to celebrate private masses and speak the words secretly. Since this is done knowingly, we should not approve what we have done before, since we did not know if it was sinful; it belongs to the forgiveness of sins.

#### 4, 6. The other question.

Whether the Bohemians also do right in handing the reverend Sacrament to the little children; for they say that the promise

3) Förstemann: Begharden, but the reading "Picarden" will probably be more correct. Cf. Guericke, Kirchengeschichte, 7th Aüfl, vol. 2, 442, note 1, and on "Begharden" idiä. S. 241.

and grace of God belong to all men: therefore, if the children are to be blessed, they must receive the reverend Sacrament as well as the aged?

Answer by D. Martin Luther.

It is wrong that they consider it necessary for salvation to give the sacrament to children, even if it is not a sin; for St. Cyprian also did this; since the saying John 6:53, which they add: "He who does not eat" 2c., does not belong to the sacrament, but to faith. Therefore, it is unnecessary to give to the little children, but they are not condemned because of it.

#### 47. of the sacrament.

If one did not truly know and be certain that the sacrament is a great and mighty thing in the Christian church, one could or should recognize it by the fact that the devil challenges the sacrament so much and has challenged it through the sacrament abusers, the fanatics, the Münsterians and many other cults and sects. For the devil challenges the great pieces of Christian doctrine the most, and follows the common saying: Where our Lord God builds a church, the devil builds a chapel next to it.

#### (48) Whether the sacrament should be given to one who lies.

When the time is right, and I admonish a rich man in confession to give something to the poor for God's sake, and he says he does not have it, shall I also give the sacrament to such a liar? one asked. Then said D. M. Luther said, "If he denies it, what more can be done? If he persists in his denial, do as Christ did, who also gave the sacrament to Judah the traitor.

One of them said about the example of Ananiä, Apost. 5, whom St. Peter, because he lied, killed with one word. Answered D. M. Luther: That was something special; and I believe that Peter did it not out of his spirit for himself, but out of revelation. For God wanted to confirm the first church with miracles and miraculous signs.

#### The cries of the Sacramentarians that we Lutherans forget all love toward them.

Doct. Luther said Anno 1542 about tables: The Sacramentirer have well plagued us with the Charitate in their books and writings, and spoken: You of Wittenberg have no Charitatem. When one asks them, what is charitas, they say, ut consentiamus in Doctrina, et omittamus rixas illas de Religione. Then one must answer them and say: Yes, listen, there are two tables in the Ten Commandments, Prima et Secunda; now Charitas belongs in secundam Tabulam, there it goes over all works: but in prima Tabula it says: Time Deum, audi Verbum ejus; there they ask nothing. Now Christ says: Qui Matrem et Patrem plus diligit quam me, non est me dignus. You shall have Charitatem erga Parentes, erga Liberos, Conjugem et Vicinum. In the other tablet it says: Ama, ama, sis pius in Patrem, Matrem et proximum; but in the first it says: Si quis diligit plus Patrem et Matrem quam me. Where the ME comes, Charitas ceases, and there I will gladly be called pertinax, superbus, capitosus and sine Charitate, and whatever else they want to call us; only that I am not particeps to their false teaching, because my dear God protects me from that.

#### 50. abuse of the sacraments.

(Contained in Cap. 37, § 75.)

#### The priests are ordered to do this.

The ministers of the church are not ordained to make or bring the sacrament, but to administer and give it in the church. Just as they are not to bring or administer baptism or the word, but to administer or preach it.

The water and word together is baptism. From where? Does the servant do it? No, but that it is Christ's order. So, under the bread and wine is the body of Christ, for Christ has so ordered it.

3) They, the papist priests, like fools, presume to have power and authority to consecrate and to make the Sacrament, which neither the angels in heaven, nor Mary, nor the whole Church of the Holy Spirit have.

Lay people never have had, as they boast at the first fairs.

4. dear, where God's word is, which is the greatest, there is also God's kingdom, therefore also there must be everything, the church, Christ, the sacraments, ordination 2c., as he himself says: "Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you". Matth. 28, 19. 20. There he says and commands that the teachers should teach the

Nations shall teach keep his command. But now he has commanded: Take and eat. Thus St. Paul gives it to the Corinthians, and says in another place, that competent and skillful men shall teach and minister these things; and it is well to be remembered, that where it is conceded and indulged, that a church and the word may be pure and righteous, there is admitted not a part, or Christ only in a piece, but the whole complete Christ.

## The 20th chapter.

# Of the Christian Church.

The first reason why the papacy was challenged and overthrown by the gospel.

2. what the church is.
3. God must preserve His Church Himself.
4. the poor bad shape of the church annoys the worldly wise.
5. equality of the right and wrong church.
6. comparison of the church among the Gentiles and Judm.
7. the church should be in the midst of the world among the people.
8. definition of the right essential church of God.
9. difference of the true and false church.
10. new reformation of the papist church, and how to reform the church.

Where and which is the right church.

The church sheds its blood.

13. how the Christian church is doing.

14. the shape of the church.

There are many troubled consciences in the Christian church.

16. the church fear.

17. the shape of the church.

18. the world and church reputation.

19. why the church on earth is in misery.

20. testimony of the faith of the church.

21. glory of the church among all hypocrites.

The fruit in the womb is an image and likeness of the church.

Another likeness and image of the church.

24. from the oil tree.

25. useless fame of the pope from the Roman church.

26. from the saying of Augustine: I did not believe the gospel 2c.

27. defiance of the papists stands on the name of the church.

28. the difference between Christ's kingdom and the world's kingdom.

29 The Church's Annoyance.

(30) In which the righteous church stands.

31 Of the Sophists' Deception.

### The first cause why the papacy was challenged and overthrown by the Gospel.

(Cordatus No. 1253. 1254.)

The papacy is intolerable, because the pope not only presumes to be the head of the whole church (which could be granted to him after all), but beyond that he has also presumed to have power over God's word, which he has not preached, nor will he ever preach, that is not to be suffered. And this reputation of his sticks so strongly in the hearts of the opponents that they are not willing to believe our

doctrine if it were approved by the pope. This has been openly confessed by H[archduke 1] G[eorg], therefore he will go to his God, to whom he has given glory.

Those who praise the prestige of the church over the word are like those who say: I would like to love the son, but I must first beat the mother to death; for they ascribe more to the generated church than to the begetting word. But thank God that we are not heretics, but only schismatics, and that through their fault.

## 2. what the church is.

(Cordatus No. 1415.)

The church is an assembly of the people who are 1) well versed in things not before their eyes. The wicked see nothing but defects [peccata] in it, but they do not find crimes [in it].

## 3. God must preserve His Church Himself.

We say to our Lord GOD: If he wants his church, let him keep it, for we cannot keep it: and if we could, we should become the proudest asses under heaven. That is, I say it and do it. For God alone speaks, does nothing according to the opinion of the wicked, as they think it good and right.

## 4. the poor bad shape of the church annoys the world's worshippers. 2)

(Lauterbach, Jan. 16, 1538, p. 12.)

Therefore, Jerome S[churf] and the sages are offended by the image of the church, which is subject to perverts and sects, because he believes that the church is the pure, holy, undefiled dove of God. True, the church has such a reputation before God, but before the world it is similar to its bridegroom Christ, Is. 53, chopped up, scratched, scorched, crucified, ridiculed. 3)

## 5. equality of the right and wrong church.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 16, 1538, p. 13.)

The figure of the church and of Christ is the sheep, the figure of the hypocrites the snake, the viper, the adder; we learn this from the very bitter hatred of religion, which is far stronger than all human and brotherly hatred, as we have learned from Oecolampad, Zwingli and Bucer. Cochläus wrote to me very calmly at the beginning and exhorted me to the gospel, later he became a viper.

1) Instead of pruāsns, which would refer to seelssia, it is probably better to read xruāsntis, which gives a more appropriate sense.

2) This § follows Cap. 27, § 101.

3) This is immediately followed by the following H.

## 6. comparison of the church among the Gentiles and Jews.

(Lauterbach, April 30, 1538, p. 74.)

When he was asked whether the church of the Gentiles or that of the Jews had a greater reputation according to what is before his eyes, he answered: "The church of the Gentiles is nothing compared to that of the Jews. For what, Christ [alone] excepted, is equal in the whole New Testament to the first three chapters of Genesis, of the creation? It is truly a great majesty of creation; as we sing: Great Creator of the stars, Eternal Light of the faithful [Conditore alme siderum, Aeterna lux credentium] 2c. Behold the deliverance from Egypt, the Red Sea, the pillar of cloud, the manna. But all this became small with the Jews. Behold the glory of baptism, which was glorious in the beginning! Are we not so accustomed to baptism that we miss the glorious act of baptism and run after the smallest spectacle, a barrel-stealer 4)? Consider if someone admires the reading of the Psalter as much as the style of ^erence or Cicero? In short: By frequency everything becomes small. Thus a papist exclaimed in the beginning of the Gospel: Eh, how the world is transformed! Now one wants to preach the ten commandments. Who has ever heard it before?

## 7. the church should be in the midst of the world among the people. 5)

(Lauterbach, Aug. 31, 1538, p. 126.)

That is why God placed His Church in the midst of the world, in the most diverse businesses and professions, so that Christians would not become monks, but would live in common society and our works and practices of faith would be known among men. For human society, as Aristotle says, is not an end in itself, but a means, its ultimate end being to instruct one another about GOD. Therefore, Aristotle says: Not a physician and a physician, an agriculturist and an agriculturist 2c. form a commonwealth. There are three estates: the ar-

4) At the beer show. (Seidemann.)

5) This § follows Cap. 26, § 49.

the healing, the warring and the ruling; of these the state consists. Therefore Plato says: As cattle are not governed by cattle, and goats by goats, so men are not governed by men, but by heroes.

#### **8. definition of the right essential church of God.**

Doctor M. Luther pointed out the correct definition of the true, essential, Christian Church, against the Papists' boast, namely, as it is written in the third part of our Christian faith, where we say: A holy catholic, that is, general church, a communion of saints. It does not say Roman. This is a good learned dialecticus, who can take from what precedes, ex antecedenti, and conclude the consequent, as certainly follows from it; so that the art of dialectica does not stand in rules alone, but most of all in works and examples; as U. Philippus is, who acts both, word and thing, not like Aristotle: Omne A est B, omne B est C, ergo etc..

#### **9. difference of the true and false church.**

The true church is thus distinguished from the false church, namely: The true church teaches that sins are forgiven out of pure grace and mercy of God, free of charge, for the sake of Christ, without our merit and works, to those who recognize and confess their sin from the heart and firmly believe in Christ with the heart. But the false church ascribes all this to our merit and works, and calls it doubting.

That is why we are burdened in the church, with the church, asking for the church, said D. M. Luther. For there are three things that preserve the church, and actually belong to the church: First, to teach faithfully; second, to pray diligently; and third, to suffer earnestly.

#### **19. new reformation of the church, and how to reform the church.**

(Lauterbach, 4. Der. 1538, p. 186, and 12. Der. 1538, p. 191.)

On December 4, D. M. Luthern received from Phil. Melanchthon a written refor

The Pope had received a copy of the Papists' Declaration under Duke George, which they had written themselves, since they feared Duke George's harsh and strict reformation. Having recently read it, he said: "These people want to reform the church and govern it according to their thoughts and human wisdom, since such things are much too high for human suggestions and counsels. If our Lord God wanted to reform His Church, it was done in a divine, not human, way, as in the time of Joshua the judge, Samuel the apostle, and in our time.

I can see that the papists are afraid. They are more afraid of H[Archduke] George than of Luther: they have asked H[Archduke] George to be their godfather, and now they want to get rid of him. . For if his Reformation should have its way, the pope would have to leave his splendor, and the bishop of Mainz would have to ride only with four horses, and so on.

Then they talked about the reformation of the papists under Duke George, and Luther said: "I would like to see what kind of church they want to establish, whether after the example of the first church at the time of the apostles or the martyrs: they will have to read all the fathers. Or if they want to follow the church of the time of the heretics, they will also have to read a lot, otherwise they will become the most unfortunate imitators. Our church is, by God's grace, closest to the apostolic church, because we have the pure doctrine, the catechism, the sacraments, the right custom of the world and domestic regiment. If the Word of God remains pure and in force, which alone makes the Church, all is well. The papists, however, who want to establish the church according to their canons and decrees, make a unity of discordant things, and will draw water with a sieve, however they trust in the wisdom of reason.

#### **Where and which is the right church.**

In 39, Jan. 16, there was talk about how the papists boasted about the name and authority of the church. M. Luther: "Where God's Word is pure and taught, there is also the church, for the church is sustained by the Holy Spirit, not by ordained authority.

succession and inheritance. For it does not follow and conclude: Peter was a pious, Christian bishop at Rome, and at that time a Christian congregation, therefore the popes and the Roman church are also Christian. Otherwise, if this were to be concluded and applied, one would have to say: Caiphaz, Annas, the Sadducees would also have been a Christian church, because they boasted that they came from Aaron.

On 18 Jan. of the same 39th year, the Abbot of Naumburg at St. Georgen, 1) a good singer and cheerful man, dined at night with D. M. Luther and said much about the united argument of the papists, about the church; then D. M. Luther spoke. M. Luther said: "One should not be surprised that there was discord and disunity among the Gentiles, since the same church was also a people gathered by God; for this is what happens when one lets go of God's word and looks at persons and external things.

It is true that it is said that the church cannot err; but of this is the dispute, which is the church. Duke George has always hoped that our church would fall; but because he now sees that it is growing and increasing every day, and his parishes are becoming desolate, the leaf would almost fall from his eyes. The bishops, however, are blind, do not take care of the church, and would rather that all parishes be devastated and abandoned than that the gospel be taught righteously and purely. The princes have to deal with other things, do not despise God as much as the bishops. Many of them are presumptuous and make themselves believe that they know and understand the gospel very well, that they are masters rather than disciples. That is why St. Paul speaks to the Corinthians, out of great compassion and pity, thus: If God wanted you to rule, oh how I would like to grant it to you 2c. It is truly a bitter ironia and a fierce sting against the despisers and presumptuous, satiable spirits.

#### **The church sheds its blood.**

(Cordatus No. 985.)

It is impossible for the church to grow, or even be sustained, without blood;

1) Thomas Hebenstreit. (Förstemann.)

because the devil, their adversary, is a liar against the truth and a murderer against those who believe the truth. It grieves me that I should carry my blood to the grave, especially since many monks who have been preachers have died shedding their blood.

#### **13. the state of the christian church.**

The Christian church will be no different than a lamb that the wolf has caught by the wool and wants to eat. Our nobility, burghers and peasants also do not listen, do not mean differently, when we preach the gospel and scold the monks with their works, we preach good days and allow them to do what they want.

Alas, it will go badly with them, they sin too much and do not listen to what we say; if we cast out one devil, seven will take their place. If we expelled all the monks, we would get seven times worse than the present ones.

But I thought it would be more beneficial for a country to let up on the chasing and destroying, and I allowed everyone to move out and stay whoever wanted to. I hope they will soon devastate themselves. But the lords and the nobility are looking for their own, so they will get it like the dog gets the grass. Everyone wants to become rich from the beggars of the monasteries; but they take care that their wealth does not become beggars!

#### **14. the shape of the church.**

Worldly men see that the church is shapeless and despised, poor and miserable; but other ungodly men are brought forth and exalted, judging it by reason, without God's word; so they go. Hence they despise the whole religion, and say that the article of the resurrection of the dead was only invented to frighten the mob, and to put and keep them in fear. The peasants seldom come to despise God and religion, they just do not think about it otherwise; but the wise and prudent take care of it, think about it, measure it and judge it according to reason. So

has Erasmus Rotterdam, and others, the most learned, understanding and wise people, the Epicurer in the bosom.

But we know by the grace of God that the holy Scriptures are confirmed and corroborated by miraculous signs, which no other teaching is able to do, except to raise the dead and cast out devils 2c. That is why our Lord God warns us so often to stay with the Holy Scriptures and His Word.

(Here a section of 45 lines is omitted because contained in Cap. 1, § 89.)

### **There are many troubled consciences in the Christian church.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, § 119, para. 2 u. 3.)

#### **16. the church fear.**

The church's mourning and lying in childbearing will last for a long time, but her age and time will come when she will be redeemed and have a happy countenance. Joh. 16, 20. 21.

#### **17. the shape of the church.**

The shape and appearance of the church is ugly, sad and distressed, but in truth it triumphs and wins with Christ. St. Paul says in Eph. 2, 6: "He has seated us together with Christ in the heavenly realm. Just as a bride is a dominatrix and wife of her husband's goods, so a believer is lord of all his bridegroom's goods, for he is raised with Christ and seated in the heavenly realm. Therefore, it is not a hope when we defy the devil for God's goods and gifts, which Christ has acquired for us and he, the devil, has lost. God sees nothing evil in His church and congregation, for He only looks at Christ, His dear Son, whom He loves so much that He sees nothing evil in His bride before such love, for He "has cleansed her through the bath of water in the Word," Eph. 5:26.

Item: In the form of the church nothing less is seen than that it is said of her that she is the Lord Christ: therefore one must open the eyes of the heart and lift them above oneself, and not look according to the outward appearance and according to our mind and

We do not judge in our own minds, for we feel sin and the devil's terror; but we are to judge according to God's word and promise.

#### **18. the world and church reputation.**

The world's appearance and reputation is like a paradise, but the reputation of the true Christian and God's church is very ugly, shameful and annoying in the eyes of the world; yet it is precious, high and dear in the eyes of God. Aaron the high priest, in his robes and adornments, walked gloriously in the temple, smelling well; but Christ walked badly and despised. Therefore we are not to be deceived nor disputing what and how the world thinks and judges of the church. Why do I ask that the usurers, nobles, peasants, burghers, miserly people, and scoundrels despise me and consider me filthy? I will do the same in his time, at the last day, and will despise them again. Therefore, we should not let ourselves be deceived, nor should we worry about what the world thinks of us with its smarties. Virtus est placuisse bonis: Honor and virtue is to please the pious.

#### **10. why the church on earth is in misery.**

First, that we may be reminded and admonished that we are exiled and cast out from paradise because of Adam's fall. Secondly, that we remember the misery of the Son of God, who became man for our sake, took our flesh and blood, yet without all sin, walked on this miserable valley of tears, suffered for us, died, and rose again from death, and thus brought us back to our fatherland, from which we were driven. Third, that such misery may teach us and remind us that our citizenship is not in this world, but that we are only pilgrims here on earth, and that another life, namely eternal life, is still left to us.

#### **20. testimony of the faith of the church.**

(Cordatus No. 29.)

That there is a church is an article of faith that can be grasped with faith.

not with eyes. Moreover, God hides them in a miraculous way, sometimes through sins, sometimes through disputes and errors, sometimes through weakness, all kinds of impulses, the death of the pious and the multitude of the wicked 2c. He hides them so much that he also needed the disunity of the apostles for this, as can be seen in the dispute of Paul against Peter, also in the disunity of Marcus, Barnabas and Paul. And one must believe that all of Asia, a very famous country in many respects, fell away from Paul for no other reason than that the church was hidden, which was certainly in Asia, but in very few who were known to God [alone].

**21. fame of the church among all hypocrites.** (Lauterbach, Dec. 5, 1538, p. 187.)

The name and fame of the church is their [the hypocrites'] strongest argument. In Acts (6, 13.) they cry out against Stephen: "He has spoken against the people, against the holy place and the law." The title was used by Cain, Ishmael, Saul, the Turk and the Jews, but Moses resolves it in Deut. 32, (v. 21.): "They have provoked me against that which is not God; with their idolatry they have provoked me to anger. And I will provoke them again" 2c. Piece by piece you can leave me, so I can leave you again. For GOD and the people, Word and Church are two things that belong together [correlativa] So the papists are called bishops, but they are not. We are not called bishops and yet we are, according to Paul's explanation, Titus 1 and 1 Timothy 5. The pomp of the papists would still be bearable, but their idolatry is the most godless.

**The fruit in the womb is an image and likeness of the church.**

Just as the child in the womb is surrounded and wrapped with a thin skin, which the Greeks call the chorion, we Germans call it the afterbirth, and desires no more nourishment than its cotyledons, as it is called, from which the fruit has its sustenance, bring. The afterbirth also does not break, unless the fruit is early and ripe and comes into the world to light.

is brought. Thus the church is also locked into the Word and bound to it, and seeks no other teaching of the will of God than that which is revealed and indicated in the same Word, with which it is satisfied, on which it also remains and rests through faith. Until such time as in that life she sees God's light and face present, and hears God himself preach of the secret and now hidden things, which we have here in faith, but there in sight.

But that some are so careless and glorious that they break the afterburden by untimely movement (like the Anabaptists and other enthusiasts and red spirits who despise the preaching ministry and wait for new inspiration and movement from heaven), these must become untimely fruit and dead children, as abortus et immaturae massae. Therefore, the church should learn, when considering this likeness and image, that it is bound by the word given to it by God, from which it should not depart one finger or one bit.

**Another likeness and image of the church.**

Amaranthus grows in the month of August, and is more of a stem than a flower; it likes to be broken off, and grows finely, happily and merrily. And when all the flowers are gone, and this is sprinkled with water and made moist, then it becomes pretty again and equally green, so that one can make wreaths from it in winter. It is called amaranthus because it does not wither or wither.

I do not know if anything can be more like the church than Amaranthus, this flower, which we call Tausendschön. For even though the church has chosen her garment in the blood of the lamb, as it is written in the first book of Moses and in the Revelation of John, and is dyed with red, she is more beautiful than any state or assembly on earth. And she alone does the Son of God love as his dear bride, in whom alone he has his delight and joy: to her alone does his heart cling, rejecting and disgusting all others who despise or falsify the gospel. Moreover, the church also likes to be broken off and plucked up, that is, it is willingly and gladly obedient to God in the cross, is



It is patient in this, and grows again with joy, and increases; that is, it receives the greatest benefit and fruit from it, namely, that it learns to know God rightly, to call upon Him, to confess the doctrine freely, and brings forth many beautiful, glorious virtues. Finally, the body and the trunk remain whole and cannot be cut off, even though some of the members rage and are torn off. For just as the amaranthus, the thousand-flower, does not wither or die, so the church can never be destroyed or cut off. But what is more wonderful than amaranthus? If it is sprinkled with water and laid in it, it becomes green and fresh again, as if raised from the dead.

So we shall have no doubt that the church, raised from the graves by God, will come forth alive again, and praise, extol and glorify the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Son, our Savior and Redeemer, together with the Holy Spirit, forever. For though other empires, kingdoms, principalities, and dominions have their changes, and soon, like little flowers, wither and fall away, yet this kingdom, which is so high and deeply rooted, cannot be destroyed nor laid waste by any power or force, but abides forever.

#### 24. from the oil tree.

An oil tree can stand, last and bear fruit for two hundred years, and is a beautiful image of the church. For oil means the sweetness and kindness of the gospel; wine, the teaching of the law. There is such a natural unity and relationship between the vine and the oil tree that when the vine is grafted and planted on an oil tree, it bears both grapes and oil. So the church, planted in the people, sounds and teaches the gospel, and needs both teachings, and brings forth fruit from both.

#### 25. useless fame of the pope from the Roman church.

I am surprised, said D. M. Luther, that the pope praises the Roman church as the most noble, since the one in Jerusalem is the mother, where the doctrine is first revealed and taught.

The church of Antioch was founded by Christ, the Son of God, Himself and His apostles. After that is the church at Antioch, from which the Christians get their name. Third, is the church at Alexandria. And fourth, the Roman, though before it were Galatians, Corinthians, Ephesians, Philipians 2c. Churches.

Is it such a great thing that St. Peter was in Rome? Since Christ our Savior was in Jerusalem, since all the articles of our Christian faith were made, since St. James was ordained and became bishop, and since the pillars of the church had their seat.

It is [the Roman church] the last wrath of God, which boasts and boasts with vanity, and burdens and torments many consciences with lies.

#### 26. from the saying Augustini: **Evangelio non crederem etc..**

This saying of St. Augustine, when he writes: I did not believe the gospel, the church confirmed it before by her authority 1) 2c., (said D. M. Luther) is never written of the opinion, how the papists dream and invent. For Augustine never intended to write that one should believe his and other writings more than the Gospel; but wants that one should believe only the Holy Scriptures and God's Word, and not judge them according to our understanding and reason, as about the doctrines of men; as he testifies in another place with these words, in Prologo lib. 3. de Trinitate: "Thou shalt not believe my writings to please thee, but the holy Scriptures: what thou findest in them, believe without delay, and without all doubt, though thou didst not believe it before. But in my writings, what you do not believe to be certain, unless you understand it to be certain, do not believe it to be firm."

And in the 8th epistle to St. Jerome: I have learned to give this fear and honor to the holy Scriptures, so that I may not believe that anything in them is false. Or, if I find anything in it that might be contrary to the truth, I should think nothing else, but that the book is false, and that it is not true.

1) Cf. Cap. 57, § 11, 4th paragraph.

wrongly written; or that the interpreter has not attained the opinion of what is said; or do not doubt that he has not understood it. But if I read the others in this way, be they as holy or as learned as they please, I do not think that it is true because they have believed it to be so; but that they prove it to me with holy scripture or proven causes that it is true 2c. And again: So am I to read in the other books, as I would that others should be in my writings to understand the same 2c.

The sophists blame St. Paulo and blaspheme him, as if he had written desolately, messily and darkly. Oh dear Lord God, this great treasure, the holy scripture, belongs only to a frightened, bruised, humiliated heart, and which fears God's wrath, Ps. 51, 19. and Is. 64.

The wicked are to be punished severely, and their boasting is to be put to shame and disgrace, as St. Stephen did in Acts 7. 7 He spoke harshly against Jerusalem, the law that reigned at that time, against the people that flourished.

#### **27. defiance of the papists stands on the name of the church.**

The papists stand on it: the Church cannot err: we are the Church; ergo, therefore we do not err. To the erstell. Saying, majorem, I answer D. M. Luther: The church cannot err, is true, yes, namely, in doctrine, but in works and deeds she may well err, and often errs, therefore she asks: Forgive us our trespasses or sins. The minorem, the other saying, I deny completely.

Therefore, if one argues and says: what the church teaches is right and pure, that is true; then we admit it. But if one says: What the church does is right, we do not admit it, but say no to it. Therefore one should always look at the teaching, the teaching does it.

#### **28. the difference between Christ's kingdom and the world's kingdom.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, § 166.)

#### **29 The Church's Annoyance.**

(Contained in Cap. 20, § 4.)

#### **(30) In which the righteous church stands.**

(Lauterbach, Apr. 27, 1538, p. 70.)

On the 27th of April he said much about the church, which boasts the name church, but this name would be less, than the true church. For with the churches the dear prophets fought, as Isaiah soon begins in the first chapter in the beginning, as he describes two [different] church bodies. The true church was a weak group and of little reputation; but the one that is full of boasting and has the reputation is a body of sodomites. Paul also complains about this in Romans 8 and 9. In short, the true church consists in the election and calling of God, which is strong in its weakness.

#### **The Sophists' Deception, Fallaciae Sophistarum.**

(Lauterbach, April 19, 1538, p. 65.)

On April 19, one mentioned the intrigues of the sophists by which the godless deceive the simple. This is the kind of false conclusion: Every kingdom that suffers in temporal things is a temporal one; the church of Christ suffers in temporal things; therefore, the church of Christ and the kingdom of Christ are temporal. I answered, No, dear brother, the kingdom of Christ does not suffer, but our body is smitten by its sins, as Paul says in the Acts of the Apostles (14:22.): that "through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of GOD." It is not said that the kingdom of God suffers externally. Of this kind is also this fallacy: God is love; God justifies; therefore, love justifies. Such fallacies can deceive even an astute and well-trained person. Therefore, one should not answer soon, but take time to think, or speak: I do not know how to answer. For when Diogenes was thus pointedly said: What I am, that thou art not; I am a man; therefore thou art not a man: then he answered, Lift up the syllogismum on me; he could not at once discover the fallacy. Occam wrote a statement on the elenchum, in which he diligently warns against these fallacies.

## Chapter 21.

# The 21st Chapter. Of the Excommunication and Ban, or Church Jurisdiction..

1. where the ban of the church come from, and against whom it is to be used.
2. what the ban is.
- 3 From Consistoriis.
4. Admonition by D. M. Luther to N. N. zu Wittenberg.
5. Luther's admonition against excommunication.
6. another from the spell.
7. the ban is twofold.
8. cause that the ban has now fallen.
9. the authority of the ban.

Do not despise the church's ban.

11. secret and invisible spell.

How to escape from the secret spell.

The church is built up by the gospel, although there are many hypocrites among them.

14. letter of D. Luther from the ban.

15. the origin of the church keys.

16 The effect and finite cause of the ban, and how it should apply.

17. from the absolution.

18. self-imposed ban.

19. the ban shall be put on again.

### 1. where the ban of the church come from, and against whom it is to be used.

(Cordatus No. 1630. 1631. No. 1569. .No. 1249.)

Power, wealth and prestige are with the wicked, but we have the wretched Christ Sheflemini [i.e. Sit at my right hand, Ps. 110.], whom we have before [i.e. in advance], after whom they do not ask. May they have the treasures that are on this earth, we have the heavenly [treasures], the word, the sacraments, the ministry [am Worte] [ministerium], of which we know that they have no part, as Ambrose put the emperor under ban, who as victor had cruelly violated children and virgins. When he [Ambrose] was called out of the church by the enemies, he offered them his neck and said: Here I stand, here I will die, standing like a pillar, a fine courage.

In short, the world puts weight only on present things, but faith has the certainty of things to come. When something unpleasant happens to the world, it says: I would not have meant that; but faith: I knew that the cross was due to faith.

would follow. The world is the glutton [the rich man], but Christ is Lazarus.

I have put H[ans] M[etsch] under ban because of his fornication and do not want him to participate in our sacrament. He has not taken part in it since I have forbidden him to do so, nor shall he do so if he does not repent.

Isn't he a wretch who bought a house in Wittenberg for 30 guilders and wants to sell it for 400? Or would it not be more than enough if he sold it for 150? We have to put the ban back in place 2c.

### 2. what the ban is.

(Cordatus No. 264 and No. 265.)

Our dealings with the pope and the whole papist order are nothing else than banishing. But to banish is in fact and truth nothing else than to convict and declare with the word of Christ that the pope and all those who confess him, yes, also all other ungodly people, are such people who are not obedient to the word of the Lord Christ, as when we preach: "He who believes and is baptized will be saved, Marc. 16, 16. If we now, not for the sake of example, but compelled and forced by this text, publicly] say: "The pope together with his crowd does not believe this; therefore he will not be saved, that is, he will be condemned:

1) Theodosius, in his anger in 390, for the sake of a riot, gave up the city of Thessalonica and 7000 of its inhabitants to the blind rage and the sword of his soldiers. Guerrcke, Kirchengeschichte, 7th ed.

What is this different than putting under ban, that is, executing what the word indicates? For the ban is the execution of the word of God and His Christ.

### 3. from consistoriis.

(The first paragraph in Lauterbach, Nov. 16, 1538, p. 168.)

Then there was much talk about the need to maintain the consistories in order to ward off the wickedness of the people through the ban. D. Brück said: "The noblemen fear for themselves that you will attack [the] peasants and then you will attack them. Luther answered: "If you lawyers only keep your moral laws, only punish honestly, [so] we also want to handle our ceremonial laws and hand over some to Satan according to the flesh, whoever they may be, peasants or noblemen, with the right ban, not the fictitious and void ban of the pope.

A godless citizen was also remembered at that time, who had publicly confessed before the council that he had not gone to the sacrament in fifteen years. 1) Then said D. Martin said: "When he has been admonished once and twice, I will publicly proclaim him on the preaching stand as a banished person and indicate that he should be considered a dog. But if anyone then wants to deal with him and have anything to do with him, let him do it on his conscience; if he dies in this way, he shall be buried on the shingle, like a dog, and, thus banished, we will make him subject to the rights and laws of the authorities.

### 4. letter of admonition from D. L. to N. N. at Wittenberg.

After the bailiff [Hans Metsch] 2) had despised God, His word and servant, and also the authorities, with his courtly conduct, and had subjected himself to and undertaken many things against them, and had also been fraternally admonished by D. Martin for this reason, he once again sent two captains, MM. N. and N., to him, Anno 1538, Nov. 16, with this note, which the man of God wrote with his own hand, with such words:

To tell the bailiff.

First, that Mr. Fröschel's absolution should be nothing, because he has not recognized himself correctly. Secondly, that he has received the sacrament in his sins and has atoned for them, that is to be borne by him, not by me. Third, if he wants to be a Christian, he must first be reconciled with us preachers, pastors, and also with the council and city, as Christ says: "If you go to the altar and offer your gift," 2c., Matth. 5, 23, 24. Or if he does not want to do this humbly, then I am satisfied in the place of the pastor that he will be saved elsewhere, because I do not want to bear his wickedness, nor be condemned because of his sins. This is the other admonition, according to the command of Christ, Matth. 18, 15. ff.

(From here to end of § at Lauterbach, Oct. 17.

1538, S. 153.)

When Hans Metsch was admonished by Luther for the second time that he should repent, he apologized and answered that he was innocent, that he had no hatred against anyone. But the doctor ordered us deacons before and after that not to admit him to communion and baptism. In the same week he also punished a nobleman, Heinrich Ryder, a great usurer, to his face, and forbade his pastor to admit him to the Lord's Supper, because he dared to take thirty florins a year from the hundred. And so great is the wickedness of the nobles that they dare to boast, without making a conscience, that one had carpentered forty-three children a year; another, should he not take forty florins a year out of a hundred?

5. admonition of the excommunication, so the dear man of God, D. M. Luther, did publicly at Wittenberg after the sermon, on

Sunday Invocavit in the fast 1539.

There has been a cry among you that many have made themselves useless, that the ban should be reestablished. Now it is true that I have spoken of the ban, not that one should re-institute tyranny, as the officials do, but of the ban, of which Christ teaches Matth. 18, 15. ff. that one first admonishes one in particular, and then again by two persons 2c.

1) Cf. Cap. 19, 815; Cap. 21, 818; Cap. 1, § 93.

2) Bindseil I, 27.

We would like to establish such a ban, not that a chaplain or preacher alone should or could do it; all of you must help yourselves, as St. Paul says: With your congregation and with my spirit, that is, with the whole multitude. You must with us, and we with you, that the Lord's Prayer may be said against him who is separated and banished from all Christendom. Again, if he converts, that one prays publicly over him in the church, and accepts again. This is not to be done by a person of the parish priest or captain.

How? should I, as a parish priest, also watch the bakers baking, and butchers slaughtering, the tailors and millers stealing 2c.? This belongs to the regents. For the sacrament is set for the consolation of sinners who recognize and confess their sins from the heart, have remorse and sorrow over them, would like to have a merciful God and be rid of sin. But if someone is a manifest sinner, whom neither the ruler nor the council punishes; as if some persons publicly scold each other in the street, fornicate, and live in public discord; to such the sacrament shall not be administered, for they have first reconciled themselves with their neighbor; if not, then the sorrowful devil shall give you the sacrament.

What may I do to be guilty of other people's sins, if I have enough of my own? I have lived evil through my youth, and for fifteen years I have angered God with my monasticism and mass-keeping, and have mocked, crowned and crucified my Lord Christ with my unholy works! Now, if I knowingly let you go to the Sacrament, I take your sin upon myself and make myself partaker of it. How could I be condemned for your sake? It would be much better if I were a shepherd.

I say this not because I want to rule over you and exercise tyranny; I cannot and will not do it. But ask thine own heart, whether thou wouldst go to the Sacrament rightly, because thou livest openly in sins and discord. Ask yourself whether you would not give cause to banish yourself; then you will have to confess it, if you want to speak the truth otherwise and not against your conscience.

For how can I save my soul for your sake?

be condemned for your sake? Life and limb we dare with you, property and honor, wife and child, house and farm may go, as you see, that we remain faithful with you in death; and it is also right. But that I should set aside my own soul for your sins, and go with you into hell; what would you give me for that? We cannot do that.

Therefore it is said: 'When we know that you are a manifest sinner, you hurry, you are stingy, you are usurious, you live in discord 2c. Just as here the N. [bailliff] did not get along well with the council and the congregation, and nevertheless went to the sacrament, and remained in discord over it; if I had known, he would have had to stay away from me, if he had not reconciled himself first. So everyone who is unreconciled should stay away from it. For how could I condemn my soul, as I said before? Yes, it concerns not only me, but all of you, that we do not share in the sins of others; a whole city should be punished for such a one.

I don't know any other way, we punish adultery, murder 2c. If this were not the case, we would pray an Our Father with the whole church against such people, and all those who love God and His Word would have to help banish them, for the banishment is for the whole church, not only for the pastor, the captain or the preacher.

So I wanted to have begun the banishment, want to do it also, if God wills, at present: when I have first admonished him, then I send two persons to him, as two captives or others. After that, I will take him before me to the sacristy, or otherwise in the presence of the chaplains, two of the councillors and lords of the castle, and two honest men from the community. If he then does not reform, but continues to live in public sins according to his stiff-necked head, I shall publicly announce it to the church, thus: Dear friends, I announce to you how N. is admonished, first by me, then by the chaplains; thirdly, by the council and caste lords, and those of the congregation, and he will not desist. Therefore my friendly request to you is: help to counsel, kneel down, help to pray against him, and hand him over to the devil 2c.

Then you should see what would happen: people would not live so publicly in shame, for this would be a severe ban; not like the pope's ban on money, such would be useful to the church. And this would happen where people did not want to convert, and the council or authorities did not want to be diligent in their office and command. But if he mends his ways, he can be absolved again. These are the keys of the church, that sinners may be bound and dissolved. I do not say that one should practice tyranny with it.

In addition, it is not secret that a citizen's son here, the old S., 1) fell into a public murder, as you all know, and nevertheless went to the sacrament 2) and led a bride to church; I have no favor for that. Now it is said that the matter has been agreed upon by the friends and the authorities; I do not know that, but the council and friendship that it concerns must give letters and seals over it. As long as this does not happen, he shall not stand before me for baptism, choir and sacrament until he shows the council's seal that the matter has been settled before a council. We want to do this because it is a public act, so the reconciliation must also be public; otherwise it is no good. If he brings word from the council and asks for forgiveness of sins, he should kneel publicly before the altar, and the priest should say that he is absolved, because the whole church is offended. This is the ban that not we, but the whole church has; for one must not joke thus, and thus bear hatred and envy, especially murder; that is not fit in any way.

Moses commanded that if a dead body was recovered between two cities, the city to which the body was nearest must accept it, wash itself, protest to heaven and earth, and testify that it was innocent of it. There shall be neither insult nor joke here; therefore do not blame me, who is commanded to the church regiment, in such. If the guilt is obvious, then the reconciliation should also be obvious.

1) Schubarts. (Bindseil I, 32.)

2) Cf. Cap. 19, § 10.

I would like to do that, but it is not yet time. However, a council could still finely prevent us from doing it; unless there is public hatred and envy against each other, we would keep the ban, but you must help us 2c. This the man of God publicly denounced in the church at Wittenberg on the preaching stand with great earnestness and said on the day and year as indicated above.

#### 6. a different from the spell.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 25, 1538, p. 41.)

The Elector had returned with other princes and the rumor was that the Elector had ceded the title and the regalia [prerogatives of a prince] to the Bishop [of Halle] and received 60,000 florins and Dahme 3) as compensation. When Luther heard this, he was very sad, but he thought better of it, saying: "If the thing happened in such a way that the Elector respected those regalia so little for the sake of money, and neglected the consciences of the dear people in Halle in such a way, then this would be a great annoyance and a disgrace for the whole house of Saxony. So I would not have been surprised why the fathers ran into the monasteries when they saw that the world was so unstable. If it is done, let it be done, and I shall be sorry from the bottom of my heart, but I do not want to despair and leave the world like the monks. We must get up. The Lord will preserve his own in the midst of trouble. We must not flee into the desert. Even if those regalia are of little use, they are nevertheless to be highly valued out of deference and for the sake of respectability, for my most gracious Lord can gain greatly with the regalia. The Electorate of Saxony is very poor and brings little benefit, and if Meissen did not maintain the duke, he would not be able to maintain himself in the Electorate with forty horses. That is why the princes are given tribute, interest and levies to keep over the regalia for nothing. My lord has great regalia at Halle, the high courts, he can give them the

3) A town in the province of Brandenburg, ceded by Saxony to Prussia in 1815.

If he should let himself be pushed away with money, then he would lose honor and all glimpses of glory. I say this even though I am not a lawyer. - Luther was so moved by these rumors that he did not want to go to Brück's wedding that evening. In the evening, he heard differently from D. Jonas and Spalatin: this opinion was brought to the Elector by the bishop, but the Elector had prayed with prayers against God and with supplications that he would not enter into a disadvantageous union, so that nothing was decided in it. Then Luther became cheerful again and hoped for the best. Then O. Jonas told of the sincerity of the Elector, who had very diligently heard the word of God in Zerbst, and had said: The ban was necessary in the church because of the exceedingly great vices of intoxication, drunkenness 2c., and then he had added: If only there were people who would let themselves be banned. But we will have to suffer it and shall suffer it [namely, that we let ourselves be banished], if we want to be Christians otherwise, or something else will follow. Truly, a pious saying of the prince against the wickedness of the world!

#### 7. ban is two things.

The ban, like the church, is of two kinds. One is worldly or external and visible, which the church uses against those who lie in public sin and shame, according to Christ's command Matth. 18, 15. ff. And this one must be kept in the church above all things, for there is not a bad little thing about the ban, as one who strictly excludes and separates from the kingdom of Christ, keeps sin without hope of forgiveness, unless one repents. Therefore Christ wills that a sinner be admonished and warned beforehand, not only by private and individual persons who are not in public office, once or twice, but also by those who are in the public, preaching office, before this severe sentence of excommunication is passed, and publicized and opened.

Now there are many who accuse the church servants, pastors and preachers, as if the ban had fallen through their negligence. Many complain about the authorities, as if they opposed them and did not want to shape them,

that one should need the ban. However, Christ's command clearly states that the sinner should be especially and secretly admonished and warned before those in the public ministry deliver the sentence. Nevertheless, such a sentence should not be pronounced publicly beforehand, unless the churchwarden has first given a serious and Christian admonition. If the sinner disregards this admonition and continues in sin, does not want to stop or desist from sinning, he shall be publicly condemned.

#### 8. cause that the ban has now fallen.

In our time, nothing prevents the ban from being enforced, except that no one does in this matter what a Christian is entitled to do. You have a neighbor whose life and conduct are well known and known to you, but your priest is either unaware of it or not so well aware of it, for how can he know what each person's life is like? Therefore, if you see that your neighbor is becoming rich through unrighteous dealings or trade; if you see that he is committing fornication or adultery, or that he is managing and governing his servants in an industrious and careless manner, you should admonish him seriously and give him a Christian warning, so that he may be aware of his blessedness and avoid trouble. And how holy a work you have done, if you win him over in this way!

But dear, who does it? For, first of all, truth is a hostile thing: he who tells the truth is hated. Therefore you would rather keep your neighbor's friendship and favor, especially if he is rich and powerful, than to anger him and make him your enemy. Likewise, if the other, third, or fourth neighbor does the same, the first admonition brings the other and third to naught, by which the neighbor could have been brought back on the right path, if only you would do with admonition what you owe and are obligated to do.

Secondly, it is also because the ban has fallen: because we are almost all subject to such vices and are afflicted with them, we fear when we take the stick out of our neighbor's eyes.

We want to be reproached and told about the beam that stands out in our eyes.

This is the right and foremost reason that the ban has fallen almost everywhere, because of the fact that the true Christians are few everywhere, and even a small group of few in number. For if we all, as would be right and just, indeed should be, loved right godliness and the word of God from the heart, we would esteem the command of the Lord Christ greater and more precious than all the goods of this temporal life. For this commandment, to admonish and warn the brother who sins, is as necessary as that, Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not steal 2c.; for if thou neglect this admonition, either for fear or for some other cause, it is not thy neighbor's body and goods that are in danger, but his soul's salvation. And if a pastor knows that sin is openly wicked in the city and country, he is obliged not to admit such people to the sacrament of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, unless they first repent, that is, stop sinning, and show and prove by true confession and righteous fruits that they are enemies of sin and condemn it; but a Christian and serious admonition must precede it.

#### **9. the authority of the ban.**

The authorities who, in this play, do not do what is required of them by the ban. And does not punish public offences seriously, as it is guilty of, sins at all. And where she also hinders the church's censure and punishment, and does not want to permit or allow the ban, as Christ has instituted and commanded it, she promotes, fosters, and thus helps to cause offences; so she becomes the servant of God's servant of the wicked devil in hell.

#### **Do not despise the church's ban.**

Beware, I say, that you do not by any means despise the church's banishment, which has been duly and lawfully done and issued, for it brings with it a certain judgment of God's wrath and eternal damnation, as Chri

stus says Matth. 18, 18: "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven. Therefore the tyranny of the pope is to be cursed all the more, who has abused the ban, even if a poor man has not been able to pay immediately on a certain and certain day, yes, even if one has not kept his statutes, as if one had not fasted, had not confessed 2c.

But against us he now needs a ban, so that we publicly confess the salvific teaching of the gospel. But first, the Lord Christ comforts us when He says Matth. 5, 11: "Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you because of Me, and speak all kinds of evil against you. And again John 16:2: "They shall put you under a ban." Secondly, it is certain that the pope's ban is not the ban of the Lord Christ: because it is not done according to Christ's appointment, nor is it done, therefore it is not valid in heaven. But nevertheless it brings certain harm and ruin to the one who abuses this command of the church, for it is such a sin that God's name is blasphemed.

#### **11. secret and invisible spell.**

But just as this outward and visible excommunication and ban applies only to and is to be used against those who live in public sins and are convicted of them, so there is another, secret and invisible ban, which is not of men, nor is it done by men, so that it can be seen, but is God's own, and is done by Him alone. For God does not judge by works alone, as we men do, but looks at the heart, and judges the hypocrites, whom the church cannot judge nor punish, according to the common saying: De occultis non judicat Ecclesia: The church does not judge what is secret and hidden.

However, not all of them are so greatly burdened with public ailments that they can be publicly accused and charged with some abuse and misdeeds, as is right. For although there are many misers, fornicators, adulterers 2c.



But they are so careful with it, they do it so secretly, that it cannot be brought to their attention, nor can it be proved as it should be.

Therefore they are in the church among the Christian congregation, hear the sermon and God's word, also need the sacraments with the other righteous Christians, and are de facto, in fact, banished by God, because they live in sins against their conscience, and do not amend themselves, according to the saying of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 6, 9, 10: "The fornicators, drunkards and adulterers... will not inherit God's kingdom."

But God's judgment will not remain outside forever, nor will it be far from them, so that it will not affect them. Men deceive them, but they cannot deceive God, Gal. 6, 7. On the last day He will "send His angels to gather up all the reproaches and throw them into the furnace of fire", Matth. 13, 41.

#### **How to escape from the secret spell.**

Whoever wants to be free and free of this secret spell of God should beware of sins and repent, that is, improve his life from the heart, always live in the fear of God, pray diligently, and believe that his sins are remitted and forgiven by grace for Christ's sake. This is the only way that one can escape from this secret spell of God.

But if you continue in sins, and rejoice in them as a privilege and freedom, and want to comfort yourself and help yourself so that you may sin the more surely and freely with others, you will do nothing but deceive yourself, and provoke and cause a harder and more serious judgment against you. For although the outward ban is equal to the secret and hidden ban as far as the end and the effect or effect is concerned (for God keeps watch over it in heaven and confirms it), yet the outward and public ban should be the more preferable to us because it is like a medicine by which we are called to repentance. But the secret and hidden ban, because it is not felt for a while and (as they say) for a period of time, strengthens and increases security.

**The church is built up by the gospel, although there are many hypocrites among them.**

The church, if it is righteously holy, is established and built up by the gospel, as also Isaiah says Cap. 35:8: "And there shall be a way and a high place called holy, wherein no unclean person shall pass." What kind of way is that? you might say. Just the one of which the Son of God preaches John 14:6: "I am the way, the truth and the life"; item Cap. 8:51: "He who believes in me will never see death." For the ungodly also need the sacraments, and thus cover up their ungodly nature with hypocrisy, as if it were pure piety and holiness. For not all who are baptized remain in the faith, and yet are truly baptized. But righteous faith in Christ cannot remain hidden or secret, it breaks out and proves itself with righteous good works, which God has commanded and ordered. Therefore, Christ is the way that the wicked do not go, and that alone makes the holy Christian church.

#### **14 From the ban D. M. Luther writes to a good friend thus.**

(This § is Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 1505, No. 106, §3, the last part of his Latin letter to Ant. Lauterbach, April 2, 1543, and again in the German transcription vol. XIX, 1254,'s 3 and § 4, which was here).

#### **15. the church key Heredity.**

Christ has given the church two keys: one to bind, the other to loose, which the pope, as the true antichrist, has made into lock picks and shamefully abused, as has been experienced. But now, because God has again given us His word pure by grace, we are to use them rightly, and not throw them into corners and let them rust, as has happened until now; but make them passable again, so that they can close and open, bind and loose. Bind the reprobate, the impenitent, who lie in public sins, both against the first and the second table of the ten commandments of God: give others trouble, either with false doctrine, or evil living. And since they

If they are admonished once and for all, and do not want to be at their best, despising all admonition, then heaven shall be closed to them, and they shall be considered pagans, as Christ earnestly commands: give them to the devil, whose own they are ready for, only that one declares it publicly, so that one can beware of them. Until such time as they recognize and confess that they have grievously angered God and displeased the church, seek forgiveness of sin; then they are to be absolved and accepted again, as St. Paul teaches with his example at Corinth.

These are the two keys that Christ commanded and entrusted to His dear bride, the church, when He said to His disciples (in whose place are now all righteous, pious, faithful pastors and preachers and church servants), "Truly I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," Matth. 18:18 and Joh. 20:23.

Affirm such an earnest command with a hard oath, that what is thus bound and loosed here on earth shall surely be yes in heaven. But first set the binding key, and then the loosing key: for if any man be loosed, he must first be bound. Whoever does not feel that he is bound by the devil in his sins, does not recognize nor confess them, even does not want to have done wrong, thinks that he is free and free; to him one cannot give the loosening key, but must let him remain bound and command God's judgment, consider him a heathen and an unbeliever and let him go in his arrogance and pride: the church cannot prevent him from this, although it should punish it and warn the others against it.

The authorities have the sword from God and the command to forbid, ward off and punish public false teaching and agitation, both what is done publicly against the first and the other table, so that outward discipline, peace and unity are preserved, God's name is not reviled, nor the congregation angered, nor disrupted and seduced. The preachers and church ministers, however, are only to wield the sword in their mouths, and according to Christ's command, not only teach and comfort, but also punish and frighten, and thus bind and loose, according to God's will.

The sins of the people. Those who sin and remain stiff-necked in their sins and do not want to amend, are not to be released, but are to keep heaven closed: but those who recognize their sin, confess it and ask for forgiveness, no matter how great gross sinners they are, are to be released, heaven is to be unlocked, and they are to be accepted again as members of the church, and are to be treated kindly with them, with comforting and other works of love. But the impenitent, the proud, the arrogant, and the unrighteous and arrogant of the world are to be punished, and not to suffer, for these are really the virtues of the devil.

#### **16 The effect and finite cause of the ban, and how it should apply.**

When someone asked whether the ban, because it had fallen in the papacy, should be reinstated, and why it should be done, D. Martin said. Martin: God still wants today and forever that the ban should apply and continue in the church, where it is rightly dealt with to punish the wicked and to keep them in fear, but not to make them truly pious or wicked. For the command that Christ gave to the apostles and all the ministers of the church is not abolished or dead, even if it has not been used for a while or has been misused (as in the papacy); but it still stands firm and must irrevocably remain so, since he says John 20:23: "Receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins ye remit, and whose sins ye retain, they are retained." And Matth. 18, 15. 16. 17.: "If your brother sins against you, go and punish him between you and him alone. If he hears you, you have won your brother. If he hear thee not, take thee another, or two. ... If he does not hear them, tell the congregation. If he does not hear the church, consider him a Gentile and a tax collector." Item v. 18: "Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." And St. Paul, 1 Cor. 5:11, 13, says: "If any man be called a brother, and be a fornicator, or a covetous man, or an idolater, or a blasphemmer, or a trun-

You shall not eat with a bandit or a robber. ... Put out of yourselves him that is evil." And John, 2 Epistle, v. 10, 11: "If any man come to you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not at home, neither salute him: for he that saluteth him maketh himself partaker of his evil works."

These and such sayings are the unchangeable will, decree and opinion of God, the supreme Majesty: we have no power to change them, or to relax them or to rescind them; but we have a serious command to keep to them with all faithful diligence, regardless of the reputation and power of some people. And even if the ban has been shamefully abused in the papacy and has become a real cane-mastery, we should not let it fall, but use it rightly, as Christ commanded, for the betterment and edification of the church, and not to use it for desolation and tyranny, as the pope has done.

#### 17. from the absolution.

(Cordatus No. 1703. 1704.)

Est (veritas) non mundum sed non (mendacium) Non claves [veritas] sed "usus earum" [mendacium] "veritatur".

In German:

The yes (the truth) does not rule the world, but the no (the lie) does.

It is not the keys that "change" but "their custom". 1)

The service of the word must continue, even if the listeners are not worthy of it. The gospel is the general absolution, but with the church servant is the private absolution.

#### 18. self-imposed ban.

We must not banish our usurers, drunkards, tacturns, whoremongers, blasphemers and scoffers; they banish themselves, and are ready to do so up to their ears;

1) Meaning: Where truth reigns, the "keys of the kingdom of heaven", the binding and loosening keys, which stand on God's word, cannot be missing. But where falsehood reigns, God's immutable truth is turned into a "false conclusion", as the Pope has done. Cf. Luther's writing on the keys, Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 1121, especially Col. 1150, § 48.

They despise the word of God, do not come to church, do not listen to sermons, do not go to the sacrament. Well then, if they do not want to be Christians, they are still pagans, who asks for that? If they take away the goods and income of the parish priests and take everything for themselves, the parish priest shall not absolve them, nor give them the sacraments, nor shall they come or stand at any baptism, nor at any honest wedding, nor at any funeral; they shall thus keep themselves like heathens among us, which they also do gladly. And if they want to die, no priest, no chaplain shall come to them; and if they have died, the executioner shall drag them into the drudgery pit out of the city, 2) there no disciple, no chaplain shall come to them: because they want to be heathens, we also want to keep them as heathens.

#### 19. ban should be put back.

We must re-establish the ban, although we have not yet done it by force, so that when we see a usurer, adulterer 2c., we say to him: Do you hear the cry that you are such or such, therefore do not go to the sacrament, abstain from baptism, do not bring a bride into the church. Summa, forbid him everything that is of the church. But I fear in our part, our parish priests will be too bold, and reach into the bodily things, after the property, like the pope; if he excommunicated someone and put him under ban, and he did not comply, he said: "Well, we must also forbid him the market 2c., so that he does not buy or sell. That is the devil, if one wants to reach too far.

To the ban belong fine courageous, joyful and understanding pastors, in spiritual things well experienced and practiced. We have many of them who have courage and heart in physical things, but that alone does not do it.

One of them asked, "Does an exile want to go to church and listen to the sermon? Answer: Yes, he should not be forbidden to do so, because in sermons they learn where they are lacking. 3)

2) Cf. Cap. 19, § 15; Cap. 1, § 93.

3) Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, Col. 1678, para. 1.

## The 22nd chapter.

### Of the preaching ministry or church servants.

1. reduction of the preaching ministry by the Sacramentarians.
2. the *theologia speculativa*.
3. what theology consists of.
- Preaching Christ is difficult and dangerous.
5. do nothing without a profession.
6. whether it is right to desire a preaching ministry.
7. from your profession of Mosis.
8. comfort for those who are in the preaching ministry.
9. what to preach and seek with it.
10. from what church servants are still received meagerly.
11. preach only as you can, do not imitate.
- You should not preach long sermons.
13. D. Luther's way of preaching.
14. one question.
15. of powerful sermons.
- The world does not like righteous preachers.
17. difference of preachers and listeners.
18. D. Luther's way of prescribing appointed preachers.
19. which preachers please the crowd.
20. qualities and virtues of a righteous preacher.
21. as a preacher, who shall please the world, shall be skillful.
22. the world's wrong judgment of the preachers' infirmities.
- 23 A Preacher's Posse.
24. no measure can be kept, not even preachers.
25. D. Luther's Way in Preaching.
26. that a preacher should stick to the proposition and not introduce foreign things in the sermon.
27. how to preach in the priesthood.
28. of three common vices.
29. a picture of righteous preachers.
30. which the best preachers.
31. to teach with benefit and to have sight.
32. what a right theologian should know.
33. lack of preachers.
34. preachers should stick to the divine word, also practice *rem et usum diligently*.
35. God commands the preachers to preach.
36. D. Luther's way of ordination.
37. where a preacher should look.
- Ingratitude and contempt make preachers expensive.
- Let pure teachers be honored, let them be alive as they can.
40. the office of a faithful pastor.
- Many are washers, though they are learned and eloquent.
- The gospel and its servants are held in low esteem.
43. the contempt of the preachers does not go unpunished.
- How God Appoints His Preaching Ministry.
45. of unity in preaching.
46. of the unanimity of the preachers.
47. lack of preachers is the greatest misfortune.
- 48 Interpretation of the Gospel of the Lost Sheep.
- 49 Of the Pabst's Spell.
50. how to keep in the criminal office.
51. preachers should not be too rich, nor too poor.
52. Of the accidents and additions in the papacy.
53. of desolate parishes.
- The first of these is the "Theological".
55. pious, faithful preachers.
56. proven preacher punishment.
57. of ambitious preachers.
- 58 No one should be deterred from his appointment by pusillanimity.
59. sermons and lections, how they can be changed.
60. preach differently according to the opportunity of the audience.
- 61 A preacher should stick to the main thing and proposition.
62. why the laity are hostile to the preachers.
63. spiritual goods are held in lower esteem than temporal goods.
64. long sermons are annoying. .
- The wickedness of people who despise the pure doctrine and teachers.
66. make many words and speak magnificently.
67. of the gifts of the preachers.
68. old preachers and servants are detested.
- The world despises all urges and sermons.
70. Talking slowly is most convenient for the preachers.
71. schoolmasters are best for the ministry of preaching.
- Of ingratitude against God's servants.
- D. Luther's displeasure with his sermons.
74. how a teacher should preach, and on which he should look.
- First of all, preaching is the hardest.
- In the Old Testament, the priests were honest and well kept.
77. Proud and presumptuous preachers and teachers.
78. sermons should be simple and audible.
- The world does not like to give to righteous preachers.
80. for what causes one comes together in churches.
- 81: Serious Admonition by D. M. Luther.
- Secular rulers should not get involved in spiritual affairs.
83. preachers are poor people.
84. take preachers from the schools.
- That people be punished only in general, and that no one in particular be attacked in the pulpit.
86. that one should not harshly attack great Hansen with the preaching ministry.
- Whether preachers may also punish the authorities.
88. how preachers should behave in punishing.
89. pious preachers and women defile.
90. reforming righteous preachers.
91. complaint about faithful preachers.
92. S. Pauli's simplicity in preaching and teaching.
- The parish priest's office in ceremonies.
- The devil's and the world's hatred against pious preachers and authorities.
95. right way of preaching.
96. the nature and office of a good speaker.
- 97) Poor laymen, children and servants should be the target of sermons.
98. faithful preacher burden and sense.
99. what D. Luther comforted in his preaching Habs.

What a pious preacher should do.

101. why to preach.

A righteous, faithful preacher is God's work alone.

The persecution of the faithful preachers is smelled.

The teaching and the life are to be distinguished.

Balaam is an example of a trustworthy spirit and teacher.

106. courting, especially in preachers, does great harm in the church.

107 The Hypocrite's Court Ride.

The greatest harm in the church is done by arrogance, presumption and ambition.

109 Of theyard ride.

What harm is done by ambition.

111. where to seek honor.

112: Osiandri and Agricolä Hoffahrt.

The preacher is little respected.

114. Hunger makes the church desolate.

The first time that the author of the book has been published, he has been a member of the trade.

116 D. Luther's exhortation to the preachers.

117. preachers are burdensome in the world.

The students of the Gospel are mostly Epicureans.

119. D. L. Rath, how to preach now.

120. preachers and teachers are despised.

How a preacher should be skilled to preach.

122. contempt for church servants.

128. the best way to preach.

124. of preachers who speak many languages.

Of the saying of Michii, Cap. 3, 11: Their priests teach for money.

126. how peasants were punished who did not want to tithe to their parish lord.

127. preaching for the sake of money.

128. D. Luther's prophecy and warning.

129. the world Art.

The teaching and preaching should be based on the audience.

131. of those who want to study the Holy Scriptures and God's Word. Word.

The theologians should read the rights of the pope.

133) How to behave against angry priests and preachers.

What a preacher is.

How D. Luther wanted to make one a preacher.

The first time that the author had been a preacher.

That it is good to preach now.

138. from court sermons.

139. some word of god gives a sermon.

140. unworthy of preachers in the world.

141. from Osiander.

142. of proud, ambitious preachers.

143. serious saying of D. Luther.

144: With preachers, court keeping does harm.

A great lament of Luther's about the addiction to honor and courtly conduct.

Preachers should be humble.

147. preaching or reading in front of scholars.

148. of the theology doctors.

St. Paul diligently studied and interpreted Moses and the Prophets.

150 Luther's advice on how to become a good theologian or preacher.

151) Whether one can be in the preaching ministry without marital status.

152. by Nicodemi Gleichen.

153. preach according to the art.

A theologian must be pious.

Whether a preacher is also obliged to go to the sick.

156. how preachers are death-beaters.

### 1. reduction of the preaching ministry by the Sacramentarians.

(Cordatus No. 553.)

The Sacramentarians diminish the prestige of the ministers of the Word] and say: Granted that by those words the Sacrament becomes when God speaks them; but how should it [the Sacrament become when' a man speaks them?

### 2. speculativa theologia.

It is very sorrowful for lawyers to be blessed, since it is difficult for theologians, who deal with God's word daily. Theologians, if they are righteous, are ready to be righteous and in heaven. But Zwingel and Ocolampadius have missed the way: for all theologians who handle and judge divine things with reason and speculation are of the devil.

Cochläus is not such a theologian, he is a complete fool, there is still hope in him: but H[archduke] G[eorg], M[arkgraf] J[oachim] 1) belong straight to hell. Zwingel and Ocolampadius have been in the challenge, like the works saints and papists; they speak: I have done evil, therefore I am damned. This makes them speculate and judge according to their reason. When they hear about theology, they say: I have sinned, therefore I am damned.

### 3. in which Theologia see.

(Cordatus No. 554.)

The theologians who judge divine things according to their reason [speculative] are of the devil. Theology is practical, not speculative. Zwingli has not in his life

1) Cf. cap. 24, §115.

The people believed otherwise, because Christ in the Lord's Supper was spiritual, that is, speculative. Every speculative art, housekeeping and world regiment is lost. He who makes his account in the hand 1) is speculative. Such a one was Christian Goldschmidt with his printing house. If I cannot dissuade him from this, I will no longer serve him.

#### 4. preach Christ.

(Cordatus No. 597.)

Preaching Christ is a difficult and very dangerous thing. If I had known this earlier, I would never have preached, but would have said with Moses [Exodus 4:13]: Send whom you will. No one was to take me there. That is why the bishop of Brandenburg said to me correctly: "Doctor, I told you to stand still, you will make trouble for yourself, it will affect the holy Christian church. I mean, I made trouble for myself by incurring the hatred of the whole world, since I used to live very quietly.

#### 5. to do nothing without a profession.

(Cordatus No. 1662.)

Let no one presume to do anything without a profession. But it is a twofold profession; one divine, which is of faith, the other, of love, which is done by one like me, as when my brother minister asks me to preach for him.

#### 6. desire the office of preacher, whether it is right?

(Kummer p. 283 d. Lauterbach p. 144. note))

Whether he who seeks a preaching ministry is called? First of all, this is certain: young people must be raised to learn the Scriptures. After that, they know that they are to be called to pastors. If they offer themselves afterwards, if there is any vacancy, it is not called intruding. But he is ready, who demands him, that he knows that he should do it. As a girl is brought up for marriage: if someone demands her, so does

they do it. But to intrude means to repel another. But to offer one's service and say, "I will gladly do it, if you need me;" if they accept it, it is a true calling. As Isaiah, Cap. 6, (v. 8.) [says], "Send me, here I am"; comes himself, hearing that a preacher [is needed]. And this must be done. One is to see if one may be, and after that, if one will have him, that must also be included.

(This § reads as follows in Cordatus No. 1663:)

Those who have studied theology here can ask for an office from the visitors with a clear conscience, because [1 Tim. 3, 1.]: "Whoever desires a bishop's office desires a good work", 2) and such a one does not intrude, because it is in the will of the visitors to consider him worthy or to reject him.

#### 7. from the profession of Mosi.

Christ did not say to me, as to Paul, that I should stand up and preach, and I will be with thee; for that I read it in Paul as an example, Acts 9:6. 9, 6. Moses had to go to God six times, and at last he hardly went after many excuses, when God said to him: "I will be with you", Ex. 4, 15.

But I wanted to take the lawyers as counsel and advice and sue the Lord God in reality freely and punitively, because he did not keep Moses' promise and promise. Thus he comforts in the Gospel, when he says Matth. 11, 29: "And you will find rest for your souls"; but we see the contradiction in John the Baptist, in his dearest son Christ, and in all saints, martyrs and true Christians. According to the lawyers' sentences and judgments, who proceed and speak according to their canons and decrees, he would have lost by far.

#### 8. comfort for those who are in the preaching ministry.

(Contained in Cap. 22, § 94.)

1) "in hand" for "in trade". Handel is derived from hand. Weigand I, 761. (Wr.)

2) In the original: c'ui Lpiseopatum dssi., d. o. dokidomti is to be resolved: (M Lpiseopatuii dosidorat, vouum Opus dosidorat. (Vulgate.)

### 9, What to preach and thus "seek".

(Cordatus No. 1462. 1463. 1464. 1465. 34A. 344.)

When I [Cordatus] was asked by him how I was doing in my ministry and with my preaching, and I answered him about my complaints, my weakness, 2c., he said: "It was the same for me, I was probably as afraid of the preaching chair as you, nor did I have to leave. At first I was afraid of the sermon in the refectory before the brethren, oh, how I was afraid! But you want to be a master right away and perhaps seek praise, and that is why you are so challenged.

We must preach in honor of God, and not look at the judgment of men. If someone can do it better, let him do it better. Let us preach only Christ and the Catechism. That wisdom will uplift us because it is the word of God; praise and rebuke are none of our business.

I gave Staupitz more than fifteen reasons when I opposed becoming a doctor and preacher, and when I finally said: You are killing my life, I will not live a quarter of a year, he laughed at me with many words.

Staupitz was a very wise man, a great lover and promoter of the students. After he was elected, in the first three years [Triennio] he wanted to carry out this work of faith according to his advice, in the second triennium he wanted to carry out this work of faith and attack the cause according to the advice of the fathers, but it had no progress. Thirdly, he ordered the whole thing to GOtte, and it progressed much less. Therefore he said: Let it go as it goes 2c. Neither I, nor the fathers, nor God can do it. Another triennium and vicariate must come. Then I came into it and started it differently.

My prior Staupitz once sat pensively under the pear tree that still stands in the middle of my courtyard. At last he said to me: "Master, you will receive the doctorate, so you will have something to do. This happened in the fourth 1) year, after

I had become a doctor, in which I published the theses on penance and indulgences.

When he [Staupitz] met with me again about the same thing under the pear tree, but I refused and gave many reasons, especially that my life forces were exhausted, so that I would not be able to live much longer, Staupitz answered: "Don't you know that our Lord God has many great things to do? He needs many clever and wise people to help him. If you always die, then you must be his advisor. - But at that time I did not yet understand this prophecy, that it should be fulfilled in this way, because four years later I began to fight against the pope and his whole being. 2)

### 10. of which church servants will still keep a meager one.

(Cordatus No. 1479.)

The Gospel is preached to the poor, and if the Pope did not feed us from his own, we would all die of hunger. He has snatched the stolen goods to himself, so we must snatch them out again, so that what Job says may happen: He must give to the one whom he does not want, although hardly the fiftieth part comes to the custom of the church. The other he spurns, we hardly get the little bread under the table, because we are hardly fed. And if we did not expect another wage, we would be the poorest people, and I would have the crumbs for a good year. If one will have our little, make us rich and esteem us great, we will blow ourselves out again, for it is the devil that God cannot improve us either by humiliation or by prosperity. We despair or become proud. Paul.

2) The same narration in Lauterbach, July 27, 1538, p. 102: If I had died before I was promoted to doctor, it would not have been necessary to suffer this misfortune. But there, Staupitzen's prophecy had to come true when I refused the doctorate because of my weakness, otherwise I would die. He answered: If you storm, your God may also go to his regiment. This prophecy was soon fulfilled in me.

1) In the original: kscmndo. In I. 1512 Luther became Doctor. Bgll because of the Correctur the following paragraph.

boasts of another art in prosperity and in tribulation. 2 Cor. 6, [10.]. Phil. 4, [12.]

### 11. preach only as you can, do not imitate.

(Cordatus No. 750. 751. 752.)

When Mag. Joh. Förster complained that all his thoughts were getting too narrow because of his profession, he would rather stay in his professorship, he answered: Oh, that dear Paul and Peter were there, you should probably scold them, because you already would like to be as skillful as they are. Do you want to have the tithes and not first the firstfruits? You have to go forward a little when you can go no further.

1) Do your 2c. And if you cannot preach for a whole hour, preach for half an hour or a quarter of an hour, and do not completely conform to the way of others (as one now desires), you cannot obtain my or another's sermon from word to word, but grasp the main thing in the simplest way and command it to God. Just seek the glory of our God and not the applause of men, and pray that He will give wisdom to your mouth and a sincere hearing to the listeners. Believe me only this, that a sermon is not a human work, neither be bold, but a preacher who fears GOD. For I am an old and practiced preacher, and yet I am afraid to this day when I preach.

If a preacher who trusts in God also falls out of his concept, he should be sure that he will speak what pleases the people, even if it displeases them, which happens very often. Third, it also happens that what is worked out [conceptum] pleases the preacher and the listeners. These three things are to be remembered, but God must always be asked.

I do not know how it is that we do not want to preach marriage, because it pleases us the most.

first ourselves, and if we were not forced by our profession, we would not do it. Philip would never have written the Apology if he had not been forced, he would always have wanted to do it better. 2)

### Do not preach long sermons.

(Cordatus. No. 798.)

A long sermon is abhorrent to me, because the listeners lose their desire to listen and the preachers harm themselves. Therefore, D. Pommer is rightly punished for this, and although he preaches long sermons of his own free will and with pleasure, this is done out of error.

### 13. D. Mart. Luther's way of preaching.

Since Martin at Werlewitz had preached a sermon from 1 Tim. 1 before the highborn princes of Anhalt and the young margrave, which is printed thereafter, 3) M. Vitus asked him if he had understood all the parts of the sermon beforehand, for it would be a very good, beautiful exhortation to the highest and most noble divine service, namely, to hear God's word. If one could have heard a mass in the name of the devil every day in the papacy until now, why would one not also perform this service daily, from which the greatest benefit comes? 2c. Read the preface before the same sermon.

(Cordatus No. 1108, the following paragraph.)

When I want to preach, I do not design the individual pieces, but only the main thing; for example: an exhortation to worship, that one should hear the word of God diligently; and other things that are necessary occur to me under the speaking. For if

2) In the middle of the last section was inserted a piece which is found § 55 of this Cap.

3) Witt. Ausg. I, 456; Jen. Ausg. VI, 32 b; these two editions say that the sermon was preached in 1533 at Dessau. Walch, old edition, vol. IX, 522 and Erl. 19, 296 give the year 1532. According to the last words of this 8, the sermon must not have been held in the city, but in a village. Therefore the indication at the beginning of this 8: "Z" Werlewitz or Wörlitz, will be probably correct. Luther was there on Nov. 24, 1532, as can be seen from the letter to M. Hausmann. Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 1402, No. 30.

1) In the original after the memory citirt: Rstuliyuicl prodiro tenus, 8i non potent ultru; with Horaz, Lp. 1, 1. 32: Lst cjuoddam proäirs tsnuS, si non clatur ultru.



If I concripted the individual parts beforehand, I would have to make a special sermon about each part. So I would not go through it so briefly. God is the best children's maid.

Afterwards, when he read the same sermon, he wondered how he had spoken in this way, and praised D. Caspar Creuziger's skill, who could see and understand his words and manner of speaking in this way, and said: "I think he did it better than I preached it; when I preached the sermon, there were not ten peasants in the church, without the three princes and their court servants.

#### 14. question.

(Cordatus No. 500.)

To the question whether it is a greater gift to fight against the adversaries or to raise up the weak, I answer: Both are very good and necessary, but it is certain that to comfort the fainthearted is a greater gift, although they are also edified by the fight with the adversaries, and both are God's gift, as Paul says [Rom. 12, 6-8]: "If anyone teaches, let him wait for the teaching" 2c.

#### 15. from powerful preaching.

(Cordatus No. 1710 and No. 1711.)

A preacher can take nothing that makes a greater impression in speaking than from the first commandment [the word: "I am the Lord your God"], so one preaches the hellish fire to the proud and the heavenly paradise to the pious, punishes the wicked, comforts the pious, and my forester says he is moved only by three, by me, by Cordatus and by Mag. Rörer; and that one makes an impression, another does not, is due to the difference of the tools, just as one knife cuts better than the other.

A preacher does not have to judge for himself whether he has preached ardently or coldly, but the listeners, and I have often been ashamed of a sermon that others have praised very much, and what we like very much usually displeases others, and vice versa. In short, the judgment is up to the listeners.

#### 16. world cannot stand righteous preachers.

(The first half of this § at Cordatus No. 533.)

The world under the papacy has been able to suffer all preachers, but it cannot suffer us; indeed, it is necessary that the world and the preachers perish, we through poverty, the papists will perish through misfortune. The world cannot stand if it is not stopped by faithful preachers.

Soon they will want to give a lot of money for a righteous preacher, but they will not be able to get him, but will worship and honor vain liars and deceivers. Therefore, I will help to raise up the papacy again and to lift up the monks; for the world cannot exist without such fools and carnival fools.

#### 17. difference of preachers and listeners.

(Cordatus No. 546.)

To those who speak of the difference of preachers, that one likes this one and another another, it is to be said that it is the difference in the preachers and in the listeners; hence the different judgments. But Eisleben says: The devil lead away the one who does better than he can. 1)

#### 18. D. Martin Luther's way of prescribing appointed preachers.

(Cordatus No. 1139.)

My Cellarius, go there in the name of the Lord, because you are called. I have recommended you to the council in my letter. But if you are not such a person and have not yet reached this goal of my praise, then see to it that you reach it. For I have entangled you in my letter for the purpose that you would be forced to lead the right way. (This is also what God commanded Moses when he said [Deut. 27:20], "Put your praise on Joshua. "2c).

1) This saying in another form in Luther's writings, Mittend. Bd. III, fol. 463 a: Das falle übel geh den, der's besser macht, denn er kann.

**19. which preachers please the crowd.**

(Cordatus No. 518.)

To those who are preferred to me as eloquent preachers, I gladly give this honor and do not envy them. But this is the cause of their praise, that the people admire them, since they hear the histories and examples which they tell, and how they play with words and allegories, in which I am also a master. But in the article of justification, no one is judged to be eloquent, and the people do not like to hear it, nor do they praise it. For this, take it as a certain sign that the people are asleep when we preach the article of justification, and cough; but to the histories they straighten up their ears. I believe that there are quite a number of speakers for these [histories] with us, who preach with their eloquence under the pew and out again.

**20. qualities and virtues of a good preacher.**

(Cordatus No. 721.)

Conditions of a good preacher. The first: He must be teachable; 2) have a fine head; 3) be eloquent; 4) have a voice; 5) have a good memory; 6) know how to stop; 7) be diligent in his work; 8) put life and limb into it; 9) let himself be mocked by everyone; finally, that he bear patiently, so that nothing is seen more easily or more quickly in preachers than their faults 2c.

**21. as a preacher shall be skillful, who shall please the world.**

Six pieces belong to a preacher like the world wants now:

1. that he is learned.
2. that he has a fine pronunciation.
3. that he is eloquent.
4. that he is a beautiful person, whom the maidens and young ladies can love.
5. that he does not take money, but gives money.
6. that he speaks what one likes to hear.

**22. wrong judgment of the world from infirmities of preachers.**

(Cordatus No. 722.)

A preacher who has a hundred virtues obscures them all with one mistake. That is how evil the world is now. D. Jonas has all the virtues of a good preacher: only that he clears his throat so often cannot be considered too good for the good man.

**23 A Preacher's Posse.**

(Cordatus No. 723.)

When a certain preacher heard from two Leipzig students that they would come to preach, he said: "Come, you will see what I will do. When they came into the church, he said, "Oh, dear friends, they are under Pabst's spell; I must not preach any further," and went down from the pulpit.

**24. no measure can be kept, not even preachers.**

Doctor Jonas once said to D. Martino: If the doctrine of the Gospel, that the soul is immortal and an eternal life, were not true, then it would be the greatest cheating under the sun to persuade people of it. Yes, said D. M. Luther, because God says it, it is certainly true, for he cannot lie nor deceive.

(The following is transferred to §10 of this chapter, where it belongs).

**25. way D. M. Luther in Preaching.**

(Cordatus No. 1504 and No. 765.)

I take care in my sermon that I take one saying before me, and I stick to it. I do this so that the people may say that this was the sermon; 1) that is, I stick to the matter. Christ with his sermons quickly fell in with parables 2) of sheep, shepherds, wolves, hirelings. The poor people could hear that.

1) Cf. Cap. 19, § 42, para. 10; also Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 215.

2) Instead of "miracle" in the original, read "parable".

When he said to Pommer: Give me a sermon, he answered: He who has the damage must not take care of the oil, 1) for I am a supernumerary preacher and lector.

### 26. that a preacher remain in the preposition, and not foreign things in the

#### Introduce sermon.

Doctor Luther's housewife said to the doctor that she had heard his cousin, Johann Polner, 2) who was otherwise waiting for the doctor, preach in the parish church: she could have understood him much better than D. Pommern, who otherwise deviated far from what he preached and included other things in his sermon. To this Luther replied, "Johann Polner preaches as you women are wont to speak, for what they think of, they also say. Jonas used to say: You should not address all the soldiers you meet. And it is true, D. Pommer sometimes takes along some of those who meet him. But this is a foolish preacher who thinks he wants to say everything that occurs to him.

A preacher should stick to the proposition and do what he intends to do, so that it may be well understood. And remind me of the same preachers who want to say everything that occurs to them, just like the maids who go to market: if they meet another maid, they hold a pocket market or a stand with her; if they then meet the other maid, they also hold a speech with her; so they also do with the third and fourth, so they slowly come to market. In the same way, the preachers do the same, who nimis procul discedunt a proposito and think that they would like to say everything at once. But they do not.

1) In this form, this saying is found in Luther's writings, e.g. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 978, §104.

2) Hans Polner, Luther's sister's son, is mentioned in Luther's letter to his wife of Aug. 15, 1530. At that time he must have been a young boy, because Luther says: "Hans Polner I have ordered Peter Wellern; see that he keeps obediently. Cf. de Wette, Luthers Briefe, IV, 132. - On July 10, 1534, he is again mentioned in Luther's contract of inheritance as a still minor in whose place Luther acts. Cf. Walch, old edition, XXI, Cyl. 1593.

### 27. how to preach in the priesthood.

(Cordatus No. 766.)

There was a strange diversity among the papist preachers, especially in gestures and in what they preached about [thematibus], Fleck began "with rejoicing and shouting," Münzer with singing: "Es fährt ein Bauer gen Holze," Magister Dietrich: "Yesterday we were drunk and full." It all rhymed. Well, it was a time to joke; now it is time to be serious. 3)

### 28. three common vices.

(Cordatus No. 966. 967.)

S / Superbiam / A /  
Avaritiam / L / Luxuriam  
/

Keisersbergei 4) in his letter interprets it thus: Avarice [avaritia] of preachers is a gross sin and is easily recognized. So luxuriation and intoxication are wretched sins, since one gets the sniffles from them in the morning and has aching days. But the pride [superbia] and envy are major sins, which harm the most and can hide under the appearance of godliness. Thus the devil can disguise himself into an angel of light and [into] the bright day. Thus, hope wants to be righteousness, and envy wants to be zeal for righteousness.

The Christ is well preached [to preach] now, but the world wants to be deceived and turns away from the truth and follows the lies.

### 29. righteous preachers.

(Cordatus No. 1646.)

Just as the bee is a little animal that was created to gather honey, but still has a sting, so there is no preacher of such a kind spirit who does not sometimes have to be angry and sting because of the wickedness and ingratitude of the world.

3) In the middle of this piece was inserted a useless addition, which is not found in Cordatus and which we have therefore omitted.

4) Perhaps this refers to D. Wolfgang Severus (Schiefer), who, from 1539 on, was Luther's table companion, since he is named from his birthplace Keisersberg in Styria. (Wrampelmeyer.)

**30. the best preachers.**

(Cordatus No. 285 and 286.)

The best preacher is the one of whom you can say when you have heard him: This is what he said. On the other hand, the worst is the one about whom it is said with truth: I do not know what he said.

If the scripture should not be true, it is nevertheless very probable, because everything happens in the way it says. But if it were true, the Scripture would have to be the greatest lie; but "your word is the truth".

**31. teach with benefit, and have sensation.**

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 1331.)

He who wants to teach well and comfort the consciences, does not bother with hypotheses, but with theses, that is, with the content of the present Gospel, for example, of the five loaves, where some speak much against avarice and are silent about the main thing: Seek first the kingdom of God [Matth. 6, 33.] 2c., as also on the day of palm they speak of singing and many other things, and pass over the place of the prophet [Isaiah], and the fundamental thoughts [theses] may be turned to secondary matters [hypotheses].

Likewise, he who wants to comfort consciences should draw common sayings on persons and private and individual things; as now, when the monks are waiting and gawking for a council, they should only be confuted and refuted with the Gospel, namely: The Gospel does not receive fiefs from men, that is, it is not right because men recognize [it] as right. Therefore, they should look at God's word, rely on it, and let go and drop ungodly vows; they should not wait until the gospel says to each one in particular, "You barefoot monk, take off your cap;" nor wait until they call God by name; but look at God's word, which is the truth, which cannot lie, and demands everyone in general from the ungodly nature. Let the Concilium approve and recognize it as right, or not, and forbid it; but one should and must be obedient to God.

**32. what a right theologian should know.**

(Cordatus No. 596.)

A right theologian must know the whole content of the Bible, namely what is the subject and the order in Moses, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, in the evangelists and Paul 2c. For it is not enough to understand one or the other prophet, to understand one evangelist or one letter of Paul. But now every Bachant [young student] wants to be a master in theology. But the lawyers are smarter than the theologians, they stick to their laws and insist on them. Therefore we do not do well that we translate the Scriptures so clearly, because we make many sluggish, many bold, as is clear from the letters of Paul, of whom only a short time ago many confessed that they did not know what Paul taught. But now they know more than everything. Such a man is Bucer, who never came to this knowledge of the Bible, for he says in a certain book that all pagans who kept their religion would be saved by it. That is to say, fooled. They are enthusiasts and have never kept it up with us, if only they did not want to abuse what is ours!

**33. lack of preachers.**

The margrave's chancellor, Georg Vogler, said: "That in Bavaria more than four and a half hundred parishes stood vacant and desolate, because no church servants could be obtained; but eight had asked to be executed. Thus God punishes the despisers and the ungrateful.

**34. preachers should stick to the divine word, also practice rem et usum diligently.**

(Cordatus No. 1688. 1689.)

We want to remain with the verbal word, with which means the devil cannot remain, just as people do not want to suffer a physical God as He has become to us, want to have a spiritual God and boast much about the benefit, since the benefit without the thing [that creates the benefit] is a fantasy. The mission of God 1) is a

1) I.e. that God is sent into the flesh. Cf. the following paragraph.

thing, the sacrament of baptism is a thing. They do not distinguish between the thing and the use of the sacrament. Water, they say, is water, but they do not see that it is a water of God. On the other hand, many have the thing, but they do not have the [right] use, that is, the benefit, as the pope has the forgiveness of sins, the word, the sacraments, but he does not have the use. Therefore, one must distinguish between the use and the thing.

I would like to ask a fanatic how he could be sure from the conviction of his heart and his thoughts without the word. We have the Scriptures, miracles, sacraments, testimonies, he sent his Son in the flesh, of whom they say [1 John 1:11: "Whom we have seen, our hands have touched" 2c. In this we want to remain. If they do not hear us in the name of GOD, may they hear others who speak in their own name. If they do not want the truth, let them believe the lie. So shall it be with the world.

### 35. God commands the preachers to preach.

Doctor M. Luther said: "God has acted wonderfully in commanding us poor preachers to preach His Word, and we are to govern hearts that we cannot see. But it is the office of our Lord God, who says to us, "Hear, you shall preach; I will prosper you, I know the hearts of men. Let this then be our comfort, the preacher: let it always happen that the world ridicules and mocks our preaching ministry, and laugh with us.

(Here a paragraph is omitted because contained in Cap. 44, § 23.)

### 36. ordination way of D. M. Luther.

Since D. Martinus ordained M. Benedictum Schumann Anno 1540, April 22, 1) on the Sunday Jubilate, he read the saying Apost. 13, 3.,

as the two apostles, Paulo and Barnaba, had their hands laid on them. Item Cap. 20, 29, where St. Paul warned the bishops and pastors at Mileto to beware of the wolves. Item 1 Tim. 3, 1. ff. and Tit. 1, 6. how a bishop should be called and sent.

To him he said: "My dear brother Benedicte, you are ordained by God to be a faithful servant of Jesus Christ in N. 2), to promote His holy name with the pure teaching of the Gospel, to which we have called and sent you by God's authority, just as God has sent us. Therefore, watch with earnestness, be diligent, pray to God to preserve you in this high calling, that you may not fall away through false doctrine, heresy, sects, nor through your own thoughts, but in the fear of God, faithful diligence, constant prayer, you may begin this and do it right in Christ. This was the main part of his prayer.

Then he laid his hands on him and, kneeling down, prayed the Lord's Prayer aloud. When he stood up, he lifted his eyes and hands to heaven and said: "O Lord God, heavenly, merciful Father, who has commanded us to pray, to seek and to knock, and who has promised that you will hear us if we call upon you in the name of your Son: on this thy promise we rely, and pray that thou wilt send this minister of thy word, Benedictum, into thy harvest, assist him, bless his ministry and service, open the ears of the faithful to the blessed course of thy word, that thy name may be glorified, thy kingdom increased, and the church grow, amen. Therefore, my dear brother, I wish you happiness and blessing, that you may walk in the fear of God and trust in the Lord. Then they sang: Now we ask the Holy Spirit 2c.

### 37. where a preacher should look.

Doctor Erasmus Alberus, since he wanted to go to the Mark, asked M. Luther to give him a form and a way to preach before the prince. The Doctor said: "All your sermons should be simple, and

2) Naumburg. Bindseil III, 118.

1) This time is wrong, because in 1540 the Sunday Jubilate fell on April 18. In 1537 Jubilate fell on April 22.

Do not look at the prince, but at the simple, silly, coarse and unlearned people, which cloth also the prince will be. If I were to look at Philip Melanchthon and other doctors in my sermon, I would not be doing anything good, but I would be preaching to the unlearned in the most simple way, and it would please everyone. If I know Greek, Hebrew, I save that, when we scholars come together, 1) then we make it so frizzy that our Lord God is amazed at it.

### 38. ingratitude and contempt makes preachers thener.

It will go on with us for a long time, as in Hispania and France, where there are no parish priests, but only runners, as with us were the stationers: the same go through the country and preach in every town for a week, and the people must be satisfied with that for the whole year. Whichever town is somewhat rich gives a monk a hundred guilders during Lent to preach for that time. After that, Germany will be wrestling with its contempt and ingratitude.

### Let pure teachers be honored; let them live as much as they can.

The ministers of the Word, though life is not so perfect, if only the teaching is pure and wholesome, are to be held in honor, love, and esteem, though both would be good for each other. But a false teacher, whose doctrine is impure, deceives one or two thousand, and often more people.

Therefore, dear brethren, said D. Martin, let us pray, both for this great ministry and the persons who are in it, for you see with what earnestness and zeal Christ prayed before he called his apostles to send into all the world. Satan is now, in this last and evil time, attacking the holy preaching ministry with all his might and earnestness through the tyrants, the fanatics and the false brethren: Therefore, pray diligently that God may prove and maintain His power and authority among the weakness. It is highly necessary to pray.

1) Cf. § 143 of this Cap.

### 40. office of a faithful pastor.

Nurturing and defense must be together in a pious, faithful shepherd and pastor, 2c. otherwise, if the defense is not there, the wolf will feed the sheep all the more gladly, since they are well fed and fattened. Therefore St. Paul, Titus 1:9-11, urges so hard that a bishop be skillful and powerful to present the salvific doctrine accurately and properly, and to shut the mouth of the adversaries and resist them. A preacher must be a warrior and a shepherd; to nourish is to teach, and that is the hardest art: after that he should also have teeth in his mouth, and be able to defend or fight.

(Similar thoughts in Cordatus No. 1656:)

A teacher has the right to teach and to instruct. Erasmus does neither, but is ambiguous [ambibolicus], that is, a godless mocker of religion. 2)

### (41) Many washers, though they are learned and eloquent.

D. M. Luther said: "There are many eloquent preachers, but there is nothing behind them but words: they can talk a lot and teach nothing correctly. Then said M. Phil. M.: The world would have had such Thrasones, glorious shouters, at all times. For it is written that Cicero, the most eloquent pagan in the Latin language, said, since he had heard a great, excellent chatterer speak: he had never heard one all his life who had said nothing with such force and authority. And Erasmus Roterodamus, having heard in Bononia 3) one who triumphed in his oration and towered high, was asked how he had pleased him? He said, "Well, for he has made it far above my thoughts, and as I have meant. How then, said one? Then he answered and said: I would not have thought that there was such a fool in him. Therefore to speak is not an art, but to speak clearly and correctly is given to few. No one should presume to do anything unless it is given to him from above, John 3:27.

2) Cf. cap. 37, § 118.

3) Bologna.

**The Gospel and its servants are held in low esteem.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 19, 1538, p. 33.)

On February 19, one spoke of Bautzen, where the servants of the Word were poorly provided for. The cities do nothing more than to be more or less at the will of the people, since the authorities 1) have long since thoroughly defiled the papacy. But they still care sluggishly for the gospel. They will also realize this with their damage.

**43. contempt for preachers does not go unpunished.**

M. Luthern was told over the table that the boys of students would have come to M. Friederich, 2) chaplain, in front of the house, and would have mocked him and preached like him. Then D. L. told a story about someone in Kemberg, who had also mocked the priest there: when he was in his garden, he would have sung and preached like the priest, and made fun of the priest; but what happened? the devil possessed the mocker bodily, and plagued him so much that one could neither advise nor help him, and also strangled him. And then L. D. said: "Let our Lord God be satisfied in his servants.

**44. how God orders his preaching ministry.**

(Lauterbach, April 5, 1538, p. 58.)

Our Lord God orders His high office whimsically: He commands it of preachers, poor sinners, who say it and teach it, and yet weakly do it: thus God's power always continues in the greatest weakness.

**45. of unity in preaching.**

(Lauterbach, Apr. 22, 1538, p. 68.)

On April 22, the Swiss D. Simon [Sulcer] left with letters from Luther and this one

1) The authorities are subject. Meaning: The authorities have rejected the papacy, but do nothing for the gospel.

2) Mag. Friedrich Bachofen was capellan at the parish church in 1542 and 1543. (Förstemann.)

3) The pastor in Kemberg at that time was Bartholomäus Bernhardt von Feldkirchen. (Förstemann.) Cf. Luther's letters. Erl. Vol. 56, VI.

Counsel: Go in peace, pray to God for sincere harmony. This is my advice to all who thirst for unity, that they first take care that the noise stops, and that the people are instructed in the most simple way without the noise of disputations and quarrels, just as we calm down so that it is not stirred up again, but we have stirred it up enough, we must now let it grow. Therefore, I advise those under the papacy to simply preach the pure gospel without rebellion. If they do that, the pope falls, because he is not in the gospel. 4)

**46. of unanimity of the preachers.**

I know of no greater donum that we have," said D. Martin said, "Except Concordiam Docentium, that now and then in the principalities and in the imperial cities they teach in the same way as we do. If I had the donum that I could raise the dead, what would it be if the other preachers all taught against me? I would not take the Turkish Empire for this consensus. Muenzer did us great harm in the first. The gospel ran so smoothly that it was a joy, but soon Muenzer came in. Now the pope says: "Well, among us it was all under one head and quiet, but now it is all ambivalent.

**47. lack of preachers the greatest misfortune.**

(Lauterbach, May 12, 1538, p. 80.)

On that day he was distressed because he spoke with sobs about the future misfortune of the churches, which would have a lack of preachers and ministers, because they want to have them painted and treat them in the most ungodly and ungrateful way. Therefore, within a short time we will experience misfortune in the churches. Our H(ans) M(etsch) boasted that he wanted to get ten of them instead of one, excellent preachers, and a lot of them.

4) That which forms the conclusion of this L in Walch is spurious, for the preceding is immediately followed in the original by Cap. 37, § 25. According to the thought, the omitted conclusion completely agrees with the conclusion formed by Aurifaber to Cap. 22, Z121, which we also deleted there.

5) Original: "aneinstad". Instead of "gebrechen" the original has: "gbruch haben".

diger. He should hardly get one in seven elders. There will be a shortage not only of scholars, but also of common [preachers]. Oh, that our youth would study more diligently and turn to theology! After all, we are to be his disciples. He does not want to be angry with us, and we should speak well of him. He wants to feed us, even if the world is still so godless. 1)

#### 48. interpretation of the gospel Luc. 15. of the lost sheep 2c.

(Lauterbach, July 7, 1538, p. 97.)

The Gospel of the 3rd Sunday after Trinity is a wonderful picture of how God is minded towards sinners, how He seeks them with the greatest care. The main part and theme of this Gospel is about repentance, for it speaks of broken and penitent sinners; to whom this Gospel is to be preached. And after that he asked the Lord Cyriacus (Gericke): Did you preach it yesterday? Oh yes, he answered, I emptied my bag purely. Luther answered: "It is time to stop, because I have learned the art. When I have nothing, I will stop. And he told a story of a monk, a beginner in preaching, who practiced and had learned a sermon of eight sheets by heart. When he had recited it word for word in the most rapid manner, he finished the sermon in a quarter of an hour, and the bag was empty. Dear Lord, these are supposed to be regents of the church who knew nothing. When the illness [Luther's dysentery] continued, Cellarius and others left. Luther said: "Ask the Lord for me, that I may become devout. I do not desire to live any longer, for I am of no use. Ask that I may have a blessed, happy hour.

#### 49 Of the Pabst's Spell.

Doctor Martin Luther said in Eisleben in 1546: When one is put under ban in Rome, twenty cardinals sit with him and push him to the end.

1) This is immediately followed by Cap. 66, § 88. The following 6 lines are spurious, therefore omitted.

The priests threw burning torches from themselves and extinguished them by throwing them to indicate that the happiness and salvation of the banned persons should also be extinguished with the extinguished torches; and it was called illuminating and ringing. And so it went in the German country in the parish churches: when one was banned, the priest had a wax light on the sermon seat, which he threw down, so that it was extinguished, and rang for it with a small bell.

In Rome, every year on Green Thursday (quando Christus instituit Coenam), the heretics are banished, among whom I, D. M. Luther, am the first and most distinguished. And the pope had his own churchyard built for this purpose. There the pope has a nice big chair, and the cardinals a nice transitum, where they stand. This happens on the holy day, when one should thank God for His great blessing of the Lord's Supper, also His suffering and death. Then the pope sits on top, the cardinals blow out the torches, and throw all the exiles into hell. I was thrown into hell eight and twenty years ago, as of the 1518th year, and yet I am still alive, I am illuminated and illumined.

#### 50. how to keep in the criminal office.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 19, 1538, p. 115.)

On Aug. 19, Magister Johannes Forstenius presented some concerns to Luther by letter. First: whether the preachers are to be punished publicly, since the brotherly punishment Matth. 18, (v. 15.) seems to speak only of personal sins, but they, because they sin publicly by teaching, should also be punished publicly, as Moses resisted Korah, Dathan and Abiram, Elijah the Baals servants, Paul Peter and we the Pope publicly. Luther answered: The brother should first be punished privately, if the error is new and few adhere to it; but if it is ingrained and many share it, so that each individual can no longer be admonished and one can no longer turn to individuals, then the error should be publicly punished and refuted.



**51) Preachers should not be too rich or too poor. 1)**

D. M. spoke of stingy priests, who scratched and scratched, and collected goods as they could, per fas et nefas, sighed and said: What shall become of it? If they become rich, they are no good, they leave their service and office; as happened in Niemeck and Brück to those who had become rich and had fattened themselves and fattened themselves. If they are poor, they cannot leave, as can be seen everywhere.

**52 Accidental access to the Pabstthum.**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 8, 1538, p. 127.)

If only the [fixed] income were left to the pastors, then they would be provided for. Our parish in Wittenberg had only 90 guilders of fixed income under the papacy, but over 350 guilders with the donations. The daily penny from the donations went a long way for monks, terminarians, priests, capitulars, altarists. The common people did not notice that. Now, however, farmers and citizens are getting so rich from it.

**53. parishes are desolate.**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 10, 1538, p. 128.)

In Lochau it was said that in the diocese of Würzburg 600 very rich parishes were unoccupied. He answered: "Punishment follows evil. This will also happen in our country because of the great contempt for the word and the church servants. If I wanted to become rich now, I would not preach, but become a juggler, go through the countryside and have more spectators, for the sake of money. For even the peasants said to the visitors, who reproached them why they did not want to feed their pastors, since they kept herdsmen, and answered: Yes, we must have a shepherd. Fie on you! It has come to this, since we are still alive.

The antinomians 2) serve this purpose very well, who increase the presumption of the sure ones. And I already see such great presumption in the antinomians that they dare to do what they like, trusting in mercy, as if a believer did not sin at all, but the believers were so righteous that they did not need the preaching of the law. For they dream such a righteous church as Adam was in paradise, to whom wrath was revealed from heaven, as if God wanted to say: Adam, you shall eat of all fruits, but, if you eat of this wood, you shall die.

**The first of these is the "Theological", which is the "Theology".**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 25, 1538, p. 135.)

On September 25, he lamented the future situation of the church, because it would have to suffer a great shortage of ecclesiastics within a short time, because they would be exposed to dangers and efforts, and yet could only leave poor widows and orphans, whom no one would take pity on. They will again have to flee marriage with a fictitious celibacy [celibacy] and then attach themselves again to the citizens and their wives and daughters; if they have these as friends, then their husbands and fathers must also love them. This is how the world wants it, which hates and despises truth and sincerity; it will cause deceit and fraud.

**55. pious, faithful preachers.**

Doctor Martin lamented the fall of the Gospel in the future because of the lack of true, faithful servants: if Pomeranus, Gabriel, Spalatinus die, where will we find capable ones? Orlamünde could not find one, because it wants to have a house father and house mother there. It will be found, dear sirs, the fall of the gospel is ready at the door, for there will be a lack of people; as we, unfortunately, will see and experience.

2) Antinomians, people who taught that the preaching of the Law was no longer necessary for Christians, such as Johannes Agricola.

1) This § seems to be spurious, formed as entrance w/m following. The first words of the solgendm § were therefore drawn into this §.

**56. proven preacher punishment.**

In 1541, Luther spoke a great deal about the ambition or ambition of some promising preachers, and said: "God often puts all kinds of crosses and plagues on their necks, so that he may make them humble; and they are not wronged by this, for they want to have honor, and eat the fat from our Lord God's soup, and give him the broth of it, when honor is due to him alone. Now, if we are found faithful in our profession, we shall have glory enough; but not in this life, but in the life to come: there we shall be crowned with the unfading crown of glory, as St. Paul says, which is set before us in heaven, 2 Tim. 4, 8. 4, 8. But here on earth, says the Lord Christ, we will not have that honor, for there it is said: *Vae vobis, cum benedixerint vobis homines*, Luc. 6, 26, for we do not belong to this life, but are called to another and better. The world loves what is yours, so we may take it for our will.

I like to see that my disciples and friends give me such a reward, I also do not desire to be praised by them, nor do I want to be crowned by them on earth; but from God, the righteous judge, I want to have *retributionem* or retribution in heaven. With us preachers it is still said to this day: *. Retribuunt mihi mala pro bonis*

He further said: "That God in the world could sometimes suffer honor from lawyers and physicians, but that theologians wanted to be ambitious, that would not stand in his way. For if there were a glorified and ambitious preacher, he would soon despise Christ, who had redeemed the whole world with his blood. God cannot suffer this; therefore all glorious theologians soon fall to the ground and to ruins, for ambition consumes them, so that they are disgraced and blinded. For what people do not punish, God punishes.

**57. honor-seeking preachers.**

(Contained in Cap. 37, § 141.)

**58 Let pusillanimity deter no one from his appointment.**

(Lauterbach, Oct. 7, 1538, p. 141.)

Afterwards, one spoke of the pusillanimity of Weller, who completely despised his gifts, since he had enough understanding, eloquence and knowledge, more than all papists, but because he could not equal others, he resigned. This should not be done at all, but everyone should be content with his gifts. Not all can be people like Paul and John the Baptist, but one must also have people like Timothy. One may have more of the filling stones than of the squares. 1)

**59. modify sermons and lections.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 10, 1538, p. 163.)

After that, it was said that Luther could treat his sermons differently every day with new thoughts. He answered: "Not at all. I remain, dialectically, always with the same thing. But rhetorically one can change his sermons and lectures. Who can do that!

**60. to preach differently, according to the opportunity of the audience.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 16, 1538, p. 169.)

It is highly necessary for a preacher to distinguish between two kinds of sinners, the penitent and the sure; otherwise the whole scripture is closed. That is why Amsdorf at Schmalkalden said very harshly in the beginning of his sermon before many princes: "The gospel belongs to the poor and afflicted, and not to you princes and lords who live in joy without temptations. It was a displeasing beginning and *captatio benevolentiae* 2), and yet it must be, because even the most spiritual teaching of the gospel attacks even the best and most pious minds, as we see in the letters of Paul, with how great earnestness he stood against them: "Mortify your members therefore; be it far from that ye should be found sinners (Col. 3, 5. Gal. 2, 17.).

1) Squares ashlar, cornerstones.

2) Entrance to make the audience inclined.

For we see that not only does the law make hypocrites, But the preachers' job is to punish them, which is very but this is also burdensome, that the doctrine of grace burdensome and dangerous. That is why they, for must also make hypocrites. Therefore, this distinction their part, have the eyes of a lynx against the clergy. of two kinds of sinners must be well kept and followed They must find fault with them and see a festering. If with the ban.

**61) That a preacher should stick to the main thing and preposition.**

(Cordatus No. 1685. 1686. 1687.)

Up to now, I have not had an opponent who would is not so smooth and perfect, God will have mercy, have argued against me in such a way that he would although the hatred of the laity remains, according to have stuck to the matter at hand. We have always run the old saying: aside and not on the plan. My art is that I stand on the 1) **Dum Mare siccatur, dum Daemon ad Astra levatur, Tunc Clero Laicus fidus amicus erit.** matter: that's what we're dealing with, that's where it's all about. I don't run after anyone, because he who chases another also gets tired. So I cornered Eck when he proved the primacy of Peter thus: Peter walked on [When the sea dries up, and Satan Is taken to heaven: Then the Lai and the world will be the prince of the apostles. Then I laughed at him for calling be Placed as friends to the servants of GOD]. the apostles the world out of Bernard, and when he was overcome, he exclaimed: Behold, he receiveth not St. Bernard. But I stopped and let St. Bernard be St. Bernard and explained that the sea was the world, which Peter trampled underfoot.

In order to keep to the point, one must always think Then they spoke of the wealth of merchants and that it is not necessary for the one who wants to win in how Cruciger's father would become rich through the a duel [of speech] to run over mountains and through blessing of the Lord. D. Jonas answered: God be impassable regions, but one must remain in the praised that even a pious theologian once becomes present and assigned area so that the opponent is rich. Luther said: Oh, we would be rich enough defeated. through the much more glorious riches in Christ, but

Errors must be confessed, for what is easier for a unfortunately we consider them to be nothing and we man than to err? And I freely confess that I have erred raise the little treasure of the world all the higher. in many things, but in those that did not concern faith, for I have always taught about faith and grace in the same way (constanter). Others want to be in agreement with us and yet teach differently.

**Why the laymen are hostile to the preachers.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 25, 1538, p. 178 f.)

On November 25, one spoke of the constant haffle themselves against the truth of the Gospel in such a between the clergy and the laity, and not without way that they would rather cause, because the

they were to see it in their wives and children, they would gladly take revenge. If the princes were not superior to them in power, they would pursue them with similar hatred. Let us only stick to the pure word that we are sitting on the chair of Moses. Even if life

is not so smooth and perfect, God will have mercy, although the hatred of the laity remains, according to the old saying:

**Dum Mare siccatur, dum Daemon ad Astra levatur,**

**Tunc Clero Laicus fidus amicus erit.**

[When the sea dries up, and Satan Is taken to heaven: Then the Lai and the world will Placed as friends to the servants of GOD].

**63. spiritual goodness is held in lower esteem than temporal goodness.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 30, 1538, p. 183.)

Then they spoke of the wealth of merchants and how Cruciger's father would become rich through the blessing of the Lord. D. Jonas answered: God be praised that even a pious theologian once becomes rich. Luther said: Oh, we would be rich enough through the much more glorious riches in Christ, but

unfortunately we consider them to be nothing and we raise the little treasure of the world all the higher.

**64. long sermons morose.**

(Contained in Cap. 22, § 12.)

**The wickedness of people who despise pure doctrine and teachers.**

They must be desperate, stubborn people, who set themselves against the truth of the Gospel in such a way that they would rather

1) Lauterbach p. 179: The distich is from the 12th or 13th century and inscription on the St. Martin's Church in Worms. - The translation is not in the original, I but with Walch.

have. And indeed we see, unfortunately, the great devastation, that it is lacking everywhere and wants to fail. It is said that in Bohemia in the three hundred parishes, likewise in H[archduke] G[eorgs] Fürstenthum and in the diocese of W[ürzburg] 1) shall stand alone and be desolate. Summa, where one does not have people, devastation, misery and distress, and all misfortune, both in religion and police, in ecclesiastical and secular regiments, must certainly follow.

Thus, the pope finally broke the Bohemians, made them weak and brought them back to himself: since they no longer had priests and ecclesiastics, the bishops forced the new ordinands with oaths that they had to abide by them and submit to them. We, however, by the grace of God, still keep the justice to ordain in our churches, so that they do not plague and vex us in this way; however, we may see to it that we do not, with our great ingratitude and contempt of God's word, again come into the clutches of the devil's head and his scales, as we well deserve. Although the papists cry and complain much about such our ordination, and rely on the possessorium that they are in grant, yet they must suffer it; notwithstanding that their happy condition annoys us, that they have good days. Just as this kind of trouble also tormented and hurt dear David, Ps. 73:2 ff. But he resolves the argument and puts it to rest, saying, "You prepare them for the slaughter with such fattening. Thus our Lord God prepares the epicureans and the fatlings for the slaughter in this life.

#### 66. make a lot of words and talk magnificently.

D. M. Luther was brought a commentary that one had written about the 93rd Psalm, with very many words; then he said: "Those who go over with many words and are very germane, they are dangerous and suspicious. For all history shows that the greatest heretics have come from this place, when they can use their talk and their mutterings, and thus

brought the people to themselves. I severely punished M[artin B[ucer] 3), who was also magnificent in words, pompous and ambitious.

(Here 10 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 22, § 143.)

I am very hostile to those who preach according to the high and learned listeners and not according to the common people, whom they do not respect. For to go forth with high and splendid words vexes and breaks down more than it builds up. To be able to say many things in a few words is an art and a great virtue, but it is foolishness to speak nothing with much talk. That is why St. Peter says 1 Peter 2:2: "Be eager for the sensible, pure milk, as the now-born babes, that by it ye may increase."

#### 67. the preachers' offering.

They also remembered the strange ways and gestures of some preachers, who said that there were some in Italy who were running back and forth, shouting and making strange, ugly gestures, like fools and fools. Then said D. M. Luther said, "The world wants to be deceived, and for that you need fakes. For you see how he is vexed and tormented at court: now he wants this one, soon he rejects and repudiates him again. The court is like a whore; when one is soon full, it gives one to another.

#### 68. old preachers and servants hated.

The margravine of Lichtenberg 4) indicated to D. Martino how the church servants in Prettin 5) were now old and unable, therefore they should be spared from now on and disposed of. Then he said: "Because we can, we are needed, and then we are beaten to the grass: we are poor, miserable people.

3) Cf. cap. 22, § 74; § 112.

4) Elisabeth, widow of Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg.

5) Prettin, town 2 miles from Torgau. Nearby is the castle Lichtenburg. In 1520 Luther had a discussion with the papal legate Karl von Miltiz in Lichtenburg Castle.

1) Cf. z 53 of this Cap.

2) So Stangwald instead of "mustern". The Hall manuscript, Bindseil III, 125, has "Münster" instead.

**69. world despises all urging and preaching.**

The best and most comforting vocabularies, words and sayings were somewhat hostile to the papists, as: God's justice, truth, mercy. Now, in the epicurismo and the life of a pillar, one no longer respects the words of doom. How should one do to him? said D. Martin said. If the soul is loosed, the body is tormented; if the body is loosed, the soul is tormented. In the past, princes and lords had to be afraid of a lousy monk and priest; now, any town or village may dismiss its priest at their pleasure, since they neither support nor pay him. Summa, if they want to rule over the parish priests and preachers, they may send them themselves and pay them from their own. We do not want to allow them this sacrilege and willfulness, nor do we want to suffer from them.

**70. talk slowly.**

Speaking slowly is most convenient for a preacher, and a fine virtue; for he can thus deliver his sermons all the more diligently and thoughtfully. Seneca writes of the most distinguished Latin orator, Cicero, that he spoke slowly and to the heart; as you also see in D. Gregorius Brück.

**71. schoolmaster to the preaching office best.**

Above all, we should, to the best of our ability and diligence, work and faithfully help to preserve the right, pure, true religion, also for the descendants, so that schoolmasters are made preachers and pastors. 1) For schoolmasters are as skilled and capable of preaching as a man is a sensible, understanding animal. And so it has also been in the papacy. Therefore, I advise that, above all, the boys be given a comfortable and convenient place in the church to hear God's word.

**Ingratitude against God's servants.**

On July 21, Anno 39, D. Martin spoke of the great, shameful ingratitude of the nobility and the peasants, who refused to give their parish lords even the tithes they owed them and did not want to burden their goods. Then said D. Martin said: "To the same people we should say again: Dear nobleman, you do not want to burden our preaching chair and altar. Oh dear Lord God, the bright light of the Gospel shines very brightly, a terrible storm will follow: let us pray that God's name be hallowed.

**The first time, the first time, the first time, the first time, the first time.**

I, said D. M. Luther, often spoke to myself when I came from the preaching chair. 2) Fie on you, how did you preach? You really did it well, you did not keep a concept as you had fasted. And people have praised the same sermon highly, that I had not preached such a good, beautiful sermon in a long time. When I descended from the preaching platform, I reflected and found that I had preached nothing or even little that I had conceived and considered. That I certainly think it is a different thing to preach than we think it is; for our Lord God often gives us something different to preach: someone preaches much differently when he comes up than he had intended, or had in mind. All is well, if one preacheth aright, that it be according to faith, and according to the scriptures.

**74. how a teacher should preach, and on which he should look.**

Let every preacher be accustomed to preach badly and plainly, 3) and let him resolve and remember that he must preach to people of no understanding, as peasants, who understand just as little as the

2) Cf. § 15 of this Cap.

3) See § 112 of this chapter, the last paragraph; likewise Cap. 11, § 13, the last paragraph, and Cap. 1, § 34.

1) Cf. § 84 of this Cap.

Boys under twelve, thirteen, fourteen, twenty years of age, to whom one also preaches alone, that is also the great multitude, that they may understand it, or grasp something from it, and improve their lives. To be sure, no one is allowed to preach to me and Philippo, although we can also learn something from it that is necessary for us. One does not have to preach and bravely strut about with great words, splendid and elaborate, that one may be seen to be learned and to seek one's honor. Oh no, it does not apply here.

One should be guided by the audience, and this is what all preachers commonly lack, that they preach so that the poor people learn very little from it; as Bucer and Zwingel did in Marburg, in great splendor, and everything in the most elaborate way, so that they would have the praise of it; as if they wanted to say: See, D. Martinus and Philippus see how I am such a learned journeyman. To preach with simplicity is a great art. Christ does it himself. He speaks only of the work of the field, of the mustard seed 2c. and uses crude agricultural parables.

#### **First of all, preaching is the hardest.**

When someone climbs the preaching platform for the first time, no one can believe how frightened he is; he sees so many heads in front of him. When I ascend the preaching seat, I do not look at any man, but think that they are vain blocks standing before me, and I speak the word of my God.

He said this to strengthen the new, fainthearted preachers and to give them heed, 1) that they should not therefore despair nor desist.

#### **In the Old Testament, the priests were honest and well kept.**

God made the priests in the Old Testament very rich. Annas, Caiphas had good incomes, suburbs, firstfruits, tithes, had from each person a sekel, that is, half a florin; now the servants of the Word (in which we are offered eternal life and blessedness, by pure grace, without any merit or work on our part, by faith alone) are made rich.

1) I.e. to make hearty.

in Christ) are dying of hunger because of great poverty; yes, drive them out and chase them away if they do not speak what pleases us.

#### **77. Proud and presumptuous preachers and teachers.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 9, 1538, p. 160.)

Then he spoke of the foolishness of the clever, who trusted too much in speculative science, since they were inexperienced in things, and experience, the teacher of things, should moderate everything. Therefore the philosophers did very well, whose students had to remain silent for five years, i.e. not pass judgment, so that they would not become nose judges. And it is not without reason that certain periods for graduation are established at the universities. In Paris, no one receives a degree in theology who has not studied for ten years in the faculty. In Erfurt, only people of fifty years of age were awarded doctorates in theology. Many were astonished that I, when I was only twenty-eight years old, received the doctorate, forced by Staupitz. In short, youth is presumptuous. Thus we see that the jurists in the first year are masters of all laws, in the second people like Justinian, in the third fully trained jurists, 2) in the fourth who have an opinion, in the fifth they finally become trembling students. So does a young boy on the bowling green. He wants to hit twelve pins first, then nine, then six, then three. At last he takes one and still misses the lane. 3) If the youth were wise, the age strong, it would be very fine, but God has ordered it better.

#### **78. preaching should be simple and audible.**

After that he advised Christianly and faithfully that every preacher should take care that all his sermons and disputations are simple, which the common man and every man should understand.

2) In the original: lytae et prolytae, i.e. lawyers who have studied law for five years and are then dismissed from teaching by their teachers.

3) Original: "des Leichs"; also probably "die Leich" (Jen. VI, 136) or der Boßleich" (Tischr. Cap. 1, 8 23), the board on which the skittles are set up, or also the lane.

could well be understood. Item, in public sermons should not use Eraean, Greek, or foreign languages; for in the church or congregation one should speak, as in the home, the simple mother tongue, which everyone understands and is familiar with. At court, the lawyers, advocates, and orators may well have ornamented words and speak gracefully, but they are well off; Osiander and Mathesius follow and imitate them. Doctor Staupitz, though he was very learned, was a peevish preacher, and the people preferred to hear a bad brother and preacher, who made it simple to hear. For behold how childishly Christ speaks. In parables in churches, neither pomp nor glory is to be sought; there it is to be done badly, plainly and rightly.

#### 79. world reluctantly gives righteous preachers.

There was talk about the poverty of pastors and preachers, who were not allowed to demand their promised salary, which they could not pay because of necessity; because as soon as they demanded it, which they had a good right to do, they were told that priests are stingy: "You received it for free, you should give it back for free", Matth. 10, 8.

Then D. Martinus said: The world is not worthy to receive the heavenly treasure, nor to give anything to the servants: therefore it wants to have impudent beggars and crybabies, like brother Matthes at the prince, to whom the prince had promised to give a fur for his begging and hurrying. But since the steward or the locksmith had not bought him the fur, he said publicly in the sermon before the prince: "Where is my fur? After that, the locksmith was ordered once again to deliver it to him. But since it was forgotten and not respected, he went out again publicly in another sermon in the presence of the prince: "I still do not have the fur. At last, with such impetuous and impudent persistence, he got the fur. Thus the world wants to be driven; with a cheerful heart and gladly it gives nothing, or gives it either forced, or out of superstition and superfluity, for the sake of enjoyment, to earn something with it.

#### 80. from what causes one comes together in churches.

On June 7, 1545, on the first Sunday after Trinity, Luther was angry and scolded those who murmured and hummed in church when the psalms and spiritual songs were sung. For Christians and God-fearing hearts do not come together in church to bleat and murmur, but to pray and thank God. If you want to roar, grumble, grunt and murmur, go out among the cows and pigs, they will answer you, and leave the church unhindered.

But on the next Sunday, since some did not refrain from going early, D. Martin soon left the church. Because of this, D. Pommer punished them severely, saying: "You chased our father, D. Martinum, out of the church, you will also chase me out, so that I will not preach to you.

#### 81: Serious Admonition by D. M. Luther.

After that D. Martinus began an admonition and punishment sermon: Which unfortunately, he said, is now becoming very strange, indeed we must see vices, vice and wantonness, which have become so entrenched and are gaining so much ground that no preacher may touch **them any more**, much less punish **them**, without danger to body and good, or be driven out. For pious, God-fearing, faithful preachers, since they punish sin, are scolded and called quarrelsome, biting, blasphemers of God and man, who attack people's honor, make the authorities contemptuous, and arouse uproar and indignation 2c.

But listen, dear brother," he said, "why do you pester yourself with ungodliness and offences? Don't you know that the servants of the Church are seriously charged by God with the office and power to punish what is wrong and sinful? If we are to promote godliness through the word, and teach what is right, Christian and pure, then we must truly also punish ungodly beings with their fruits, and condemn what is wrong, false, unchristian and impure: otherwise God will demand righteous blood from us.

Dear, what godly heart can see through the fingers, and gloss over such-

abominable great sin, as blasphemy, disobedience, thievery, as selling kofent for beer, usury, adultery, discord, dissension, strife 2c.? In these vices we all shun and have no pleasure, but curse and condemn them. And every householder complains about the great wickedness that is everywhere in the world; he complains and cries out about the willfulness, disobedience and unfaithfulness of the servants, workers, excessive increase of everything that one should only have for necessity in the market, among craftsmen 2c.

Is it right for you to complain about it; why do you want to shut the mouths of the preachers who stand in God's place and punish? Then they cry out again: Yes, he has meant me. Yes, dear fellow, don't you know that there is an old saying: When one casts among the dogs, he who is hit cries out? That is why you betray yourself with such grumbling and crying, and make it obvious that you are the guilty dog who is hit. If you do not want to hear it and murmur, go out to the hole that the mason and bricklayer left open; you will have to hear God's judgment one day, who will say to you: "If I did not let you hear it through my preachers, why did you not hear them? You will not be able to excuse yourself.

#### **Secular rulers should not get involved in spiritual affairs.**

On June 16 Anno 1545 forbade D. Martinus M. Antonio Lauterbach and D. Daniel, 1) pastors of Dresden, that they should not consent to the decrees of ceremonies made at court, nor permit and allow the courtiers such great power and authority; but to indicate to them that they were waiting for their office in the council chamber and chancellery, to govern merchants, country and people, each in his state. According to the saying, Let every man do his trade: let a horseman take care of his riding and his horses, and let a singer take care of his singing; and let no man take care to do or to teach that which he hath not learned. They [may] rule their court,

1) Greser. Bindseil III, 130.

and let God and his servants rule the church; we have enough to do on all sides, all our hands full, and to answer for. Let the smart ones, ambitious and glorious Hansen in all gaffes, who want to have five tips of the bag and rule everything, always go and have a good year, they always do the greatest harm in all regiments, can bridle the horse in the butt.

#### **83. preachers poor people.**

To. The gospel is preached to the poor. Preachers must be poor fellows; but they look to another life, therefore we must believe the future. But if we were to believe the treasure of eternal life, we would become too proud. That is why God has hidden this treasure of His mercy with a great lid that He has placed over it, which is called fides, faith, on which we have to roll all our lives.

#### **84. take preachers from the schools?**

While they were talking about M. N., Doctor Martin said: "We must now have many pieces of work, and cornerstones, and filling stones: he must deliver a cornerstone. For schoolmasters have been accustomed to talk in school with their pupils, how one should act and interpret the sayings of the holy scriptures in a fine way. I would not want anyone to be named a preacher if he had been a schoolmaster before. 2) Now all the young apprentices want to become preachers, and they flee the work of the schools. But if one has kept school for about ten years, he may leave it with a clear conscience; for the work is too great, and one keeps it small. In a city, however, a schoolmaster is as important as a parish priest. We can dispense with mayors, princes and noblemen, but we cannot dispense with schools, for they must govern the world.

Today we see that no potentate is lord and master, he must be governed by a jurist and a theologian: they themselves can do nothing,

2) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis Edition, p. 216.



and are ashamed to learn, so it must flow out of the school. And if I were not a preacher, I know of no position on earth that I would rather have. But one must not see how the world rewards and keeps it, but how God respects it and will praise it in that day.

**That people be punished only in general, and that no one be attacked in particular in the pulpit.**

One of them said to Luther that some people say: "People should be punished in general, but not scolded in this way. He answered, "Yes, I know these words well; they have come before me before. One should say, "Our Lord God will punish adultery, but he will not do anything to adulterers. But Christ says in the Gospel, "O you adulterers, you are condemned; the devil will take you. And saith, Ye Pharisees and scribes, ye are the breeds of vipers. Matth. 12, 34.

If they do not shy away from the word of our Lord God, what can be preached to them? but they will understand it. Amen, amen, says Christ Matth. 11, 24: "It will be more tolerable for Sodoma and Gomorrah in that day than for them. They do no good, they get again pastors and preachers, who go to them to the wives and daughters 1): which were well kept before, together with their schoolmasters and locates, who slept all the citizens with the wives. So they invited the wives home, and put them on top, and the millers and whoremongers were in good spirits with the men, so that the citizens finally made a saying out of it themselves, and said: Whoever wants to have his house clean, let him keep priests and monks out of it. 2) But the preachers, who now live in the caste and are pure in doctrine, they cannot stand.

The gospel has nevertheless brought a great puritatem, probably two thousand more people have become married, who otherwise would not have become married. It is not the scolding, but ipsi metuunt verbum, they are worried that it will one day come to pass that they will be

Adulteri and Scortatores are what they fear. We preachers have a difficult office, we are to give an account for the salvation and blessedness of the listeners, and yet we are to give way to their cupiditatibus and let them do what they want: if we do, we make ourselves participes of their sins; but if we do not, and punish, it must be called profanation and blasphemy.

**86) That one should not attack great lions harshly with the preaching ministry.**

The young margrave, Joachim the Other, in 1532, when he was in Wittenberg, asked D. Mart. Luthern: Why did he write so vehemently and harshly against the great lords? To this Martin replied: Gracious Lord, if God wants to make the earth fertile, he must first let a good downpour precede it, with a thunder, and then let it rain finely and slowly; thus he moistens the earth through and through. He said, "I can cut a willow oak with a knife, but for a hard oak you must have a sharp axe and baleen or wedge; you can hardly split it, just as a large oak does not fall from one blow.

**87. OV preachers also like to punish the authorities?**

Doctor Martinus was asked whether a pastor or preacher also had the power to punish the authorities. He said, "Yes, indeed; for although it is God's order, God has reserved for him his right to punish vice and what is unjust. In the same way, the worldly rulers should be punished if they let the poor subjects' goods perish and allow them to be sucked dry by usury and evil rule. But it is not proper for a preacher to prescribe order 2c. and to teach how much bread should be sold or how meat should be valued 2c. In general, he shall teach every man in his station to do what God has commanded him diligently and faithfully, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to abuse and scrape, nor to cheat and defraud others 2c.

1) Cf. § 54 of this Cap.

2) Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 1522, § 62.

**68. how preachers should have had in punishments?**

Then said one, How, if I knew one that was an adulterer, should I also publicly report him, and punish him? D. Martin: The authorities should be publicly admonished to punish adulterers, and others to detest them. And if I were asked about it, I would say what I knew without hesitation. But this is to be ordered entirely to the authorities. However, I should speak secretly to those whom I suspect. If they take it amiss and accuse me of it in a council, I should say it straightforwardly: This admonition and warning was given secretly and specially, I must do as my office requires and God has commanded.

If someone comes to confession and I have suspicions, I should diligently ask about all the circumstances. If he denies it, I should respect his denial more than my suspicion. And if he asks for the sacrament, I should also give it to him; for Christ also gave the sacrament to Judah the betrayer, when he had secretly admonished him before, but to his harm and condemnation. And to them it shall be said: Those who received it unworthily shall know that they received it to judgment and condemnation. Many cover their sin and disgrace, vice and misconduct with the reception of the sacrament, but such hypocrites must be tolerated, they will one day become well aware of it, and will not be able to deceive God.

**89. pious preachers and women defile.**

(Contained in Cap. 27, § 2.)

**90. laduncles and reformers of righteous preachers.**

(Contained in Cap. 1, § 17, sub. 3.)

**91. complaint about faithful preachers.**

(Contained in Cap. 4, § 51.)

**St. Paul's simplicity in preaching and teaching.**

St. Paul does not have such high, splendid words, as Demosthenes and Cicero, but actually and clearly he speaks, and has words, which something

Meaning and indicating great things. He was right not to make it very curly and colorful, otherwise everyone would talk so highly.

**93. parish office in ceremonies.**

We pastors are to watch that ceremonies are made and held in such a way that the people do not become so wild, nor too holy, otherwise they become epicureans, or hypocrites and works saints.

**94. devil's and the world's hatred against pious preachers and authorities.**

To a God-fearing and faithful servant of the church, or in the secular government, the devil is certainly hostile, and sets himself against him.

(The following at Cordatus No. 558. 1)

Those who are theologians should persevere and not despair because of ingratitude, because it will happen in three years that they would dig a theologian nine cubits out of the earth.

**95. right way of preaching.**

(Cordatus No. 1572.)

The first book of Moses has not been read and understood from the apostles' time as it is now. If I should preach it now, I would hit it better. For someone must have known the world who wants to understand this book, and every pastor must have looked around in the world. If I were to start the gospel now, I would want to send myself in a different way. I wanted to let unbelievers [i.e. unbelieving people] stay under the papacy and only secretly help the troubled consciences. Therefore, a preacher must have learned to know the world and not have been a monk like me, who believed, because I did not know the world, that people would immediately run to the gospel as soon as it was preached; but now I know that the opposite happens.

**96. the nature and office of a good speaker.**

A good speaker's office or sign is that he stops when one hears him most gladly, 2) and thinks that he will come first:

1) Cf. Cap. 73, § 1.

2) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 216.

But if one hears him with weariness and displeasure, and would like him to stop and come to an end and resolution, that is an evil sign. So also with a preacher: if one says, I might have listened to him longer, it is good; but if one says, He had come to the washing and could never stop, it is an evil sign.

**97) Poor laymen, children and servants should be the target of the sermon.**

When I, said D. Mart. Luther, I intend to preach only to the servants and maids. For the sake of D. Jonam, or Philippum, or for the sake of the whole university, I do not even want to appear, because they can otherwise read it well in the Scriptures. But if one wants to preach to the highly knowledgeable, and throw out vain rabbis and masterpieces, then the poor people stand like a cow.

**98. faithful preacher burden and sense.**

If I, said D. Martin, were to write about a preacher's burden and hardship, which he must bear and endure, as I know and have experienced myself, I would discourage everyone from the preaching ministry. For a pious, God-fearing preacher must be of such a mind that nothing is dearer to him than Christ, his Lord and Savior, and the eternal life to come; that even if he has lost this life and everything, Christ nevertheless says to him, "Come here to me, you have become my dear, faithful servant.

**99. what D. Mart. Luthern comforted in his preaching ministry.**

I hope he will also address me on that day; for here he addresses me very unkindly. I bear the hatred and enmity of the whole world, the emperor and the pope with all their attachments. Well, because I have come in, I must see and say: It is right. After that the devil also appeals to me for this, and indeed he would often have killed me with this argument: You are not called; if I had not been a doctor.

**190: What a pious preacher should do.**

Doctor Martin Luther said to a pastor: "When you want to preach, talk to God and say: Dear Lord God, I want to preach in your honor, I want to talk about you, praise you, praise your name; although I cannot do it as well as I should. And look not at Philippum, nor at me, nor at any scholar, and let it seem to you that you are the most learned, when you speak of God in the pulpit. I have never been afraid that I cannot preach well, but I have often been afraid that I should and must speak of the great majesty and divine nature before God. Therefore, be strong and pray.

**101. why to preach.**

What we do with preaching and suffering, we do all this in honor of God and for the salvation of the elect, so that they may also believe.

**It is God's work alone, a righteous faithful preacher.**

(Contained in Cap. 4, § 29.)

**The persecution of the faithful preachers is smelled.**

(Contained in Cap. 4, § 29, and Cap. 78, § 1.)

**The teaching and the life are to be distinguished.**

(Contained in Cap. 27, § 95.)

**Balaam, an example of hopeful spirits and teachers.**

Doctor Martin said that Balaam would certainly be damned, even though he had great revelation, no less than Daniel: for he also includes all four emperors, and is a mighty example against hope, so that one does not become proud, and does not exalt himself in God's gifts. Otherwise, if one knew that he would become holy by preaching rightly, few would be saved: but our Lord God can so terribly throw Balaam, Saul, and Caipham, who have been taught by God's Spirit. O be humbled!

**166. courting, especially in preachers, does great harm in the church.**

(Cordatus No. 1145.)

Against hopeful people, like Jcarus, the ancients played quite with words, saying:

Si vis bene ambulare,  
Non debes nimis alte volare,  
Si nimis alte volas, Tunc debes  
comburere pennas. 1)

If you want to walk well, you must not fly too high. If you fly too high, you will burn your feathers.

**107 The Hypocrite's Court Ride.**

(Cordatus No. 482.)

The hypocrites' pride is most presumptuous when they humble themselves. We see this in the Pharisee, and yet he smears all his humility with dirt, since he says [Luc. 18, 11]: "I am not like" 2c.

**The greatest harm is done in the churches by arrogance, presumption and ambition.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 3, 1538, p. 22.)

Anno 1538, February 3, Luther and Amsdorf talked a lot about the hope that corrupts the church when it falls for a preacher. Zwingli was seduced by it, so that he did what he wanted, as his extremely arbitrary [superbissima] translation of the prophets indicates. For he dared to despise everything, princes and rulers. Therefore he wrote: You pious princes, forgive me for not giving [you] your title. For the windows are also shining through. Likewise: The Münster's gushers and many others burned with ambition. 2)

**109th Bon Hoffahrt.**

About Doctor Martin Luther's tables In 1542 there was talk of an imperial city that was very

The reason for this was that she had a great deal of business with salt. Thereupon spoke D. Martin Luther said: "I wonder why people are proud. We are born in sins and are in danger of death every moment. Is that why we are shabby and mangy, why we shit, why we ooze, why we stink upstairs and downstairs? In the old days, there were these shaking verses, which were called gnt:

Cum fex, cum fimus, cum res turpissima  
simus, Cur superbimus, nescimus  
quando perimus.

**What harm is done by ambition.**

At another time, Doctor Martin Luther said that the pride and ambition in the church was doing great harm: because Zwinglius would have been very ambitious, he would also have written in his books that he had learned nothing from me; and I would also not like him to have learned his sacramentarianism from me, because he does not do it well. So Oecolampadius let himself think that he was a great doctor, and before he had heard anything from me, he would already have been in a great reputation. D. Carlstadt also said: "Oh, I care nothing for you. Thomas Münzer preached against the two popes, as against the new and old popes, called me the new pope, yes, I must be King Saul to him, because I would have started, but the Spirit of God would have left me.

The good man, Oecolampadii, has often lamented me, and I have also been surprised that he should become so bitter against us and spout such blasphemous words against us, since he was otherwise pious. But I set her example before all preachers as a warning that they should not seek their honor in the holy Scriptures when they want to preach, for there they must go down. In Virgilio and Cicerone there is Gloria, 3) but the Holy Scripture wants humility and a contrite spirit, where the Holy Spirit dwells within.

(Here a paragraph is omitted because contained in Cap. 37, § 4.)

1) Where these Leonine verses are from is not known. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) In Lauterbach, this § forms the entrance to Cap. 37, § 34.

3) Cf. cap. 37, § 141; 1, § 58.

### 111) Where to seek honor.

Anno 1541 D. M. Luther said: Honor may be sought in Homero, Virgilio or Terentio, and not in the holy scripture. For Christ says: "Sanctificetur nomen tuum" ; non nostrum nomen magnificetur vel celebretur; for this we are to use the word Sanctificetur. He commands us to preach his word, and we preachers are to be held before the world as injusti, stulti, so that GOD may be justus, sapiens et misericors: that is his name, which he will leave to no one else, and the devil would have to go down over it. But if we let God have His name, kingdom and will, He will also give us our daily bread, and give us our sin, and deliver us from the devil and all evil; but we should not presume upon His honor. What can Jeckel and Grickel do? 1) Jeckel may be a better grācus and more eloquent than I: otherwise I can do more than he. Grickel may be a better Terentianus, but I also understand him well; in other things we are equal. The Elector of Saxony has done well by making Jeckel a court preacher, but has punished Grickel here in Wittenberg.

D. M. Luther said about the table in 1540: M. Grickel, the poor little man, has a plague and disease, which is called χαίνοδοξία. I only complain about his wife and children. He wants to be much more learned than M. Philippus and I; and yet we cannot believe it. He despises D. Pommer very much, who is a distinguished theologian and has the golden art behind him. D. Creuziger is much more learned than M. Grickel. Creuziger is a fine theologian.

### 112. by Osiandri and Agricola Hoffahrt.

D. Luther was astonished at the hope and ambition of some theologians, such as Osiandri and Agricola. M. Luther was astonished at the arrogance and ambition of some theologians, such as Osiandri and Agricola, who boasted a great deal about his life, and let themselves think a great deal, and wanted to burst forth by force and let themselves be seen to be learned; and then he said, "Oh, dear Lord God, if I could do it with a clear conscience.

How I would have liked to keep silent and watch what they wanted to do! I also understand that they should not break a great sweat from the papists, nor do them much harm. They want to triumph and have not yet won a victory. This causes great annoyance.

When I first began to write against indulgences, they knew nothing about them, they all pulled in their pipes, and I was completely abandoned for more than three years, and no one reached out to me; instead, everyone left me alone to fidget with the papists. Now they all want to triumph and have a lot of brains in their heads. Therefore Solomon says right:

Non est finis scribendorum librorum. You will still see miracles when I once will lie in the sand what will be of the book writing. I should now have peace at my age. I should have peace in my old age; but there those want to me, who should otherwise stand by me. I would have enough trouble from my adversaries if my little brothers did not. But who can resist them all? They are fresh young people and have lived in idleness: I am old now, and have had great toil and labor. Nothing makes Osiandern so hopeful as his idleness, for he has only two sermons to preach during the weeks and has four hundred guilders for his salary.

D. Luther also said in 1541: "There would still be many sects, and Osiander would also cause another one, because his Jngenii way would be that he would have to run over the mouths of others and reprehend them. We have Germanized the Bible; but he takes a word or two from our translation, reforms and masters the same, so that he would have it much better Germanized; since Christianity is not interested in such a trade and vocabulary. And yet he does not even prove that our translation is wrong, and thus annoys the church. Since he could have secretly discussed it with me, but he cannot keep to himself, nor can he hide his art.

In Schmalkalden I preached the text from the Epistle of John, that Christ dwelt in us through faith and grace, working in us, protecting and saving us. As soon as I became ill in Schmalkalden, he preached

1) Dr. Jac. Schenk and Mag. Joh. Agricola.

publicly against me, in the presence of all the theologians who were there from that day, although he did not call me by name, and said: Christus habitat in nobis essentialiter. This greatly disturbed all the theologians, and especially Brentium. But he has his eloquentiam, he disposes his thing and rhetoric according to it, and does not teach the common man at all in his sermons.

D. W. Link and M. Veit Dieterich, who preach that the common man learns something from it. M. Joachim Mörlein pleased me very much this day with his sermon, where he dealt with the office of women and maids, namely, that a woman should remember that she lived in a holy state; item, a man would be a gift in the house of God. A maid should also know that her position is holy, and her works are holy, good works. This the people carry home with them; but what is puffed up, high and secretly hidden, no one understands.

I spoke with Bucer in Gotha in 1537 that he and Osiander abstained from such high art, because I do not read or preach for his sake, but for the sake of simple, poor and incomprehensible people. Christ could have taught from a high place, but he gave his sermons in the most simple way, so that the common man would understand. Dear God, there come into the church maidens of sixteen years, and women of thirty years, then old people, burghers and peasants, who do not understand the sharp, high sermons; but he who can bring forth fine parables in sermons, as D. Link is a master of, such the common man keeps: therefore he who makes it bad and just, fine childish, simple, so that people can understand it, he is the best preacher. So I also wanted to make it low and bad. But when it comes to disputing, someone comes to me in the school, I want to make it sharp enough for him, and answer him, he makes it as curly as he wants. I must once again write a book against the wise preachers.

#### **The sermon is little respected.**

(Cordatus No. 904.)

Although I know that God's word is not respected in my house any more than it is in

of our church, I still preach in my home as often as I cannot preach publicly in church, for the sake of my office and conscience, since as a householder I must preach to my servants.

#### **114. hunger makes the churches desolate.**

(Lauterbach, Jan. 16, 1538, p. 11.)

On this day, someone brought Luther the petition of a very poor pastor near Zerbst, who, forced by hunger and poverty, had left his profession. He answered: "These are all preparations for God's wrath and punishments. We do not want to give food to the poor servants, so God will not give us food again.

#### **How D. Martin came to the trade.**

(Here 19 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 58, § 3; what follows, up to the conclusion, is transferred to Cap. 58, §3, where it belongs).

#### **This is the first time that the Bible has been used in a book.**

Let us, dear lords and brethren, wait for our office in the fear of God and reverence, with faithful diligence, that is, to present the teaching of the Gospel to the listeners in humility, the fear of God, and in supplication. After that, let us be confident in God, that this thing is, and remain steadfast in such fear of God and honor, and not let ourselves be bitten and torn by it.

#### **117. preachers are burdensome to the world.**

The Jews with their priests in the Old Testament were well plagued, likewise in the papacy princes, lords, nobility, burghers and peasants, by the mendicant monks; but we preachers are now burdened by our lords.

The Jews had to give the tribe of Levi the tithe of all goods, and sacrifice so much that no one was allowed to sleep with his wife, he had to give something to his priest; as the Turks do now'. In the papacy, one had to give the priests, the Terminirians and Stationirians as much as one had, and make them rich, and make themselves beggars: but now that we have abolished this, they take from us what is ours.

we are supposed to have. So our lords and nobles thank us. Well, they will repent.

The monastery and church goods belong to the pen, to order the right service: so the spit takes them, and orders the devil's service with it. It goes unequally to God must punish.

#### **118. student of the Evangelii Epicurer.**

Our students, said D. Most of them are Epicureans, and they measure our sermon according to their liking, and want to have good days. Pharisees and Sadducees have been enemies of Christ, and yet have heard him gladly. The Pharisees because they wanted to see him; the Sadducees because they were able to mock him. Pharisees are our monks: Sadducees our nobles, citizens and peasants. Our nobles, citizens and peasants hear us well, they believe us well: but that they do what they want, that is that they remain Epicureans.

#### **119. counsel of D. M. Luther, how one should preach now.**

My advice would be to read the text badly now, a chapter from the Bible, pray according to it, and then admonish the people ad Moralia, to good discipline and Christian life; that would be the best preached now, as the world is. But for the sake of the poor afflicted consciences who feel God's wrath against sin (of which there are very few), one must also preach the gospel and comfort them with it. The great crowd wants to have a Moses with horns.

#### **120. preachers and teachers are despised.**

The world does not want to believe us poor preachers, said D. M. Luther, "Now onward they will not believe us poor preachers. If we had money and were rich, like the papists, we would easily convert them; but because we are poor and have no reputation, they despise us.

#### **How a preacher should be skilled in preaching.**

(Cordatus No. 301.)

A preacher must be a dialecticus and a rhetor, that is, he must teach and he must

admonish. He who wants to teach about a matter must first distinguish, then explain, thirdly cite scriptural passages about it, fourthly explain it with examples from Scripture or elsewhere, fifthly adorn these words of his with parables, sixthly punish the wicked, disobedient and indolent 2c.

#### **122. contempt for church servants.**

Now there is nothing good nor joy in the church servants. Those who are married are despised and chased away, since in former times, when they held mass, especially on high feasts, when the sacrament was carried around, they had enough honor. In what honor were only the village priests held by the nobles! the gray monks and clogs 1) by princes! Likewise, one saw how diligently the common people ran to the Christmas mass on Christmas night and listened to it.

#### **The best way to preach.**

(2 paragraphs omitted here because contained in Cap. 19, § 42, sub. 10.) -

It is a difficult business to preach God's word and to do good to everyone, and to suffer all kinds of ingratitude for it. But that is why it is called God's justice. The world is not able to do right and suffer evil for it, nor does it belong to its rule. For it is not right that he who does right should be punished or suffer violence, but should receive good in reward and thanksgiving. Again, he who does good to receive thanks and reward is not Christian but worldly.

Therefore, to do good and receive evil for it, and yet not grumble about it, but to want to receive the reward from God with a humble and right heart, is a heavy and exceedingly grievous thing to do.

#### **124. of preachers who speak many languages.**

Oh, how I am so hostile to people who introduce so much language in the pulpit as

1) Barefoot monks. Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XVIII, 1738, where the Franciscans at Weimar are called Holzschuhbarfüßer.

Zwingel, who speaks Greek, Ebrew and Latin on the preaching chair at Marburg; M. H. at Jena, and their many have the custom.

### 125. their priests teach for money, Mich. 3, 11.

(This § is taken from Luther's interpretation of the prophet Micah, Cap. 3, V. 11. Walch, old edition, vol. VI, 2832 ff, § 59-67.)

**How peasants have been punished who did not want to tithe to their parish lord.**

(Cordatus No. 769.)

There was a complaint that in the duchy of the Palatine the peasants refused to give tithes to their pastors. He called them and said: "You are doing right, because we want to feed the pastors and take twice as much from you. - So you have to learn the journeymen.

### 127. preach for the sake of money.

(Cordatus No. 604.)

Whoever has the desire to preach and to govern, to him his 1) God gives enough. I would not take a thousand guilders for a sermon, which I would do voluntarily and not forced by my profession. For it is for God's sake that one must preach, and serve Him alone with the sermon, not for the sake of the world.

### 128: Prophecy and Warning by D. M. Luther. M. Luther.

(Cordatus No. 605.)

However clear and easy the gospel is, it is not for the people, to whom nothing more useful is preached than the catechism. For from the latter they become all too sure, but by this they are kept in fear to some extent.

### 129. the world Art.

(Contained in Cap. 22, §16.)

1) of preaching and governing.

### The teaching and the sermon should be based on the listeners.

(Cordatus No. 534.)

It must be preached what is suitable according to place and persons. There was someone who preached that it was ungodly for a mother to look for a wet nurse for her child, and had vain wheel spinners in his congregation, to whom he preached for a whole hour with this single piece. It was also such a man who preached the praise of marriage in a hospital of old men and old women.

### Those who wish to study the Scriptures and God's Word.

The Holy Scripture, said D. M. Luther, wants to have a humble heart that holds God's word in honor, dear and valuable, and remains alone with the same and holds fast to it, also prays always and forever: "Teach me, Lord, your ways, your rights," Ps. 143, 10. But the Holy Spirit resists the hopeful, does not want to dwell with them. And even though some study diligently inside and also teach and preach Christ purely for a while, God excludes them from the church as soon as they become hopeful. Therefore, every hopeful spirit is a heretic, even if not yet in the work, but, de jure, justified before God.

But it is difficult that he who has special gifts before others should not be proud and presumptuous, and should not despise others. That is why God sometimes allows those who have great gifts to fall into severe temptation, so that they may learn that they are nothing when God removes his hand. St. Paul had to bear the sting or stake of the flesh in his body, 2 Cor. 12, 7, so that he would not become proud: and if Philip Melanchthon were not so afflicted, he would have strange opinions and views.

And because Jeckel and Grickel are hopeful and despise their preceptors and good arts, I fear that it is over and done with them; they are gone. I know the spirit of Münzer, Zwingel and Carlstadt. Hopefulness thrust the angels out of heaven; therefore humility in studying the holy scriptures.



**132. theologians should read the rights of the pope.**

Every theologian should read the Pope's Dreckel with diligence, et cum judicio. For St. Paul says in 1 Thess. 5, 21: "Test everything." But the word of the Gospel is not to be tested, but, since it is pure, it is to be heard straightway. For the Father gives earnestly, by His voice sounding from heaven, and says, Matt. 17:5, "This (Christ, My Son) ye shall hear." It is a matter of hearing, and not of asking why, of mastering, nor of reforming and interpreting according to our reason and philosophy.

But praise be to God that our doctrine agrees with God's Word, the Sacraments, and the Lord's Prayer. The doctrine of the papists is totally contrary to this. John the Evangelist lived after Christ for sixty-eight years and suffered much externally and internally. Under the emperor Nero he came out of the Patmos again.

**133) How to deal with angry priests and preachers.**

(This § in Lauterbach, Jan. 16, 1538, p. 13. Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 203.)

There was a complaint about an uncouth and angry pastor. Luther answered: "I do not pray for such people. If they cause trouble, they should be imprisoned and deprived of their office. Therefore, the Elector decided to build university prisons to keep the angry priests in check.

**What a preacher is.**

A preacher is like a carpenter, his instrument and tool is God's word: and because the audience with whom he has to do and work is varied and diverse, he should not always sing one song and present the same teaching; but, since the audience is diverse, he should at times be angry, frightened, punished, scolded, comforted, and atoned for. A man is so willing and ready to teach all others, except himself!

**How M. Luther wanted to make one a preacher.**

I easily wanted to make one a preacher if he wanted to follow me, for I

would have him take the small Catechism in his hand and read from word to word from the pulpit. On Sundays, however, he would read a piece of the Postil and then repeat what he had read. But they are ashamed of it; so I, now an old doctor, still take the book with me to the pulpit and read from it.

**136. What Dr. M. Luther Learned in the Ministry of Preaching.**

In the preaching ministry, I learn what the world, the flesh, and the devil's hatred and wickedness are, which one could not recognize before the revelation of the Gospel. At that time, I thought it was no longer a sin, but fornication.

**137. preaching well is now.**

Now it is much easier to preach than in the priesthood, because it always comes up and happens that one has to preach and talk about either the church, police or economy, justification, faith, patience, love, prayer, and other articles of Christian doctrine.

**138. court sermons.**

At court one should keep this rule, that one shouts and complains quickly. If one does not want to hear once, that one supplicate again. For modesty and the gospel do not belong at court. Court; but one must be angry, insolent, complain and lecherous. One must put Moses with the horns in the court, not Christ, who is kind and gracious. That is why I advise my pastors to complain to the court about their misery, poverty and need. For I have preached publicly before the prince, that the prince is indeed pious and righteous, but the people do what they want. For the sake of the word, some at court have accused D. Jonam and M. Philippum, to whom they gave this answer: Luther is old enough and knows what he should preach.

**139. some word of god gives a sermon.**

(Contained in Cap. 1, § 9. Para. 6.)

**140. unworthy of preachers in the world.**

(Cordatus No. 931.)

Preachers count for nothing in the world, and yet the world cannot do without them. For as long as death reigns, the work of preachers is necessary, and in 'death they desire ours, and if there were no death, I would not look at a preacher either, for they can do nothing but scold people. But death also includes the way of life and everything that concerns the conscience. 1)

**141. from Osiander.**

Osiander, said D. M. Luther, is a learned man, who should sit over the Bible and make Glossam ordinariam. Then said one, Doctor, Osiander cannot teach low things. Yes, said D. M. Luther, it is true, I am surprised that they cannot lower themselves according to the mind of the listeners. There are children, servants and maids who go to church, to whom one must preach, they are allowed to hear our sermon, not the scholars. If I alone were to preach to D. Hieronymo 2) or Philippo alone, I would not want to preach a sermon for the rest of my life, because they understand it well. But for the poor youth and the unintelligent man it is too much, there one must let oneself down. So does the Lord Christ, who walks no differently than if he had my Martinic, Paulic and Magdalene before him. But when he comes to the Pharisees, he gives them a carving. Preach to the little children, for they have been given the ministry of preaching.

**142. of proud, ambitious preachers.**

(The first two paragraphs Cordatus No. 803 and 347.)

Against the smarties. It is a very good lie against presumptuous mongrels that a fly had sat on a load of hay, and when one drove in, it was very dusty. Then she said, "Oh, hell, what kind of dust can a fly make?"

1) If there were no death, the punishment of the preachers would be useless. But because death reigns, life must also be judged and consciences reported, so that people do not die unrepentant.

2) Here probably D. Hieronymus Weller is meant.

Fly to the load! And a mosquito that fell from a camel said: I mean, you felt what a burden pressed you. Such is Cochläus against Luther, at least his opinion is so.

I will not answer Cochleaeus on any book against me, and [he] will become much more angry with it, and I will [not] do it for the sole reason that he will not gain the honor he seeks in his writing.

He also had a letter written to him by one of these clowns, which he read and said: "Art cannot remain hidden; when the belly wants to burst, it is time to get rid of it by preaching and writing. He said this with a sneer, and added: Presumption and presumptuousness is the head of the serpent.

**143. serious saying of D. Luther.**

(Kummer, zweiter Theil x. 375 b. [Lauterbach p. 203 f.])

Cursed be every preacher who strives for high things in his sermons by wishing to please a few ambitious people. When I preach here, I lower myself to the lowest level, I do not look at the doctors and masters, of whom there are barely forty, but at the hundred and thousand young people and children, to whom I preach, and to whom I make myself comfortable, they may also hear it. If the others do not want to hear it, the door is open to them. Therefore, in the church one must make the greatest effort to be clear and simple, to look at the children and the simple, as a nursing mother does with her child. She fondles the child childlike and gives it from her bosom; she may not drink wine or malmsey, but has the best-known drink in her breasts. So also must the preachers be in their sermons in the church. But when they are in the disputations of the learned, they may let themselves be heard in his place, how learned they are; there they shall lack art. But to mix Greek, Ebrew, Latin into the sermons is to be wise in an unsuitable place, namely, that the people should be astonished and praise them.

**144: With preachers, court keeping does harm.**

Doctor M. Luther spoke of a theologian in the Oberlande when Zwingl was mentioned and said: "N. N. is a Nequam per omnes casus, per omnes partes orationis, per omnes regulas generales Grammatices. I trust him no more, for St. Paul saith Tit. 3, 10. "Haereticum post unam aut alteram admonitionem devita." Another said, "I think that ambition and wealth make people so proud. Then the doctor said, "That a maiden should be resplendent in a new skirt, or with black eyes, that will go well; for soon a fever will come, and take away her beauty. And the fact that Mornholt and Ranzau, both my table companions, are hopeful, that also goes well; for soon some pestilence comes and takes away their hope. A nobleman, who is trustworthy, gets a bullet through his body in a war, and that's the end of it: but the Gloria religionis does excellent damage. This is what Luther said in 1542.

**A great complaint of Luther's about his addiction to honor and courtly conduct.**

(Contained in Cap. 37, § 33, sub. 3.)

**Preachers should be humble.**

D. M. Luther once said: "For my sake I do not write a book, nor do I preach for my sake, for I have already written it in my heart. What I know, that I know. My Adversarii bring against me vain loose argumenta, which I would know better to lead, than they. But we write for the sake of other people, so that the simple sheep may be protected from the wolves and those who err may be converted. And it is a true word in Theologia that those who know something know nothing. For he who hears and learns God's word cannot be sufficiently amazed at it, nor learn it. Let one humble himself only, so that he may remain a disciple in it.

The same is found in Politia, that those who are good men of war and fine rulers of the world do not boast much about it, nor do they gloat over it, but

live in the fear of God, and see that they learn more and more. But the common man, and especially the broad merchants and the shrewd, despise such fine people. So it often happens in economy: those who are richest of all pretend that they are poor and have nothing. But it is said: Beware of can-do's. If you strike an empty barrel, it sounds bright, but a full barrel does not sound very loud.

**147. preaching or reading in front of scholars.**

(Cordatus No. 1245.)

When I give lectures, I make the cross for myself and think that there is [not] Philip, D. Jonas, Pommer, or any wiser person in the lecture hall, and let me think that there is no wiser person on the lectern than I am.

**148 A Doctor Theologia.**

A Doctor of Sacred Scripture should be able to read and comprehend the Bible 1). Item, how the prophets go in and on each other, not only one piece; as, that one Jesaiam can, not only one article of the law and Evangelio 2c. Now, however, they become Doctores, since they hardly understand only one article correctly. The jurists can humble their disciples, if they want to pride themselves on their art, because they have their court cases and practica. But we theologians, because we do not have the Practicam, cannot humiliate our disciples, and untried ones, especially theologians, should be nothing.

**St. Paul diligently studied and interpreted Moses and the Prophets.**

In the Psalm it is said: In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum: "Their cord went out into all the world", Ps. 19, 5. But St. Paul, Rom. 10, 18, translates it that their sound went out into all the world; such is now equal to one.

There are many sayings of the Bible, as St. Paul kept the version of the seventy interpreters, because he did not despise them; for he was the preacher of the Greeks, therefore he had to

1) Cf. § 32 of this Cap.

to speak to them as they have failed. So he also used the saying 1 Cor. 15, 55: "Death is swallowed up in victory"; because in Hebrew it says: in finem. And yet it is one thing, in finem, in aeternum, that death shall not come again in in Victoriam, id est, Vita vincet. St. Paul is very rich and superfluous with words: one of his words has probably three Orationes Ciceronis in it. He often speaks one word that runs through the whole Jesaiam or Jeremiam. O, St. Paul is a fine preacher, he is not called Vas electum in vain. Our Lord God says: I will give the world a preacher who shall be excellent. There is no one who understands the Old Testament as well as he does; I exclude John the Baptist. St. Peter is also excellent.

St. Matthew and the others describe the histories diligently, and this is also highly necessary; but the res and *verba* and vim verborum of the Old Testament, what power is behind the words, they do not report. St. Paul has translated many Hebrew things into Greek that no one else could do. He often interprets four, five or six chapters in one chapter. Oh, he loved Isaiah and Moses, for these are also the most distinguished prophets, along with King David. The Verba and Res St. Pauli are taken from the prophets and Moses. Therefore, the young theologians should study Hebrew, so that they may contrast the Greek and Hebrew words and see the same quality, nature and power. St. Paul made the saying Rom. 4, 3: Et imputatum est ei ad justitiam, so useful to him, and yet in Hebrew it only says: et cogitatum est. If I were young and wanted to become a high theologian, I would confer Paulum cum Veteri Testamento. He was a mighty dialecticus and rhetoricus.

**150: Luther's advice on how one can become a good theologian or preacher.**

Whoever now wants to become a theologian has great advantage: for first he has the Bible, which is now so clear that he can read it without any hindrance. Then he reads the Locos communes Philippi, which he reads diligently and well,

so that he even has them in his head. If he has the two pieces, he is a theologian, whom neither the devil nor any heretic can break off, and the whole theology is open to him, so that he can read everything he wants ad aedificationem. And if he wants, he can also read Philippi Me-lanchthonis Commentarium in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. If he then also reads my Commentary in Epistolam ad Galatas, and in Deuteronomy, I will then give him eloquentiam et copiam Verborum.

You will find no book among all his books where the summa religionis, or the whole theology, is finer than in the Locis communibus. Read all the Fathers and Sententiariorum, and it is nothing compared to all of them. Non est melior liber post scripturam sanctam, quam ipsius loci communes. Philip is tighter than I: ille pugnat et docet: I am more a rhetoricus, or a washer. If the printers wanted to follow me, they would have to print only the books that have doctrinam, as ad Galatas, in Deuteronomy, item, the sermons in the four chapters of John the Evangelist. The other books of mine should be read pro cognoscenda Historia revelati Evangelii, that one may see how the doctrine has first begun, for it has not been so light as now.

**151) Whether one can be in the ministry without marital status.**

(Cordatus No. 1162.)

If someone who is called to the priesthood is allowed to preach the gospel, but under the condition that he remains celibate, he cannot leave the profession without a good testimony, by which 1) the sin is put on the conscience of the listeners. And indeed God has made marriage a plaster, which he can use over his weaknesses, who cannot remain celibate; but it shall be well with him under the papacy.

**152. by Nicodemi Gleichen.**

Whether one would also have the power to do so if he came to the papacy, and one or their

1) Instead of huas, yua will be read.

more there desired to teach them the Word of God secretly, perhaps for fear of the authorities; how far he had power to do this, and with what modesty he should do it, since he is not a preacher?

Martin Luther's answer: If he is asked to give a lesson, he may tell his neighbor how and what he believes and what is to be believed, as otherwise two journeymen chat with each other. But he shall not refrain from preaching or preaching office, nor shall he interfere with the preachers in their office.

### **153. preach according to the art.**

(Cordatus No. 525.)

Those who have knowledge of a thing can easily speak of it. For the knowledge of things is followed by the art of speaking. Therefore, those who, without understanding the matter, want to shine through art, fail. I cannot make a sermon according to art.

### **A theologian must be pious.**

A lawyer can be a prankster, but a theologian is a pious man. Cause: for a lawyer deals with physical and temporal things; but a theologian with spiritual and eternal things, to whom God entrusts Himself, His heaven, and all His gifts and treasures, forgiveness of sins, righteousness, and everything. A pious man belongs to this. For God says: "Whomsoever thou forgiveest sin, I will count him as my child.

### **Whether a preacher is also obliged to go to the sick.**

When someone said that two preachers had died of the pestilence in Nuremberg, the question was asked: "Should a preacher, who alone is appointed to the ministry of preaching, with a clear conscience deny his service to sick people at the time of the pestilence, so that he does not visit them? Luther answered and said: "By no means, the preachers must not flee too much, so that they do not make the people too fearful. And that one sometimes says that one should spare the pastors and preachers, and not make them too afraid at the time of the pestilence.

The reason for this is that if the pestilence ever took away some of the chaplains, there would be others to visit the sick. That is why, if the pestilence sometimes takes away some of the chaplains, others are available to visit the sick. Item, so that not everyone shuns the priests at such times, as it is seen that no one wants to go to them, and everyone flees them. For this reason it would be good not to burden everyone with them, but rather one or two.

If my fate were to strike me, I would not shy away or be afraid. I have now endured three pestilences, have also been with some who had them, as Schadenwald, who had two of them, I understood them well. But it did me no harm, praise God! I came home the same time, and grabbed my Margarethen, who was still small at the time, around the mouth with unwashed hands; but I had truly forgotten, otherwise I would not have done it, because God would have tempted me.

It pleases me well of the Jews that they draw the 91st Psalm: "He who dwells under the shelter of the Most High" 2c. (Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi etc.) to the pestilence. I wanted to have interpreted it finely, but I was worried that the psalm would be prayed against the pestilence, just as St. John's Gospel was prayed against the thunderclap. When the mass was over, the priest read St. John's Gospel in a loud voice, and whoever had heard the Gospel read was free. Therefore, they brought a fable to the pulpit to confirm their lies, namely: How the three of them were riding together, when a storm came and they heard a voice: Strike. Then one of them was struck down. The other one said again: "Strike! The other one would have been knocked down. Soon another voice was heard: "Strike! And another voice: "Don't strike, because he heard the Gospel of St. John today. This one had escaped with his life. This is what they preached to confirm their idolatry.

Item: the story happened with one, who was supposed to be the Lucas painter, then living in Gotha with her father, who was sitting with his tailor in the castle, and had beautiful colorful clothes made for him for the inn. So the tailor looks out the window and becomes aware that a weather

And he cometh, and saith, I will go and take palms, and cast them into the furnace: for I have not heard the gospel of John this day. Go out and do so. The young man said, "What are you saying? Do you think that the priest alone can read the Gospel? I can read it as well as he. Open the window, lift it up, and run: In principio, etc. Then the thunder strikes in, and knocks the pants off the legs of the young, handsome, rich journeyman, so that he soon falls down and dies: but the tailor's sole is knocked off under his feet, but he does not die. This story has certainly happened.

But that farmer was even better. When a weather came and a thunderclap happened, he made four crosses and said: Matthew, Marcus, Pilate, Herod, these four evangelists, he said, certainly help. It was a miraculous thing in the papacy, the young fellows know nothing about it.

Then someone said, as in a small town, not far from the Naumburg, the priest would be

died of the pestilence, as did the schoolmaster. Now the people there were stubborn like beasts, without any sacraments, because they did not want to keep a chaplain nor pay him, even though the pestilence was not yet reigning. Then said D. M. L. said: "It serves them right, since they otherwise think that preachers and chaplains are not allowed, and they can well do without them. So the people of N. did not want to feed or maintain their pastor; I said to the judge, "How can you not want to maintain a pastor or a pastor, and keep a shepherd, to whom you must give whatever he wants? Then said he, Yea, my lord, we cannot well do without it. 1) Therefore you see why they are concerned only about the belly. What they wear, they love, nothing else.

#### **156. how preachers are death-beaters.**

(Transferirt to Cap. 44, § 5, where it belongs.)

1) Cf. § 53 of this Cap.

## **The 23rd chapter.**

### **Of the angels.**

1. what an angel is.
2. how and what to teach about angels.
3. of good and evil angels.

The angels are our patrons.  
5. history, how an angel protected a child.

#### **1. what an angel is.**

Doctor Martinus was asked by one, "What is an angel? He said: An angel is a spiritual creature, created by God without a body, for the service of Christianity, especially in the church ministry. Ps. 103, 20. Ebrews 1, 14.

#### **2. how and what to teach about angels.**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 29, 1538, p. 137.)

On this day, because it was the feast of Michaelmas, he spoke a lot about the angels, how their knowledge was necessary in the church. Therefore, godly preachers must be eloquent and pious.

preach from this doctrine. For the dialectical passages are the main seat for the proofs, especially the more excellent passages, which are taken from the explanation, division and causes. Therefore, whoever wants to speak of angels in a godly and appropriate manner must first explain what angels are, namely, spirits and incorporeal beings. Second, the division: What kind of spirits? namely, good and evil. Here we must speak of the evil spirits, which were not created by God, but fell through hatred of God. They have exercised this hatred against the Church in Paradise and at all times, and it will last until the end.

Therefore the angels are not such ungodly spirits, but good ones. Thirdly, it must be said of their ministry that they are the ministering spirits of the pious, Ebr. 1. Here the pious are truly given a great comfort and example of humility, that the purest angels serve our business, even the filthiest, in the household, in the government of the world and in religion. There they are our most faithful servants, doing the works of which even a poor, miserable man is ashamed to serve another. Thus we must speak of the angels appropriately on the basis of the dialectical passages. Those who do not take these dialectical passages into account may well say many things that are inappropriate to the matter, but they will build little.

### 3. Bon good and evil angels.

(Cordatus No. 1050. 1051.)

The angels are very close to us and protect us and the creatures of God according to his command. But they have long hands to defend themselves, so that they can easily drive away the devil when he wants to harm, and they come to us very quickly without effort, since they stand before the face of the Father next to His throne; and the devils are also very close to us, pursuing our salvation and our life at every moment. But they are prevented. The angels are prevented from doing harm, so they do not always do harm, although they always want to do harm.

Many evil spirits are in the forests, in the waters, in swampy and desolate places, so that they do not harm people; others are in dense clouds and excite storms, thunder, lightning, hail, pollute the air. Our philosophers and physicians attribute this to nature, and I do not know to what causes 2c. 1)

### 4. The angels are our patrons. 2)

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1660.)

It would not be good for us to know that such a careful and strong guard of angels was for us; for we would be lazy, even well

We would despair if we saw that a devil was causing so much trouble for so many angels. That is why the scripture only says: "He has commanded his angels over you", as if he wanted to say: Do not be distressed, do not doubt or despair; for it is certain that you will be protected by angels. But how this happens, you should not worry about it.

In Job, Cap. 4:18, it is written: "Behold, among his servants there is none without change, and in his messengers," or angels, "he finds foolishness," that is, in the wicked.

D. M. Luther once said of the angels: This is my imagination, and I am certain that the angels are already in armor, and are putting on their armor, and are girding themselves with weapons; for the last day is already dawning, and the angels are arming themselves for battle, and want to plunge the Turk with the Pope into the abyss of hell.

### 5. historia, how an angel protected a child.

(Lauterback, July 7, 1538, p. 96, tells this story as follows:)

Then they said many things about miracles. A little girl had gone to the field to look for the cows, but got lost in the forest and, overwhelmed by a great snowfall, got lost there. She remained lost for three days. Finally she was found by her family under a tree. It was a large perimeter where there had been no snow, and when she was called, she answered: Hiev I am, I am waiting for the cows, as if she had waited only one hour. There God has been the protector. 3)

Doctor Caspar Creuziger heard this story from Luther himself: That not far from Zwickau, in the Voigtland, in a village it had happened that a child, who was able to walk and talk, in winter, not far from the village, had lost itself in a wood and was late, so that it had to stay in the wood at night.

1) Cf. the Concordia Book, St. Louis edition, p. 329. Müller p. 477.

2) Cf. Cap. 19, § 43, para. 3.

3) Luther's own selection of this history is found in the Hauspostille. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, 2644, § 18. - Compared to these two relations, Luther's and Lauterbach's, the following relation of Aurifaber seems to be spurious.

At that time a great snow had fallen, so that the child had to remain under the snow until the third day. Every day a man came to him and brought him food, and he went away again. On the third day, the man brought him food again, and the child from the

The child was led to the place on the way home. Afterwards, when the child returned home, he told his parents how he had fared. Luther said that the man who waited for the child was an angel.

## Chapter 24.

### Of the devil and his works.

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| <p>1. A godless person is a contereifei or image of the devil.</p> <p>2. the devil's image and likeness from the ten commandments.</p> <p>3. the devil is a crafty, cunning spirit who can shamefully blaspheme and pervert even the best works that devout Christians do by grace and the power of the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>4. why the devil is an enemy to the right Christians and attacks them so hard and fast.</p> <p>8. the devil torments us with our sins, since he is the cause of all sins and evil, as if we deserved eternal punishment by them: therefore he is called a blasphemer and a reprobate.</p> <p>(6) The devil guides and rules the hearts of all the wicked, so he knows what they are thinking; he can also sometimes tell and guess what will happen in the future.</p> <p>7. the devil's science.</p> <p>8. the devil's handiwork, which he does daily to damage people. The devil is the cause of death and of all plagues and diseases. Item: that the medicine comes from God, therefore one may well need it.</p> <p>The devil is the executioner of our Lord God.</p> <p>11. the devil makes people restless, even in their sleep. The devil's power and cunning controls all of Christ.</p> <p>13. how to meet the devil when he holds sin against us.</p> <p>14) How to resist the evil spirit when it troubles our consciences because of the sins we have committed.</p> <p>(15) The devil must be resisted by word and prayer, otherwise he cannot be resisted.</p> <p>16. how the devils are cast out. The first is a book about the devil's invocers.</p> <p>18 There were many possessed people in the time of Christ.</p> <p>(19) The devil cannot be cast out now, when the gospel is being taught, as he was before in the papacy, for his craftiness and cunning are known to us, so that he cannot deceive us.</p> <p>20) Whether the devil knew Christ according to the flesh. Do not invite the devil as a guest.</p> <p>22) How blasphemy and presumption are punished. How the devil's hope will be broken.</p> | <p>24. the devil's ghost in mines,</p> <p>25. the devil's power. From the devil comes all sadness and gloom.</p> <p>27 Satan's rages against the human race.</p> <p>28. how to drive out the devil.</p> <p>29. To perish from the devil is more praiseworthy than from men.</p> <p>30 The Devil's Way Against Christ. How to be skillful and equipped to withstand the devil's temptations in the time of death. The devil can make sin out of good works. Spiritual Armor and Divine Weapons Against the Devil.</p> <p>34. He who believes easily overcomes the devil.</p> <p>35. the devil's art and masterpiece. The devil challenges all articles of faith in the hearts of believers. The devil is a cause of all diseases and misfortunes.</p> <p>(38) Whether the devil, once overcome, comes again, and how he charms people. The devil also plagues the true Christians with his ghost.</p> <p>40. of poltergeists.</p> <p>41 History of how a poltergeist plagued a parish priest, and Luther's advice on how he should be driven out. Luther's advice on how to drive him out.</p> <p>Faith overcomes the devil.</p> <p>43. poltergeists, so D. Luthern at Wartburg, in his Patmo, have plagued.</p> <p>44. The devil can be driven away with contempt and ridiculous posfs. For what it is good that the devil challenges the Christians.</p> <p>(46) The devil can also hasten the right saints, and what is the heretic's way. The devil is powerful in charming people.</p> <p>48. The devil can disguise himself in Christ's person.</p> <p>49. How to beware of the devil's sorcery.</p> <p>50. of the devil's work. Of the power of the devil.</p> <p>52. specimen of this life. The devil is the founder of all misfortune.</p> <p>54. The devil can rule the world best.</p> <p>55. the devil's great power breaks god and overthrows them through human weakness.</p> |
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The devil condemns us, since he is worse than we are.  
 The devil is a formidable, fierce enemy.  
 58. How the devil challenges the right pious Christians.  
 The devil is like a birdcage.  
 60. the devil's tricks and nature.  
 The devil despises and ridicules all the works of God.  
 62. from a fortune teller.  
 63) Whether the devil knew the incarnation of Christ, the Son of God, and why the prophecies of Christ are obscure.  
 64. Satan possesses people in two ways.  
 What shape and forms the devil takes.  
 66) In which animals the devil hides and drives the most.  
 How to overcome the devil with contempt, in faith, not with presumption.  
 68. the punishment of the wicked when they are handed over to Satan and become the devil's apartments.  
 Whether the devil knows the thoughts of men.  
 70. of conjurers of the devil.  
 (71) The devil is hurt by the words and works of devout Christians.  
 72. where all diseases primarily come from.  
 73. Cause of the devil's tyranny.  
 Whoever serves the devil, he also rewards him.  
 75. a story of two of nobility.  
 The miraculous conflict and victory of the Christians with the devil.  
 77. change children from the devil.  
 (78) From where it comes that people get up at night and walk around.  
 Several histories related by D. M. Luther:  
 79. The first: From a piper whom the devil led away.  
 80 The other: How the devil can frighten consciences and harm people's bodies.  
 The third: About a nobleman who was served by the devil.  
 The fourth: From one of nobility.  
 83 The fifth: Of a monk and a devil.  
 The sixth: Of two monks.  
 A wonderful story about the devil, who deceived the people and raged.  
 86. by insane people, possessed by the devil.  
 The first is the one about which and how far God allows the devil to afflict people.  
 A wonderful story about a virgin, how the devil played a game with her.  
 How to use the history of the devil's tyranny.  
 90. of the devil's kind.  
 The devil's power is seen in the case of the saints.  
 (92) Once Satan is established, he will not soon relent.  
 93: Of deceased noblemen who have gone astray.  
 94. How the devil can deceive people and beget children.

95. history of a changeling at Dessau.  
 96. another history of a changeling.  
 Satan is a wise spirit through long experience and practice.  
 98. from Samuel, so appeared to king Saul, what it was  
 Where it comes from that one is more afraid at night than during the day.  
 The devil hinders all joy.  
 The devil's art and masterpiece to challenge us.  
 The devil's temptation.  
 103. a terrible story of a student who had surrendered to the devil.  
 The devil's tyranny is in vain against the God-fearing.  
 How a man, who is a poor and weak creature, can overcome Satan, the most powerful and strongest enemy.  
 106 Of the Devil's Power.  
 The devil blinds people's eyes.  
 108. comfort against the devil and his scales rages.  
 What is the greatest challenge of the devil and how to overcome it.  
 110. difference under the holy and evil spirit.  
 What Satan challenges Christians with the most.  
 112. how to keep oneself in temptations.  
 Every thing has its time.  
 114. Dr. Luther's temptations and his thoughts.  
 115 Of the sadness of the spirit.  
 What Satan cannot do himself, he does through old wicked women.  
 The first time we have seen this, we have seen it.  
 God gives life, the devil kills.  
 119. the devil's mildness.  
 120. how Satan dealt with D. M. Luther.  
 Satan flees the music.  
 122. from challenges.  
 123. difference of obedience to God and Satan.  
 124. human security among so many powerful, evil spirits.  
 125. a history of a small blacksmith.  
 This is a book about a strange ghost and a monster.  
 The devil's request among Christians.  
 128. devil's image.  
 129. hellhound, the devil.  
 130: Of the whale fish, the devil.  
 131 From Poltergestern; from M. Hieronymi Besold's Collectaneis.  
 132 Of the Devil's Ghost and Deceit; from M. Veit Dietrich's Written Collectaneis.  
 133. mockery of Tmfels against the monks.  
 134 Of the Tmfels Poltern.  
 135 From a devil's hint.  
 136. of the devil's cunning and ravings against the mmsheni  
 The first time that the author of the book has been a member of the family, he has been a member of the family.  
 The Christian teacher Gerson's advice on how to control the devil's temptations.

**1. A godless person is a contereif or image of the devil.**

(Contained in the next following § 2 of this chapter.)

**2. the devil's image and likeness, from the ten commandments.**

(The first paragraph is omitted because contained in Cap. 11, § 24, para. 2. The following is found in Cordatus No. 786 and 787).

As God is the thesis of the decalogue, so the devil is the antithesis of it. Therefore, whoever wants to see the devil, let him look at the reverse Decalogue. His head is against the first tablet, that we should not trust God, not love God, not fear God, which he demands of us in the first commandment. In the second, he tempts us to blaspheme, to murmur against God, and to abuse His name with the mouth and with the tongue. In the third, he incites us not to listen to God's word, but to doubt it, to despise it and its servants, and to misuse the word. These are the ears and the throat of the devil. The second tablet contains his body. In the fourth commandment he teaches to despise parents, not to obey them, not to support them, to be ashamed of them and dishonor them, to be rebellious against the authorities, this is the devil's chest. The fifth commandment [of the devil is] to kill, to be angry, to hate, to resent, to envy and to harm everyone, that is the heart. The sixth, to be a fornicator, an adulterer, an incestuous person, a soft-hearted person, shameless in words and gestures; this is the belly. The seventh is to help no one, to rob everyone by trickery and violence, to steal, to usury, to sell false goods or more than they are worth; this is the hands, the big finger. The eighth is to degrade, doubt and defile the good life of men; that is his will. Such a friendly image is the devil.

After that, whoever wants to know the devil, imagine a completely desperate man, of the most evil life and conscience, there you will see the devil incarnate, as Christ depicts the boy with very few words, saying: He is a liar and a murderer. A liar against the first tablet, because

He constantly incites people to false teachings and opinions. The holier the people, the greater the temptation. This is also the Moloch service, which had the greatest appearance of all, but was the greatest lie, which led to the murder of the own, most beloved children, whose blood this murderer shed, whom he nevertheless proclaimed to be the most holy, just as those were respected most holy by the people, who pushed the most children into the monasteries under the papacy. Furthermore, what he intends to do in the world with these two [lies and murders], we often learn. Everyone avoid him as much as he can.

(The last paragraph contained in Cap. 5, § 5.)

**3. the devil is a crafty, cunning spirit who can shamefully blaspheme and pervert even the best works that devout Christians do by grace and the power of the Holy Spirit.**

(Composed of Cap. 24, § 59 and Cap. 27, § 153.)

**(4) Why the devil is an enemy to true Christians and attacks them so harshly and swiftly.**

The devil must be an enemy to us, because we are against him with the word of God, destroying his kingdom 2c. But now he is the prince and god of the world, and certainly has greater power than all the kings, princes and lords on earth: therefore he will certainly want to take revenge on us, as he does without ceasing, and we also see and feel it.

On the other hand, we have nothing more from the world, for as great as we are, what is in our pants and vest, namely the flesh and blood, is from the world. The spirit, however, is the small booty, where the patronage money, the Hungarian gold, lies inside. He should and must leave it untouched and unchanged, and have no thanks for it.

Moreover, we have a great advantage against him, even if he were so wicked, cunning and powerful that he cannot harm us; for we have not sinned against him, but against God alone; as David Ps. 51:6 says, "Against you alone have I sinned." 2c. But God is gracious and merciful, patient and

big, and of great kindness to all those who hold to Christ, whom he has given them as Savior.

**5. the devil torments us with our sins, since he is the cause of all sins and evil, as if we deserved eternal punishment by them; therefore he is called a blasphemer and a reprobate.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1524.)

Is it not a pity that the devil wants to condemn us by his inspirations, since he is far worse than all of us, and what does it matter to him that I have sinned? We do not sin against him, but against God, and he has not given me a law which I transgress, but God. Therefore it is said [Ps. 51:6], "Against you alone have I sinned."

But we know by the grace of God that we have a gracious God and a merciful Father in heaven, whose wrath and displeasure against us Christ, our Lord and Savior, has reconciled through His holy blood. Since we now have forgiveness of sins and peace with God in and through Christ, the sorrowful enemy must leave us alone. So that he can no longer accuse us of having sinned against God's law; for "Christ has blotted out the handwriting" of our conscience, "which was against us" and testified, "and has taken it out of the remedy and put it on the cross," Col. 2:14. To God be glory, praise and honor in Christ Jesus forever, amen.

D. Luther said in 1533: "Every night when I wake up, the devil is there and wants to dispute with me; then I learned that if the argument does not help, quod Christianus est sine lege et supra legem, then he should be dismissed with a fart. The villain, he wants to dispute with one de Justitia, and yet he himself is a knave, quia he wanted to push God out of heaven, has crucified his son. Nor shall any man be alone contra Satanam. God has appointed Ecclesiam and the Ministry Verbi to join hands and help each other. If one person's prayers do not help, another person's will.

**(6) The devil guides and rules the hearts of all the wicked, so he knows what they are thinking, and can sometimes tell and guess what they are thinking.**

**through his servants, what is to happen in the future time.**

The devil knows the thoughts of the ungodly, for he gives it to them: he controls and governs all men's hearts that are not guarded with God's word, yes, he holds them captive in his ropes, so that they must think, speak and do according to his will, 2 Tim. 2, 26. And 2 Cor. 4, 4. says St. Paul: "The god of this world blinds the minds of the unbelievers, so that they do not see the bright light of the gospel" 2c. And Christ shows how it happens that many hear the word and yet do not understand it nor keep it: "The devil," he says, "comes and takes away the word from their hearts, so that they may not believe nor be saved," Matth. 13, 19. Therefore it is no wonder that he sometimes begs beforehand and proclaims through his prophets what happened afterwards. He could easily have guessed the outcome of the Bavarian war, for he saw that Count Palatine Ruprecht was proud and rich, and that he was bold enough to despise Emperor Maximilian. Again, he noticed that Maximilian had an honorable, sincere mind, and therefore wanted to be disrespected; this is why the same war arose in 1504.

#### **7. the devil's science.**

When one said that Magister N. had preached that the devil did not know what men's thoughts were, he said, "I do not believe that he preached in this way, for the Scriptures clearly show that the devil gives evil thoughts to men and blinds the minds of the wicked. And of Judah it is written Jn 13:27 that the devil put it into his heart to betray Christ. And Cain was not only given to think evil of Abel his brother and to be an enemy to him, but he also incited and drove him to murder him, Gen. 4:8.

He does not know the thoughts of the faithful until they lead out with it; for Christ is too wise for him. As then he could not know what Christ thought in his heart; so

Nor can he know the godly thoughts in whose hearts Christ dwells. But a mighty, devious spirit is he, whom Christ himself calls "the prince of the world", John 14:30, who goes about and shoots terrible thoughts, which are his fiery arrows, also into the hearts of the godly, as there are: Unwillingness, anger, hatred against God, despair, blasphemy 2c. St. Paul understood them well in part, and also complains strongly about them, as he says 2 Cor. 12, 7: "I have been given a stake in the flesh, that is, the angel of Satan, who smites me with fists" 2c.

These are the high spiritual temptations that no pope has understood. The crude, unskilled, untried people knew of no other temptation than the evil inclination and lust of the flesh. Therefore they interpreted the words of St. Paul: "I am given a stake in the flesh", from the disorderly love of Paul, so that he should have been inflamed against Thecla. 1) (Oh, the devil has been so hard on him that he has well forgotten the carnal immorality). Of this challenge, namely of the unchastity, the teachers in the Pabstthum, whose they also held partly for holy, have written the most, and of others little.

Of Benedicto they write that, since he was once very challenged with unchastity, he rolled naked in briars and scratched the body well to drive away the evil desire 2c. With this and other ways, it is called hären Hemde, the body chastise with whips, remaining fasting 2c., (so that some have hurt their bodies so much that they have had to die before the time), nothing is accomplished; indeed, the devil has seen his pleasure and joy in it, laughed at the poor people and mocked them that they have toiled so hard, and thought: before this armor and brave armor I will remain well, will not be repelled by it for a long time, nor put to flight and overcome.

Therefore, if the evil, poisonous spirit is to be resisted, this is not the way to meet it without word and heartfelt prayer,

1) Cf. Cap. 26, § 40; § 46; § 50; Cap. 53, § 5.

as in the papacy, where they did not learn, much less experience, the benefit and power of the word and prayer; but subjected themselves to warding off the afflictions of the flesh by their own works, out of human devotion and discretion. For over this temptation, as I said, they were most troubled, which would have been well advised if God's word and order had been followed, since He says: "It is not good that man should be alone" 2c. But the devil has reversed all this, forbidding marriage through his governor, the end-Christ at Rome 2c.

You write about a nun, Mechtilde, if I remember correctly: Since she was severely challenged with unchastity, she asked God that he would rid her of it and put on another, however great and difficult it might be. Now that she had granted her request, she was challenged for wanting to condemn God. Then murmuring and blasphemy arose in her heart against God. 2) She could bear this temptation much less than the previous one; therefore, if she could get rid of it, she would gladly suffer the previous one.

Oh, the poor people lacked the word and right prayer. We have both, praise God, pure and abundant. But few need this armor against the devil. In a short time, after this bright light, a terrible, horrible darkness will come again.

#### **8. the devil's handiwork, which he does daily to damage people.**

(The beginning of this section is transferred to Cap. 7, § 94, where it belongs).

In sum, the devil's power is greater, neither we think nor believe, because only God's finger can resist him in believers. May Christ say, Luc. 13, 11. ff., of the woman who was crooked and could not look well, since Satan had bound her eighteen years; and Peter, Apost. 10, 38, Christ "healed all those who were overcome by the devil"; so he will also be able to bewitch a man (do not talk about spiritual bewitchment, Gal. 3, 1.), paralyze a member of his body, ruin an eye out of God's decree.

2) Cf. cap. 15, § 36.

**The devil is the cause of death and of all pestilences and diseases. Item, that the medicine comes from God, therefore one may well need it.**

I consider that Satan sends all serious plagues and diseases to people (because he is a prince of death). Therefore Peter says, Apost. 10, 38, that Christ "healed all who were overcome by the devil. Now Christ did not only help those who were possessed by the devil, but also made the blind see, the lame walk, the crippled and crooked straight, the lepers clean, the deaf hear, and the gout-ridden healthy. Therefore I think that all dangerous plagues of the devil are blows and plagues.

But he needs natural instruments or means for it, as a murderer needs a sword or other weapons. Just as God needs means to keep people alive and healthy, as: Sleep, food, drink 2c. For without means he does not work. Likewise also the devil damages and kills humans by means, which serve him for it, poisons the air 2c. If the fence tilts a little, he knocks it down completely.

A physician is our Lord God's flicker, helps physically; we theologians spiritually, that we make the thing good, if the devil has spoiled it. The devil gives poison to kill man; a physician gives theriac or other medicine, thus helps the creature (man) by means of the creature (the medicine), which has not come from the books, but God has revealed it; or, as Sirach says Cap. 38, v. 2. 3.: "It comes from the Most High, and the LORD makes it grow out of the earth." Just as jurisprudence does not come from books, but flows from nature and is created.

But it is a miracle (that I also say this, that I am certainly reported), that great princes and lords have medicines, which they give and apply themselves, which are strong and healing, otherwise nothing would work, if a medicus gave it. So I hear that both Electors of Saxony 2c, Duke Frederick and Duke John, have an eye tonic that helps whom they give it to: the cause of the sore eyes comes from heat.

or from cold. A physician should not dare nor give it. Thus, in theology, where people are given spiritual advice, one preacher has more grace to comfort and teach troubled consciences than another. Therefore we may well need the bodily medicine, as a good creature of God.

Once our mayor asked me if it was against God to need medicine? For D. Carlstadt had preached publicly: Whoever was ill should not need medicine, but should give the matter home to God, and pray that His will be done 2c. I asked him again, "Does he eat when he is hungry? Yes, he said. Then I said to him, "So you also may need medicine, which is God's creature as well as food, drink and other things that we need to sustain this life.

#### **The devil is the executioner of our Lord God.**

God has caused the devil to afflict and plague the world for its sins, ingratitude and contempt through various illnesses, tribulations and adversities, such as pestilence, war, the troubled times, so that the devil, not God, is the founder and cause of all sorrow and misfortune, as can be seen in Proverbs Luc. 13 and Acts 10:38 above. 10, 38, quoted above. What serves and helps death, be it what it may, is the devil's instrument and handiwork, which he practices and carries out in the world without ceasing. Again, what serves life is God's grace, gift and benefit. It is true that he also kills, but for life; as Hannah sings in her song: "The Lord kills and brings to life again", 1 Sam. 2, 6. But when ungodly beings and all kinds of sin take over, the devil must be our Lord God's executioner. At the time of pestilence he blows into a house; what he seizes he takes away.

#### **The devil makes people restless, even in their sleep.**

Satan worries and torments people in all kinds of ways, so that he also torments some in their sleep with heavy dreams and visions.

vexed and frightened, so that sometimes the whole body sweats from great fear of the heart. In addition, he leads some asleep from their beds and chambers to high and dangerous places, so that if they are not protected by the service and protection of the holy angels around them, he throws them down and they fall to their deaths.

**The devil's power and cunning are controlled by Christ alone.**

(Cordatus No. 1377. 1378.)

The devil is not a doctor, but experienced, and against him no one but Jesus Christ is valid, and can make himself fine to God and says [Matth. 4, 9.]: "I will give you all these things", where he believes that Christ is his creature. But Christ calls him by his right name [Matth. 4, 10.], "Lift thyself up from me, Satan." This challenge no one understands, he will have moved Christ, especially since he spoke with words of majesty: "All these things are mine, I give them to whom I will.

The devil gives, and God gives, but you distinguish between giver and giver. I admit, says Christ, that you are a giver, but for that reason I will not worship you. He is a mischievous spirit, who is allowed to accuse Christ of this. He will have presented him with an illusion in which he saw the whole world, and the temptation was: "One might well accept such honor and at the same time be the Son of God.

**13. to meet the devil when he holds sin against us.**

(This § is included in the sense of Cap. 11, § 15, para. 1.)

If the devil plagues you and reproaches you for being a sinner, yes, say I cannot deny it. - Therefore you are mine. - Not by a long shot, for God's mercy is much greater than my sin and the sin of all bets. For this reason I do not want to heap more and more horrible sins on top of the previous ones, so that I should prove God, my Lord, false, who is merciful, and deny Christ, who gave himself for our sin. David did evil, took Uriah as his wife, and slept with her, so that

she became pregnant by him, 2 Sam. 11, 4. ff., because he could not persuade or move the pious Uriam with good words, so that he went to his house and slept with his wife 2c. But he confessed his sin and obtained forgiveness of his sin through Christ.

**14. to resist the evil spirit when it troubles our conscience because of the sins we have committed.**

When the envious, poisonous spirit, our enemy, the wicked Satan, accuses us and torments us (as he is wont to do) because of our life, evil works and sins, and gives us up as if we should belong to his kingdom for their sake, his servants and prisoners, and be eternally condemned, that he should lead us into despair, we should meet him and answer in this way: Why dost thou, thou blasphemous spirit, converse with me these things? Do you not know that Christ, my Lord, who crushed your head, forbade me not to believe you, even though you speak the truth, baptizing you and calling you "a murderer, a liar, and the father of lies," John 8:44? Nor do I confess to you that I am to be condemned by you as a prisoner, because of my sin, as a condemned man to eternal death and hellish torment and torture, who have now long been stripped of Christ, my Lord and Savior, judged, and cast out and handed over to hell with eternal bands and chains of darkness, so that you will be kept with all your companions for the judgment of the great day, and finally plunged with all the wicked into the abyss of hell. Further, by what authority dost thou presume to exercise such law and violence against me? For thou hast not given me life, nor wife, nor child, nor the least thing; neither art thou my lord, much less the maker of my body and soul; neither hast thou made me the limbs that I have sinned. How then, thou wicked false spirit, art thou so bold and foolish, that thou canst refrain from ruling over all that I am and have, with all authority, as if thou wert God?

Also thou shalt hold before him, when he shall afflict thee, as it is said, that thou shalt speak:

You have a God and Lord who says, "I am a God of the dead, that is, of afflicted, miserable sinners; but that I may make them alive, happy and righteous, as it is written in 1 Sam. 2:6: "I kill, and I make alive; I lead into hell and out again." I acknowledge Him as my God, call upon Him in all distress, praise and extol Him for all His mercy and good deeds. You are also a God, but of the living (that is, of the secure, presumptuous 2c., who do not feel their sin and damnation), that you kill them. I do not want and do not like that god, therefore troll you, you spirit of shame.

**(15) The devil must be resisted by word and prayer, otherwise nothing can be broken off from him.**

It is not enough that one who is challenged by the devil reproaches him with God's word; for the wicked, cunning spirit is so clever that he takes away one's defenses, and suddenly frightens him so much that he does not know where to start from: as he often does to me. He knows and feels that my heart prays without ceasing; nor does the evil one often reproach me, and afflict me: I do not pray. In sum, he is a swift spirit that reaches for the sword and sometimes snatches it out of one's hand when our Lord God steps behind the little door and hides himself a little. Therefore, it must always be prayed: Dear heavenly Father, help for the sake of Christ.

No one should dare to fight with him, because he first prays with great earnestness. He is a thousandfold artist who is far too strong and powerful for us, for he is the prince and god of the world. He is also far too clever and cunning for us, and has long practiced his craft of lying, deceiving, seducing and murdering, so that we do not know the thousandth part of what he knows. In addition, he is murderously hostile to us, walks around like a roaring lion 2c., has also brought down much greater, holier, more learned people than we are; yes, whom we could not hold a candle to, as, Adam, Moses, Aaron, David, Peter 2c., that he well knows how he should come at us, because he has deceived those.

Therefore, we should always persevere in prayer and watchfulness so that we do not fall into temptation. The false saints go safely, live without any temptations, like Judas, their father. Therefore, when their hour comes, they go, not knowing where to end. We, however, who are in the field with him, know by God's grace how to deal with the swift rogue, even though he often makes us sweat with fear.

His greatest trickery and cunning is that he makes a law out of the gospel. If I could distinguish between the two, the law and the gospel, I would tell him to lick me every hour. Even if I had hardly sinned, I would defy him and say, "How, because I have sinned, is the gospel to be blamed or denied? Not by a long shot; grace is much more powerful than sin.

But if he puts me to the task and burden of disputing with myself, "This you have done, that you have left undone," then he has won, and I am down, unless I, by the grace of God, take hold of myself, pick myself up, and take up the sword again, defend myself, and say: That I have done this, I have left that, I am therefore undaunted, for I believe through Christ forgiveness of sins: and that I should not doubt it, I have a sure pledge of it, for I have been baptized 2c. For this I have received the true body given for me, the blood of my dear Lord and Savior JEsu Christ, shed for me, for the remission of sins.

But whoever persists in doing and not doing, and does not take hold of the article "forgiveness of sins", he goes there, like D. Krause 1) at Halle, who fell into temptation, because he had taken the half sacrament, which he had previously received completely, according to Christ's command, to please the bishop, then he would be lost, Christ would stand against him and accuse him 2c. But there would have been no need for him if someone had been there to comfort him in God's name: If you have done it, it is done. - But I have contradicted

1) Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, Col. 2218 ff. Luther's letter to the Christians at Halle of Apr. 26, 1528. Dr. Krause cut off his neck in despair. Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 1968, § 33.

my conscience, therefore I am of the devil. - Not yet, let our doings be as they may, but God wants us to hear His dear Son, in whom He is well pleased, who says: "He who believes" 2c., no one excluded, "shall be saved", Marc. 16, 16.: "Come to Me, all you who are weary and burdened", Matth. 11, 28.

Whoever could make a strong distinction between the law and the gospel would be well advised. For they are two different words: one speaks of our doings, the other of God's grace and truth. Or, one frightens, the other comforts. Now when the devil reproaches you: You have not kept what God commanded, nor obeyed what he forbade, therefore you are mine. - Oh no. Not to me. That God is angry and punishes is true, but the obstinate and impenitent. But he is kind and gracious to those who feel their misery and desire his mercy. But his mercy is a thousand times greater than our sin. "He is angry but for a moment, and delighteth to live," Ps. 30:6. as he speaks through the prophet, Ezek. 33, 11. "As I live, I have no pleasure in the sinner's death," 2c. If I have sinned, let Christ, our mediator, who gave himself for us to redeem us, help me.

That would be the right art to meet the devil; but it is difficult for anyone to get there, especially because the temptation lasts; as Paul himself complains about it Rom. 7:23: "I see another law in my members, which is contrary to the law in my mind, and takes me captive to the law of sins. But this is our comfort, that "God is faithful, who does not let us be tempted beyond our ability, but makes the temptation come to an end so that we can bear it," 1 Cor. 10:13.

#### 16. how the devils are cast out.

We should not now, nor can we, cast out the devils with certain ceremonies and words, as the prophets, Christ and the apostles did in the past. We are to pray in the name of Christ, the church with

Earnestly exhort to prayer that the dear God and Father of our dear Lord Jesus Christ may redeem the possessed man by His mercy. If such a prayer is made in faith, based on Christ's promise John 16:23: "Truly I say to you, if you ask anything of the Father," 2c., it is strong and powerful, so that the devil must leave the person; as I could tell you several examples. Otherwise we cannot cast out evil spirits, nor are we able to do so.

But if one were called by God without means, and had faith to perform miracles, he could cast out devils that possess man in the flesh; as the prophets and apostles of old, who were called by God without means, and had a special command to cast out unclean spirits and to perform other miracles. Therefore they pushed and tore through them mightily, so that the sick were healed, who alone were overshadowed by the shadow of Peter, Apost. 5, 15. and Apost. 19, 12. Lucas writes: Since those around Paul "held his skin sweatcloth and tissues over the sick, the plagues departed from them, and the evil spirits departed from them.

(Here a paragraph is omitted because contained in Cap. 24, § 64.)

#### 17. conjurers of the devils in the papacy.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1666.)

Those possessed by the devil under the pope were not freed by the power of the conjurers, because they did not mean it seriously. This must be done by the power of God and not by these words: "Go out, you evil spirit, and someone must put his life on it, because it does not happen without terror. So Christ felt Marc. 5, 30. Luc. 8, 46.] that a power had gone out from Him 2c. The evil spirit is cast out either by the prayer of the church, which gathers its prayer together, or by one who is strong in spirit. That he was seen to go out at a given sign is a lie to deceive several spiritually. Paul calls [2 Thess. 2, 9.] such things: False miracles, as that the evil spirits would be driven out by the sound of the bell of St. Cyriac.



<sup>1)</sup> So it happened in St. Cyriac's church, in the monastery at Weimelburg, not far from Eisleben, where there was a great pilgrimage and crowd, that a monk, a good drinking brother, commanded a possessed man that he should open his mouth, let him put two fingers in it, and yet not bite him; this happened. He also commanded the devil that he should go out when one would ring St. Cyriac's 2) little bell; this the prankster also did, so that he strengthened the poor people in the delusion and error that the little bell would be so holy that the devil would have to go out to his sound, and thus even destroy the faith in Christ.

### **18 There were many possessed people in the time of Christ.**

(Cordatus No. 1667.)

At the time of Christ, everything was full of Sadducees, Pharisees, Epicureans [fleshly-minded people], Peripatetics [philosophers, reasoners]. That is why there were also many who were possessed by the devil. And there are many even now, but they are called madmen, fools 2c. And no one is reckoned possessed unless he is evidently afflicted with the devil. In our time he is not cast out so soon, because he does not pretend now [as if he were cast out].

### **19. the devil cannot be cast out now, when the gospel is being taught, as he was before in the papacy, because his mischievousness and cunning is known to us that he cannot deceive us.**

Now I think that there are as many possessed people now as in the time of Christ; only those who are physically plagued and tormented by the devil should be counted as possessed, not the moonstruck, fools, senseless 2c. But in our time, when the light of the gospel shines, the evil one cannot be cast out as he did in the papacy, when he acted as if he were executing when he was summoned, because he cannot ape and beguile us as he did before this time.

Time. Yes, he proves his supreme power and cunning at the last time, does not play and deceive, as formerly in the papacy, as can be seen in the people, who visibly become more and more angry every day, and yet want to be Christians, to know much about the gospel 2c. On the other hand, Christ is weak, allows the wicked to continue in their pretensions, and, as it seems, does not take care of his small flock 2c. From this I assume and conclude that the blessed appearance and future of our dear Lord Christ must not be far away, when he will again show and prove his divine power against the devil and his scales. He will now let him be drilled until his hour.

The mischievous one has sharpened the knife on the arch-fathers, before and after the flood; item, on the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and their disciples. We are the last and weakest group, even the yeast compared to them, and therefore can hardly hold a candle to them. For nowhere has there been such certain knowledge, firm faith, high enlightenment, great wisdom, holiness, steadfastness and power to resist the devil and to despise the disgrace and wrath of the wicked and condemned world as in them. But I hope that in and through us, who are the weakest of all, Christ will overcome the most powerful, poisonous and fierce enemy, amen.

### **20) Whether the devil knew Christ according to the flesh.**

When one asked if the devil knew Christ according to the flesh, M. M. answered: Yes, he knows the scripture: "Behold, a virgin is with child", Is. 7, 14. Item: "A child is born to us" 2c., Is. 9, 6. and hear that we sing daily: *Verbum cara factum est*. Item: *Et incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto, et Homo factus est*. But because Christ held himself so low, dealing with public sinners and sinners 2c., and therefore had no reputation, he looked above and knew him not. For the devil is clear-sighted, he only looks at what is great and high, there he attaches himself; below himself, and what is lowly, he does not look at.

1) This paragraph will probably be spurious, an extension of the last preceding words.

2) Corrected by us from "Ciliax" according to the preceding.

But the eternal, merciful God turns around and looks at what is lowly, as the 113th Psalm, v. 6, sings: "Our God looks at what is lowly"; and Is. 66, 2: "I look at the wretched, and the broken in spirit, and who fears my word. But what is high he lets go, yes, it is an abomination before him, as Christ Luc. 16, 15. says: "What is high among men is an abomination before God." Therefore let him who desires to go high take heed of the devil, lest he overthrow him: for his way is first to lead into heaven, and after that to cast him into the abyss of hell.

#### **Do not invite the devil as a guest.**

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, Oct. 7, 1538. S. 142.)

That day Luther was hunting, where a hare and a fox were seen by everyone. When Erasmus Spiegel pursued him on horseback, the horse suddenly fell and died. This hare was a devil's ghost; as they told a story right after that, that many noblemen would have ridden in the bet and would have said: The last of the devil. But a boy, who had two horses, left the one behind, which was led away by the devil into the air. Luther answered: One should not invite the devil as a guest. We have enough to do against him with prayer and vigilance.

<sup>1)</sup> In 1546, Martin Luther in Eisleben was told over the table that noblemen in the land of Thuringia had once frightened hares at night on Herselberg and caught them at eight. When they came home and hung up the rabbits, in the morning they had been the heads of horses, which otherwise lay on the shingles.

#### **22) How blasphemy and presumption are punished.**

Doctor Luther said in Eisleben: That once good fellows had sat together in a coal mine. Now there had been a wild, wild child among them, who had said: If

If someone were to give him a good draught of wine, he would sell him his soul for it. Not long after that, someone came to him in the parlor, sat down with him and drank with him. He said to the man who had been so presumptuous, "Listen, you said before that if someone gave you a bottle of wine, you would sell him your soul for it. Then he said again, "Yes, I will do it; let me feast today and be in good spirits. The man (who was the devil) said yes, and soon after that he left him again. When the same gourmand had been merry all day, and at last was drunk, the former man (the devil) came again and sat down by him, and asked the other revelers, saying, "Gentlemen, what do you think, when a man chews a horse, does not the saddle and bridle belong to him also? They were all frightened. But finally the man said, "Well, tell it quickly. Then they confessed and said, "Yes, the saddle and bridle also belong to him. Then the devil took the same wild, rough fellow and led him through the ceiling, so that no one knew where he had gone.

At another time, Doctor Luther told this story of presumption and blasphemy, and said: Once a man of war had been appointed in the Mark, but he had been wronged and violated. He had given money to his host, and when he demanded it from him again, the host denied it and said: He had received nothing from him. When the lansquenet disagreed with the landlord about the money and stormed the house, the landlord came and had the lansquenet arrested; he wanted to deceive the lansquenet into keeping the money and sued the lansquenet to the hilt, to the neck and to the stomach, as if he had broken the peace of his house. -Then the devil came to the farmhand in prison and said to him, "Tomorrow you will be brought before the court and your head will be cut off because you have broken the peace of the house. If you want to be mine, body and soul, I will help you. But the lansquenet would not do it. Then

1) This last paragraph is not a table talk of Luther, but Aurifaber's narration.

The devil said, "Do this to him: when you come before the court and are severely accused, plead that you gave the money to the innkeeper, and say that you are a bad speaker and should be granted an advocate who will speak for you; then I will stand not far from you in a blue hat with a white feather and lead your cause, and ask for me. This was done. But when the innkeeper seriously denied before the court that he did not have the money, the landsknecht's procurator in the blue hat said: "Dear innkeeper, why should you deny it, the money is in your bed under the main pillow; you judges and magistrates, send, you will find the landsknecht's money there. Then the innkeeper conspired and said, "If I have received the money, let the devil take me away. When the envoys came to the inn, they found the money in the bed and brought it to court. Then the man in the blue hat said, "I knew I wanted to get one of them, either the innkeeper or the guest," and turned the innkeeper's head and led him away in the air. And he told Doctor Luther that he did not like to hear that people were swearing by the devil and cursing each other, because the fellow was not far from us. One should not ask him to pray, nor have him painted over the door, otherwise he would be close enough to us.

#### **How the devil's hope will be broken.**

(Cordatus No. 404. This § follows Cap. 15, §. 8.)

Likewise, when the devil tried to deceive him in the form of a sow, another said, "Behold, you beautiful angel, have you become a sow?"

#### **24. the devil's ghost in mines.**

In the mines, the devil deceives and deceives people, making a spectre and a noise before their eyes, so that they think they see a great heap of ore and solid silver, when it is nothing. For can he charm and beguile the people above the earth, under the sun, in broad daylight, so that they think a thing is something else?

and keep it, because it is in himself; so he can do it especially in the mine, where people are often deceived. I do not deny that ore is found in many mines and shafts, and is a special gift from God, but is not given to everyone. I know that I have no luck in mines; all others have had to pay for mine, for Satan does not grant me this gift of God: I am well content with that.

#### **25. the devil's power.**

(Contained in Cap. 24, § 19.)

#### **From the devil comes all sadness and gloom.**

(Enthaltm in Cap. 26, § 23.)

#### **27 Satan's raging against the human race.**

(Cordatus No. 247.)

Satan knows that we must die, yet he rages against us so much that he deals with killing us every moment (as much as is in him), and that immediately from the beginning of our life.

#### **28. drive out the devil.**

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 23.)

#### **To perish from the devil is more praiseworthy than from men.**

(Cordatus No. 1389.)

I would rather die at the hands of the devil than at the hands of the emperor, then I will die at the hands of a great lord, but he will get a bite of me that will not be good for him. He shall spit it back, and I will eat him again at the last day.

#### **30. the devil's way against Christ.**

(Cordatus No. 1375.)

The devil must not tell me that I am not pious. I would not like to be pious either, otherwise the whole treasure of Christ would be lost on me.

(The following is omitted because contained in Cap. 13, § 80.)

### How to be skillful and equipped to stand against the devil's temptation in the time of death.

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §§ 78. 79.)

#### The devil can make sin out of good works.

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 79.)

### Spiritual armor and divine weapons against the devil.

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. I. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, ss 81. 82.)

### Whoever believes can easily overcome the devil.

(This section, except for the last paragraph, is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. I. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, R 83. 84.)

Luther also said: "The devil is afraid of the word of God, he cannot bite it, his teeth become loose.

#### 35. the devil's art and masterpieces.

(This § is in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, cap. 1. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §§ 87. 88. 89. 1)

#### The devil challenges all articles of faith in the hearts of believers.

Satan cannot leave it alone, he must challenge all articles of faith in our hearts before we depart from this life: so bitterly hostile is he to faith, which he well knows is the power and overcoming, so that we overcome the world, as John says 1 John 5:4, 5: "Our faith is the victory that overcame the world. But who is he that overcometh the world, except he that believeth that JESUS is the Son of GOD?" Therefore, it is necessary for us to grasp the faith in a real and certain way, and to

Strengthen and strengthen us day by day through daily practice in the Word and prayer, so that we may resist the devil.

#### The devil is a cause of all sickness and misfortune.

No disease comes from God, 2) as he is good and does everyone all good; but is from the devil, who causes all misfortune and causes, and mixes himself in all games and arts, shoots from pestilence, French, fever 2c. If he comes among the jurists, he causes misfortune, disagreement, makes injustice out of right, and right out of injustice. If he comes among great potentates, emperors, kings, princes 2c., he causes war and bloodshed. If he comes among the theologians, he again causes such misfortune that no human wit can help: deprive people of property and honor, body and soul, with false doctrine. But it is God alone who can calm and control him with his word, even though it takes great effort.

#### 38. whether the devil, once overcome, will come back.

To this M. D. said: "I think that if a devil who has once been struck dead, that is, overcome with God's Word and Spirit, he must leave and not come back with the same temptation. For Christ says Matth. 4, 10: "Arise, Satan" 2c. and Marc. 5, 8: "Depart" 2c. Then they say v. 12: "Let us go into the swine." I believe that the saints beat and choke many devils in battle, says Origen. But I believe that the devils who are beaten and overcome become poltergeists or wild rags 3) because they are corrupt devils. Likewise I believe that the monkeys are vain devils.

#### How the devil charms people.

(Here a long section of about three "Columnne" is omitted, because taken from the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §§ 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21, which was reproduced here with many additions, omissions and rearrangements).

1) The two U 87 and 88 were already once completely included in Cap. 7, § 130 at the end, but are here again, processed into a paragraph, used to form an entrance to the following.

2) Cf. § 9 of this Cap.

3) Instead of: "wild rags" Stangwald has: "monkeys, guenons and wild impetuous Gespenste".

**(39) The devil also torments the true Christians with his specter.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §§ 22. 23.)

**40. bon poltergeists.**

When it was asked: whether there were also poltergeists? because Osiander denied it and disapproved of it; D. M. Luther answered: But he must have something special. Nevertheless, one must confess that people are possessed by the devil, and I have experienced that spirits go around, frighten people, prevent them from sleeping, that they become ill.

**41 Historia, wie ein Poltergeist einen Pfarrherr geplaget habe, und D. Luther's advice on how to drive him out.**

(Lauterbach, Apr. 5, 1538, p. 55.)

On April 5, the pastor of the church at Subtitz, near Torgau, came and complained about ghosts and disturbances of the devil, who bothered him by nightly noise and real breaking of all household utensils, throwing his pots and bowls close to his head, so that they burst into pieces. 1) And apparently he torments him by laughing at him, but he sees nothing, and many other things he has done for a whole year, so that even his wife and children want to leave. Luther answered: My brother, be strong in the Lord and sure in faith, do not give way to that robber and suffer the outward and small harm by breaking the pots, for he cannot harm you in soul and body, as you have experienced, for the angel of the Lord is with you. Let him play with pots. You pray with your children and the woman to GOD: Troll yourself, Satan, I am master in this house and you are not. I am the father of the house here by divine power, and the pastor of the church by heavenly calling; I have the testimony from heaven and from earth.

1) In the original it says: "Threw him the toppe and Schussel zu. Only at the kopff hin, that they jumped on the stuck." We have undoubtedly given the sense correctly; however, in detail we are uncertain 1. whether in zuwerfen "zu" was also used separately; 2. whether "nur" means close to the touch; 3. whether "auf Stücken" and "zu Stücken" are the same.

I. But you go in as a thief and robber. You are a murderer and a villain, why didn't you stay in heaven? Who invited you in? So sing him his litany and legend and let him play his time. That is why I was often tormented in my prison in Patmos, up in the castle in the kingdom of the birds. I resisted him in faith and held out to him the verse: God is my [God], who created man, and "you have put everything under his feet" (Ps. 8, 7.). If you have any power over it, try it.

**Faith overcomes the devil.**

The devil is a spirit and founder of presumption, and is not driven out by an unbelieving, wild or crude Christian, but faith overcomes him. Luther told this example: There was a doctor of medicine who had seen a child being baptized in church, and had heard the words of baptism spoken with diligence, and from this he had gained a strong faith, so that he had said with great joy: "If I knew that I had been baptized with these words, just as this child, I would no longer fear the devil. When the child's parents and others, who were otherwise concerned about the baptism, said that he had also been baptized in the same way, and that these words had also been spoken about his baptism, the doctor gained even more courage and spirit, so that he did not want to fear the devil or any misfortune. Now it happened that the devil appeared to the doctor in the form of a shaggy goat with long horns and let himself be seen on the wall. The doctor realized that it was the devil and took heart, caught the goat by the horns and tore it from the wall, hit the goat on the table, kept the horns in his hand, and the body disappeared.

Another one sees this and thinks: "If the doctor has done this, I will do the same, since I am baptized as well as he is. When the devil met him in the form of a goat. When the devil met him in the form of a goat, he also wanted to perform this miracle and drove out of the goat.

The devil twisted his neck and strangled him. This is what happens to a man who wants to be a monkey and, out of certainty and presumption, imitates the examples that only faith is entitled to and that no one else can imitate.

#### 43. poltergeists, so D. Luthern have plagued at Wartburg in his Patmo.

(The first paragraph at Cordatus No. 1125.)

The devil often tormented me with his haunting, especially in the castle where I was a prisoner for a while. There he took the walnuts from the table and hurled them to the ceiling all night long. 1)

In 1546, when Luther was in Eisleben, he told the following story about how the devil had plagued him in Wartburg, and said: "When I left Worms in 1521 and was captured near Eisenach, and was sitting in the Patmo in Wartburg Castle, I was far away from people in a room and no one could come to me, except two noble boys, who brought me food and drink twice a day. Now they had bought me a sack of hazelnuts, which I ate at times, and had locked the same in a box. When I went to bed at night, I undressed in the parlor, turned off the light and went into the room, lay down in bed: there it comes over the hazelnuts, lifts, and quizzes one after the other on the beams mighty hard, rumbles me at the bed; but I asked nothing about it. As I fell asleep a little, there was such a thudding at the stairs, as if a shock of barrels were being thrown down the stairs: yet I knew well that the stairs were well guarded with chains and iron, so that no one could climb up; nor did so many barrels fall down. I stood up and went out the stairs to see what was there, and the stairs were closed. Then said I, If it be thou, then be it: and I commended myself unto the Lord Christ, of whom it is written, Omnia subjecisti pedibus ejus, as Psalm 8:7 saith; and I lay me down again in my bed.

Now Hans von Berlibs' 2) wife came to Eise-

1) The following paragraph is probably only an Aurifaberian extension of this narrative.

2) D. i. Berlepsch. (Förstemann.)

and had smelled that I was in the castle, would have liked to see me, but it could not be. So they took me to another room and put the same Frau von Berlibs in my chamber. There was such a rumbling in the chamber during the night that she would have thought there were a thousand devils inside. But the best way to drive him away is to call on Christ and despise the devil; he cannot stand that. One must say to him: If you are a lord over Christ, so be it. For so I also said to Eisenach.

#### 44. The devil can be driven away with contempt and ridiculous antics.

Doctor Luther said: If he had not been able to get rid of the devil with the Holy Scriptures and with serious words, he would often have driven him away with pointed words and ridiculous antics. And if he had wanted to weigh down his conscience, he would often have said to him: 3) Devil, I have also pissed in my pants, have you also smelled it and written it in your register with the other sins of mine? Item, he would have said to him: "Dear devil, if the blood of Christ, shed for my sins, is not enough, I beg you to ask God for me. When I am idle, and have nothing to do, the devil creeps in to me, and before I look around, he chases me with a sweat: if I then offer him the spear with the divine word, he flees. Nevertheless, he makes me bloodthirsty beforehand, or shows me some other hardship.

4) But that he could nowhere be driven away with better than with contempt, that he-

3) The same in another relation, Cap. 26, § 23.

4) This extensive narration is found in two different, short relations in Cordatus, No. 521 and No. 1124, of which we communicate only the former here:

(Cordatus No. 521.)

Satan is not defeated more easily than through contempt. This was done excellently by a certain woman in Magdeburg, who was often plagued by ghosts<sup>^</sup>) at night. She let out a big fart and said: "Behold, devil, have a staff and go to Rome to the idol. And the plague spirit left.

<sup>^</sup>) manidus, actually of departed souls. - The difficulty of the beginning of this section is raised by the fact that read

D. Luther told a story that had happened in Magdeburg, When Jacob lay down in bed, the devil came and and said: In the beginning of my teaching, when the played with him and took away his comforter; he had Gospel began, the devil almost lay down and did not been afraid and had prayed diligently, and he had like to let go of the rumbling, because he would have been frightened, for he had rumbled and rumbled on liked to receive the Purgatory and the Discursum the floor. Finally he came over to the poor woman who animarum in Magdeburg. Now there was a citizen there lay in one of the chambers, with whom he also joked, whose child died, and he did not let him sing the vigil running along on her bed like vain rat mice. Since he and the requiem, for there was a lot of it. So the devil does not want to stop, the woman comes here, and began to play a game and came into the chamber every turns the ars out to the bed, and leaves him a fart (to night at eight o'clock, whimpering like a young child. speak with breeding), and says: See there, devil, The good man was sorry and did not know what to do there you have a staff, take it in your hand, and go to him. Then the priests cried out: You see how it is with it on pilgrimage to Rome to your idol, the pope, when one does not keep vigils 2c. How does the poor and get indulgences from him. Mocked thus still the soul suffer! Thereupon the citizen sent to me, and let devil in addition. After that the devil remained outside me ask for advice; because my sermon about the with his rumbling. Quia est superbus spiritus, et non saying: "They have Moses and the prophets", had gone potest ferre contemptum sui.

out, which he had read. Then I wrote to him again: He should not let anything be held, for he and all the household should certainly believe that it was the devil who was doing this. So the children and the household despised the devil and said, "Devil, what are you doing? Devil, what are you doing, have you nothing else to do? Get thee up, thou accursed spirit, where thou belongest, into the abyss of hell. When the devil realized this, he was no longer a child, but he rumbled, stormed, threw and struck, and did dreadful things, often letting himself be seen like a wolf howling; but the children and everyone despised him. Whenever a maid went up the stairs with a child, he would run after her with his hands, and the servants would say, "Are you mad?"

Finally, Mr. Jakob, the provost of Bremen, came to Magdeburg and entered the man's inn, and also wanted to hear the spirit. The innkeeper said, "Yes, you shall hear him; he said, "Listen to him on the evening at eight o'clock, when he will come. This is what happened. He came over the stove and threw everything down. Then Jacob said, "Well, I have heard him, let us go to bed. But there were two chambers next to each other, in one of which his wife lay, and the children and servants, Mr. Jacob and the innkeeper lay outside the chamber. As Mr. Jakob was

#### **For what it is good that the devil challenges the Christians.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 88 24. 25.)

#### **46 The devil can also hasten the right saints, and what the heretic does, he does not do.**

**Type is.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, §§ 26. 27.)

#### **The devil is powerful in charming people.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 88 30. 31.)

#### **48. The devil can disguise himself in Christ's person.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 8 32.)

#### **49. how to beware of the devil's sorcery.**

(This § is found in the great interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 88 37. 38.)

### 50. the devil's work.

The devil has two things with which he deals and promotes his kingdom and rumbles in the world, namely lying and murder, which he does for and for with all diligence without ceasing. God has commanded: Thou shalt not kill; and: Do not have other gods. Against these two commandments Satan acts in his members with all seriousness, unceasingly. He cannot and does not like anything else, but lies and murders, as one, unfortunately, sees and experiences too much. He no longer jokes and mimics people with poltergeists, for he sees that [it] now has a much different opinion and opportunity than it did some twenty years ago. He truly attacks it now and in the right place, and does not celebrate. The poltergeists have now become thin with us, but the rotten spirits are increasing beyond measure and gaining the upper hand, God forbid!

### 51. violence of the devil.

(The first paragraph Lauterbach, Nov. 16, 1538, p. 169.)

<sup>1)</sup> After that Luther asked Jonas about the passage in Job, where it is clearly stated that God allowed Satan to strike the holy Job, because he says (2, 6.): Behold, he is in your hand; but spare his life, and yet also says that God stretched out his hand a little. He left this question undiscussed.

D. Martin was asked by someone: What kind of violence does the devil need, whether it is granted and permitted to him, or whether he is commanded to do it? Oh no, he answered, the power he uses is not commanded to him; but our Lord God does not hinder him, looks through his fingers, lets him do and rumble, but not longer and further than he wants: for he has set him a goal, beyond which he may not nor can step. Just as if a great lord saw that someone was setting fire to his barn, and did not prevent him, but looked through his fingers. So does our Lord God also with the devil. Then said he, saith God of Job unto Satan, Cap. 2, 6: "Behold,

let him be in your hand, but spare his life." Yes, said D. Martin, the violence that Satan used against Job was permitted and deafened by God. As if God wanted to say, "Well, I will grant and allow you one thing; but do nothing to his life.

### 52. specimen of this life.

How the devil household, rumbles, rages and rages with lies and murders, to body and soul, property and honor, of this one runs, sees and experiences many terrible examples; but nevertheless one must think that God admits it thus, and lets it happen.

### The devil is the founder of all misfortune.

(The first paragraph of this § was contained in Cap. 24, 810, therefore omitted).

My illness, he said, Martinus, which I have from vertigo and other things, is not natural. Nothing I take and do helps me, although I follow my doctor diligently.

### 54. The devil can best rule the bet.

(Cordatus No. 127.)

God does not know how to rule the world, because the world does not want to have God and suffer God as its ruler, but Satan, who also knows how to rule the world. But God has the advantage of reducing the world and the devil's rule in the world to rubble and powder, if they do it too roughly.

### 55. the devil's great power breaks god and overthrows them through human weakness.

(Cordatus No. 124.)

It is almost ridiculous that God has placed us, who are flesh and blood, in mutual war and battle with such a strong and great spirit as the devil is, and that He has given us no other weapons in our hands against such a great power than here and there a word of Scripture, which we are to take hold of in faith, and its so great evils-.

<sup>1)</sup> In this section, Luther leaves the question undiscussed, in contrast to Aurifaber's account in the following paragraph.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. cap. 25, § 2.



The Word is supposed to defeat the deeds. This must certainly annoy the great spirit from the heart. But in this battle it is especially difficult to recognize the devil as the devil. For no one can attain with words how manifoldly that accursed majesty transforms itself. But if one knows Satan, that it is Satan, one can easily disgrace his pride by saying: Lick me in Ars, or: Shit in the pants [bruch] and hang it on the neck. 1)

**The devil condemns us, since he is worse than we are.**

(Contained in Cap. 24, § 5.)

**The devil is a formidable, fierce enemy.**

The devil is not a small, bad, but a mighty, great, fierce and swift enemy, who neither rests nor celebrates day or night, cannot be chased away with outward and bodily weapons; for he has Goliath's spear, with which he approaches and wants to stab us. For this purpose God arms him, sharpens his weapons, gives him a sting to his shaft, namely the law of God, with which he stings us and attacks us mightily. But God arms him for this reason, so that when he is overcome and defeated by the godly through faith, it will hurt him the more and he will be put to shame. The fact that a strong man is overcome by a weak man hurts him in his heart and makes him very angry.

**58. How the devil challenges the right devout Christians.**

(Cordatus No. 1418.)

The devil contests with impetuosity, with frequent repetition, with persistence. 2)

The devil attacks the godly and pious Christians in two ways: either he invades them by force, whether he wants to

1) Because of the coarse expressions read the remarks which we have included in our preface.

2) Perhaps the following is formed from these words.

If he is not able to do so, he will continue the challenge forever and will not let up, so that he will make them tired and checkmate them. As Cyprian writes of some martyrs, that they would gladly have died, but one would not kill them and put them to death.

**The devil is like a birdcage.**

(Cordatus No. 1641. 1642. 1643 and 1366.)

3) The devil is like a birdcatcher who snaps the necks of all birds he catches. He would undoubtedly do this to all people if God did not defend him with his angels. He keeps few who entice and sing his songs, who must be his prisoners. I do not hope that he will put me in a pawn. He who wants to be safe from him needs the armor of the word.

Whoever is sure, or indulges in his thoughts, the devil is very close to him, and he is defeated only by the word and prayer; he does not confess to this umbrella stroke 4).

As the devil is in hell, and Duke George in Dresden, so he dwells in the hearts of the wicked, working on them and hardening them, and if he had no greater power than to torment our bodies and damage our possessions, he would not yet be a devil, having business only in earthly but not in heavenly things.

The greatest art and the main dispute of the devil is that he nullifies with words the article of the forgiveness of sins in a negative and positive way [privative et positive], such as: You preached the gospel (who commanded it?) in a different way than it has ever been preached. Then he exaggerates our sins and belittles the good, or even slander. Then one must be sure, and so much so, that he can boast with Paul that he is a teacher of the Gentiles, a servant of God 2c. This glory is as necessary as an article of faith.

3) The first paragraph is somewhat shortened and modified already Cap. 4, § 82, at the end. There, we have corrected Aurifaber's relation to Kummer.

4) D. i. Fencing strokes.

**60: The devil's tricks and nature. 1)** (Cordatus No. 657.)

Christ describes in the most real way the wickedness of the devil Joh. 8, [44.] by saying: "You are of the father, the devil" 2c. From this it follows that all his wickedness starts from the lie [as he deceived Adam and Eve], 2) and after they were caught by the lie, he brought them to death. So he did soon after with the two brothers 2c. So his regiment goes: where he comes, there he challenges with lies, deceives the people. Afterwards he does not rest, he also commits murder and sedition through disobedience. Third, when he has brought men to that point, he drives some to despair and to inflict death on themselves, as he did Judas, whom he first deceived with lies. Then he caused him to become a traitor and a murderer of his own master. After that, he led him into despair and that he himself was saved. Thus he finally rewarded his servants. Our Savior, Christ, the greatest teacher of truth, behaves in the opposite way, for he has this testimony from the Father. Matth. 17, [5.]

**The devil despises and ridicules all the works of God.**

The devil has heard and vexed people in various ways, sometimes saying that the consecrated water burns him. Soon after, he said that he was not afraid of the consecrated water anywhere, because one had sprinkled it on himself in the morning, who had slept with his wife. So he despises marriage with such superstition and superstition. As a possessed man the sacrament of the altar,

1) This § is in the interpretation of several sayings of holy scripture. Walch, old edition, vol. IX, 1421 f. According to the Jena edition, vol. VIII, fol. 309 (2nd edition), this collection of "Auslegung vieler schöner Sprüche heiliger Schrift" was first published in 1546 (and provided by Aurifaber). According to the Erlangen edition, the first edition by Aurifaber appeared in 1547 in Erfurt and in the same year the Rörer collection in Wittenberg. Since Cordatus completed his diary already in 1537, we consider it necessary to share this oldest redaction of this § here.

2) The bracketed words are missing in Cordatus and are added from the Latin table speeches.

of the true body of Christ, he said, "A prankster can sit under the stairs and let a pious man pass by.

Two miles away from H. there was a great pilgrimage to the golden Lupa: for those who were not canonized, and were not raised by the pope, or by his order by the bishops, were called blessed, but not saints; after that it was revealed that a churchman had buried his dog, called Lupa, there.

**62. from a fortune teller.**

In E[rfurt] 3) a soothsayer and black artist was burned, who had been walking sadly and sorrowfully for several years, because he was very poor and had neither bite nor bread. Once the devil met him in a visible form and promised him great things, that he would become rich if he denied baptism and salvation through Christ and would never repent. The poor man accepted this; then the devil gave him a crystal from which he could tell fortunes; through this he got a great name and a great influx, so that he became rich. Finally, the devil deceived him honestly and made him look at his butt, so that he accused some innocent people from the crystal of thievery. This caused him to be put in prison, and afterwards he confessed that he had broken the covenant made with the devil, asked that a preacher be sent to him, repented righteously, and with his example brought many people to the fear of God, and died with a happy heart in his corporal punishment. Thus, the devil has been disgraced in his own art, and revealed in his evil plots and wiles.

**63) Whether the devil knew about the incarnation of Christ, the Son of God? And why the prophecies of Christ are dark?**

(This § is in the church postil. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 536, §8; provided with an entry formed from Cap. 7, § 83).

3) Bindseil I, 240.

**64. Satan possesses people in two ways.**

People are possessed by the devil in two ways: 1) some physically, according to the outward man and appearance; some spiritually, according to the spirit and soul, as all the wicked are possessed. In the insane, the frenzied, and those who are only physically possessed, the devil has only taken the body and plagues it, not the spirit or soul, therefore the latter remains unchanged and unharmed. From the same, then, the devils can be cast out with prayer and fasting. But the ungodly and blasphemers are spiritually possessed, they cannot be helped nor delivered from them; indeed, Christ could not cast out devils from Hannah, Caipha, and other ungodly Jews. Therefore it is much greater and more terrible, even more dangerous, to be spiritually possessed than to be physically possessed by the devil, although the world does not respect it, nor does it consider it so.

**The shape and form the devil takes.**

The devil has two forms and shapes or larvae in which he disguises himself: either he disguises himself as a snake, to frighten and kill; or as a sheep, because he puts on sheepskins, to lie and deceive. These are his two court colors.

**66) In which animals the devil hides and leads himself the most.**

The snakes and monkeys are subject to the devil above all other animals, into which he leads and possesses them; uses them to deceive and harm people.

**How to overcome the devil with contempt, in faith, not in presumption.**

(Lauterbach, Apr. 19, 1538, p. 64 f.)

That evening Magister Simon [Sulcer], Superintendent of the Swiss in Bern, was there, ate with Luther, conversed with him in the most intimate manner, and expressed good hope about Switzerland. For Bucer was working beyond his strength

and aged very much. Afterwards, he spoke of his colleague in Bern, a very learned man, how he probably smelled of unity, and told a story about this colleague: namely, that he had admonished a woman, who had long been tormented by Satan's rumblings, that she should despise him and say: Leave me alone and come to Constenius. When the woman had done this and said that Satan should visit Constenius, Satan went from there to Constenius at an hour's notice and plagued him for a whole year with all kinds of noise. Luther answered: Satan can be overcome by contempt, but in faith, not in presumption. Nevertheless, one should not invite him as a guest; for he is a strong enemy, for he sees and hears everything that is before us, what we now speak, and out of admission to God he corrupts everything that is good. He would that not one little grass or leaf should grow. That is Satan's power. Nevertheless, he cannot search our hearts, conscience and faith; he has a certain God-likeness, but God has reserved the true Godhead for himself. He can resist the devil. Therefore Christ says (Joh. 16, 33.): "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world", i.e. the whole devil. Therefore we pray, "Deliver us from evil." *Πονηρόν* [evil] is manifold: all misfortunes, miseries, sins, aversions. In short, there is no cessation. Against this evil we pray from day to day, and are heard, as we see, when it is prevented, and we who believe judge the evil angels, 1 Cor. (6, 3.), although he creeps in again and again, for he does not like to be brought out of what he has been granted [praescriptum]. But the devil is a foolish spirit, because he himself gives opportunity to Christ; by tormenting the weak, he strengthens the reputation of Christ and the apostles who raise the mats. Rather, the devil should be silent, but the extreme desire to harm drives him to make himself manifest as well.

Then he spoke of the great miracles of the apostles and the course of their preaching, which were more glorious than those of Christ's own person. For Peter, by one sermon, won three thousand, which is the same as that of Christ.

does not read. Therefore Christ says Matth. 11, (II.): "But he who is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he." But Christ performs the most glorious miracles in His very weak kingdom.

**68. the punishment of the wicked when they are handed over to Satan and become the devil's apartments.**

(Lauterbach, April 19, 1538, p. 65.)

After that, Satan and his power, who opposes God and all his creatures through his pride, were remembered once again. That is why the church did not hand over the godless and impenitent to anyone but Satan for chastisement, who killed them with God's permission or at least struck them with various misfortunes. Thus, even now in many regions are dwellings of evil spirits. Prussia is full of demons, Lapland full of witches. In Switzerland, near Lucerne, on a very high mountain, there is a lake called Pilate's Pond, where the devil rages. And Luther said that in his homeland there is a lake on a very high mountain, Pubelsberg, and if it were moved by a stone thrown into it, a great storm would arise over the whole region. These are dwellings of evil spirits that are imprisoned.

**Whether the devil knows the thoughts of men?**

St. Augustine writes about someone who was able to say what was in his mind, as if someone thought of a verse from Virgilio. But the devil had given him the verse beforehand, as he knows the thoughts of the wicked, what they have in their hearts. For he rides and drives them, works in them what he wills and for what he wills, according to all his pleasure: even as the Holy Spirit is in the godly, and drives them to all good.

But what God works in the heart, and the Holy Spirit does in man, he cannot know, nor see. There he is even excluded, like a servant from his master's bedchamber. Thus, Satan did not know that the Holy Spirit was the Virgin Mary.

Nor did he hear the angels singing to the shepherds on the night Christ was born, nor Zachariah's and Simeon's praise and blessing, nor all that was said over the tables in the supper when Christ washed the disciples' feet. He did not see the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor, for the angels drove him away; otherwise he would have known that he, Christ, was the true Messiah. Even though he sometimes said that he knew that Jesus was the Christ, because he is a lying spirit, one should not believe his words, since he says that he knows.

**70. of conjurers of the devil.**

I once heard of an exorcist and conjurer, said D. Martin said that when he had summoned the devil to show him what had been lost, the devil would have shown him the city, but when he asked him in which house it was, the devil would have said, "I cannot see it, for a thick fog has rolled over it.

But God and Christ see what the devil does, what he and those he drives have in mind. Likewise, the devil cannot see what the saints, the Holy Spirit and Christ do and think. Therefore this argument does not conclude: Christ saw the hearts and minds of the Pharisees, and is God: but the devil also sees them; therefore 2c.; for the devil had given them their thoughts. But it concludes correctly: Christ sees into the heart of the devil and his members what they think, which the devil cannot do; therefore Christ is right, natural, true God.

**(71) The devil is hurt by the words and works of devout Christians.**

(Contained in Cap. 47, § 16.)

**72. where all diseases primarily come from.**

(Contained in Cap. 47, § 16.)

**73. cause of the devil's tyranny.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 8, 1538, p. 111.)

After that, it was said of three servants whom the devil carried away bodily at Süßen, near Augsburg, on Char Friday (April 19) this year, who had surrendered to Satan. Luther answered: This is the punishment of sin. How one does it, one has the reward.

**Whoever serves the devil, he also rewards him.**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 12, 1538, p. 129.)

On September 12 they spoke about the deception of the devil, the murderer. Then D. Martinus said that the son-in-law of the barber Peter had been an invulnerable man of war. Finally he foresaw his death and said: My father-in-law shall do it. Furthermore: I will be stabbed at the table. Also on this very day Dieterich (that was his name) is said to have said to his wife: Buy, you will have guests today, spectators. So the devil paid him?)

**75. deuce of nobility history.**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 12, 1538, p. 129 f.)

After that, Brück told a similar example, how two noblemen, who were very hostile to each other, had been at the court of the emperor, that one had sworn to strangle the other, if he overcame him. One night the devil killed one of them with the other's sword, which he then put back into the scabbard by the bed, and while this was happening the other was lying in a very heavy dream and believed that he had killed the other. Also his horse in the stable was as it were excited and stood there in the highest fear, full of sweat. He was found dead in bed early in the morning, and because of their enmity, the suspicion of many fell on the other, and his bloody sword was found. And yet he did not do it, but Satan. This nobleman was imprisoned and sentenced to death, but with the explanation: If one

If you bring him to the square, you should push away the earth of his shadow and banish [him] from the area. This is called civil death. Because he wanted to kill the other, and it was done by the devil, he is guilty. And he decided: So it is with these who make a temporary alliance with the devil, who keeps his own warm for a time and flatters them. But in the end he pays them honestly.

<sup>2)</sup> That evening, people in Lochau were happy. Luther said: "Oh, how I would like to be with the Lord Christ one evening when he has been happy for once; otherwise he has been sad enough.

**The miraculous conflict and victory of the Christians with the devil.**

Doctor Martinus commanded the people to listen diligently to the divine word and to pray, because we have to fight, not against the pope, but against the devil, whom Christ has overcome. We poor, weak people have to stand against such a mighty spirit, that we have to fight with him and win against him. It is truly a wonderful victory. As if one should quench a great fire, blaze and fire with a spoonful of water, or with a cupful of water; or if one poor little sheep should chase away many ravening wolves and fierce lions. For a certain devil is stronger and wiser than all men, than he who knows us by heart and inwardly, and to reckon against him we are alphabet pupils, weak and poor sinners; as we learn by experience.

Therefore, these are the works of God, that we poor people with our weakness do more in Christ than all emperors, kings, popes, princes, disciples, doctors. For in the utmost and highest foolishness we are the most wise, in the greatest weakness the strongest, in the greatest injustice the most holy, in the greatest anger the most pleasant and dearest.

That is why this victory is far above all ver-

1) Cf. on this history Walch, old edition, vol. IX, 1421 ff.

2) Transferred here from Cap. 7, § 44.

The truth of the matter is not in the hands of human reason, and yet it is grasped and understood with closed eyes through faith. And if God had not given us the dear holy angels as guardians and protectors, who encamp around us like a chariot, Ps. 34:8, we would soon be finished. As we see in Job, when Satan, as a slanderer, accuses him and says, "Yes, dear one, Job is good to be good, bad and righteous, for you have heaped a wall around him; but since you will stretch out your hand and allow me to attack him, it will be seen how good he is," Job 1:9 ff. Cap. 2, 4. 5. Then God permitted him, saying, Cap. 2, 6. "Behold, he is in your hand," attack him in his body and afflict him as you will, "but spare his life," and do not kill him. Then the devil went out and afflicted poor Job with so much evil French that there was not a whole spot on his skin, from the sole of his foot to the top of his head, that he sat down in ashes, and harmed himself with broken pieces, Cap. 2, 7. 8. Then also the curses began, so that Job blasphemed the day on which he was born, Cap. 3, 1. ff. And this is the sum and the whole content of the book of Job: If God does not preserve us, and as it were heaps a wall around us, then Satan has soon overthrown us and devoured us. Therefore this victory stands only in faith, that we always live in the fear of God, be courageous and call upon God with earnestness: "For it is no joke here, it is your honor and property, body and soul. Therefore, if thou art a sinner (as we all are without ceasing), believe; and thou shalt be justified. If thou art weak, believe; and thou shalt be strong. If thou art foolish, believe; and thou shalt be wise.

#### **77. change children from the devil.**

(Contained in Cap. 24, § W.)

#### **(78) From where it comes that people get up at night and walk around in their sleep.**

Satan leads people in their sleep at night from time to time, so that they do everything as if they were awake. Which, though it be a defect and infirmity withal, yet it is of the

Devil's work. In the past, the papists, being superstitious people, said that such people should not be baptized properly, some drunken priest.

#### **79 Some Histories Narrated by D. M. Luther. The first: Of a piper whom the devil led away.**

At Mölburg, 1) in the country of Thuringia, not far from Erfurt, there was a piper who let himself be used as a minstrel at weddings. He complained to the priest there how he was being challenged by the devil every day, and the latter 2) had threatened him, he wanted to lead him away, because he had drunk from a woodpecker and a long glass, in which wine and horse manure had been put by some young journeymen, out of malice; he would have been heartily sorry for that. Then the priest comforted him, prayed for him, prepared and instructed him with many sayings from the holy scriptures against the devil. From this he learned so much that he did not doubt the salvation of his soul and said, "The devil will not harm the soul, but he will take away my body, and no one can prevent him from doing so.

But the devil showed him when he would come and take him. Then they appointed guards to watch over him in the chamber where he was, praying with him and reading from God's word, and some were appointed outside with their armor and weapons. This lasted and was delayed for several days, so that they waited for him. On Saturday at midnight, the guards and some others were sitting with him with lights, when a storm wind came and blew out all the lights, took him, and led him out to the parlor, which was locked, through a small narrow window out into the street. There was a great clatter and commotion, as if many armored people were beating each other. So he got away and was lost, so that no one knew where to go.

In the morning they searched for him back and forth,

1) Mühlberg, near the three Gleichen.

2) "this" added by us.

and finally found him lying crosswise, with his arms outstretched, in a small booklet or body of water that flows down from Gleichen to Mölburg, dead and coal-black. This story has certainly happened, said D. Martin, as Mr. Friedrich Mecum, pastor at Gotha, told me, and he heard it from Mr. Johann Beck, then pastor at Mölburg.

**The other story: How the devil can frighten the conscience and harm the body of man.**

D. M. Luther said in 1543 that it had happened recently, sixteen or seventeen years ago, in Eisenach, that there had been a piper there who had been tempted by the devil, as if he wanted to lead him away, for the sake of the cause, that he had whistled to a wedding, where one had been given a bride who was not his, but had been betrothed to another. Justus Menius and many fine priests were with him, who comforted him with sayings from the holy scriptures, gave him the sacrament and absolved him, stayed with him day and night, and guarded the door and windows so that he would not be led away. Finally he said, "Well, he can't harm my soul, but he will take the body away at eight o'clock today. So the guards were ordered and everything was kept safe. But the devil came and knocked two or three tiles out of the oven and took him away. In the morning they searched all the streets for him, but not far from the city, in a hazel tree, he was found dead.

That is what conscientia does. Oh, I would like to tell the lawyers. He would gladly have harmed the poor man's soul, but when the man Christ is held up to him, whom he has crucified, he is ashamed of it. Therefore, if you say, "I believe in Jesus Christ, I have been baptized, I have received the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper," and say this from your heart, he cannot harm you. What he did to the body, he also did to the Son of God, whom he crucified and martyred to death. But if he has not won the soul, it is well.

**The third: About a nobleman who was served by the devil.**

A nobleman, not far from Torgau, went for a walk. He met someone and asked him if he wanted to serve him, because he needed a servant. He answered: Yes, he wanted to serve him. The nobleman asked him what his name was. He said, "In Bohemian he would be called N. N.". Well, said the nobleman, go home with me; and led him into the stable, and directed him the horses, which he should maintain.

But the nobleman was a godless man, who nourished himself from the ripe, so that he would have a good servant. Once the nobleman rode away, and ordered him a horse, which was very dear to him, that he should wait for it diligently. When the nobleman had ridden away, the servant led the horse to a high tower, higher than ten steps. When the nobleman came back to his house, the horse knew him, started to scream, and stuck his head out of the window at the top of the tower. He was very surprised, and as soon as he came home, he asked where the horse had gone. Then the servant said: He had diligently carried out his master's order, and showed him where the horse was. After that, the horse had to be brought down from the tower with great effort and work, with ropes and cords.

About this it happened that when he, the nobleman, was on the booty, those he had robbed hurried after him. Then the servant said, "Squire, flee quickly and get off the horse. Soon after, he came to him again and said, "He had taken all the horseshoes from their horses so that they could not have gotten away," and he rang the bell with the sack in which the horseshoes were and poured them out.

At another time, when the nobleman was imprisoned because of a death blow, he called the servant for help. He said that he could not help him because he was wearing strong oak pants tied with iron laces. But when the nobleman stopped and said that he could help him, the servant let himself be persuaded and said: I will help you, but you do not have to flap your hands much and make umbrella strokes, for I will help you.

can't stand it (cried, making a cross in front of himself). The nobleman said: He should take him anyway, he wanted to stay inside. So he took him, and led him up into the air with the chains and fetters. And because the nobleman was afraid on high, he cried out loudly: Help God, where am I? Then he let him fall down into a pool, came home, and showed it to the women, saying that she should send for him. Since she did not want to believe it, he said: Why she did not want to release her squire, he would be trapped there in a deep pool in the stick. Then the woman ran there with her servants, found him lying there, and set him free.

#### **The fourth: From one of nobility.**

A nobleman went to a sick peasant, who was possessed, and, as some are foolish, he said: You devil, why do you plague the poor man so miserably? And asked him why he did not rather attack and torment the great Hansen at court? He said to the devil, "Leave the poor man alone. Then the devil answered, "He would gladly do it, if only he would enter him," and asked him if he would allow him to do it. But he said, "Certainly not. Then the devil asked him if he would allow him to live in the tail of his robe, if he would not harm him, and if he would be lucky and victorious in all knightly games and exercises. So the nobleman allowed him to do so, and he won all the knightly games, races and jousting, and did the best. All in all, he was always on top and received the best jewel and the greatest honor.

Finally, however, the nobleman said: "I also think about how it will be after this life, I don't like this life anymore; therefore, I am on leave. Go away, I do not want you with me any longer. And he went from the court to a hospital, and served poor people there 2c.

#### **83 The fifth: Of a monk and a devil.**

Once a monk was traveling overland. There came to him one who was well armed and carried a crossbow or a steel bow. Then the monk was happy that he had a

The monk had received a journeyman, because the way was uncertain. When they had gone part of the way, the monk spoke to the journeyman and asked him if they were going right? he said: No. When the monk saw that [it] was an unknown way, he began to be afraid. But the companion turned to him and said: "Monk, give me the cap. As he said this, it seemed to him that someone was pulling off his cap like a wind, and with great fear he ran as fast as he could toward the next village, half dead. After that, when he came back to himself, he told how it had gone.

#### **The sixth: Of two monks.**

A cardinal went with another brother across the field, and when they came to the inn, the innkeeper said: They should be dear guests to him, he would now have luck. For he had an evil spirit in one chamber, so that no one could sleep in it; but the guests who were laid up in it were not beaten, but only vexed. And he said that he would have a good bed made up for the holy fathers inside, because they were holy people who could conjure up the devil. At night, when they had lain down and wanted to sleep, the spirit kept on scuffling one after the other at the little wreath on the plate. Then the monks began to quarrel with each other, and one said to the other: Dear, don't call me, let's sleep now. Then the devil came again and twitched the guardian by the little wreath. The guardian said, "Go in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and come to us in the monastery. When he had said this, they fell asleep and had rest. When they returned to the monastery, the devil sat on the threshold of the gate and cried out, "Beneveneritis, Guardian. But they were sure, because they thought he was now in their power and hand, and asked him what he wanted? He answered, "He wants to serve them in the monastery," and asked that he be ordered to a place where they could find him in need of service. They directed him to a corner in the kitchen. And so that they could know him, they dressed him in a



He put on a monk's cap and tied a bell to it as a sign to be like God. He is a very fiercely proud spirit, cannot that he was being recognized. Then they called to him stand that one wants to despise him. So I also ordered, to fetch some beer. Then they heard the bell, and he said D. Martin, that they should write to the priest said, "Give me good money, and I will bring you good again, so that they should certainly believe it to be no beer. ghost or soul, but the devil himself. Therefore, they

So it became known throughout the city. When he should go to church together and ask God to forgive came to a cellar where he had not been well their sin for the sake of Christ and to ward off the devil measured, he said: "Give me a full measure and good beer, I have given you good money. It was considerable, and had a great appearance. The

papists thought that it was good spirits, as Diana, and other many such idols and abominations, which the pagans honored as gods.

And because the ghost, as I said, or the little devil (as our people call him) lived in a corner of the kitchen, the kitchen boy was a mischievous one, and poured in dishwater and other filth, hot broth, and such unclean things, which remained and were not fit, in corners. The little devil begged him and warned him to stop, and not to cause him any more trouble, but he would not let up nor stop. Then the devil got angry and hung the kitchen boy over a beam in the kitchen, but it did not harm his life. Then the guardian gave him a vacation.

#### **85. wonderful story of the devil who deceived and strangled people.**

A priest, M. Georg Rörern, wrote to Wittenberg: As a woman had died in a village, and now, because she was buried, she ate herself in the grave, so almost all the people in the same village had died: and asked him to ask D. Martin what he advised about it. He said, "This is the devil's deceit and wickedness: if they did not believe it, it did them no harm, and they certainly thought it was nothing but the devil's ghost. But because they were so superstitious, they would only die more and more. And if one knew such things, one should not throw the people into the grave so unjustly, but say: "Eat, devil, you have salts, you do not deceive us.

And said D. M. Luther continued: "The devil, in short, wants to be feared, honored and worshipped.

#### **86. by insane people, possessed by the devil.**

(This § is in another translation Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1834 f. U 5-9. - The two numbers 359 and 360 in Cordatus are a different version from this letter to Wenceslaus Link, July 14, 1528. Cf. De Wette, vol. III, 348 f. - Rebenfock I, p. 127 d. and the Halle manuscript, Bindseil I, 239, both have dm text of the letter with minor variants. A duplicate of this letter is m Walch, alteAusgabe, vol. XVII, 2697 ff. Because we have Luther's own writing here, we did not consider it necessary to include the Cordatus Rela- tion).

#### **87) Over which, and how far, God forbids the devil to afflict the people.**

God gives power to the devil and sorcerers over people in two ways. First, over the wicked, when he wants to punish them for their sin. Secondly, over the pious and God-fearing, when he wants to try them whether they want to remain steadfast in faith and in his obedience. For without God's will and our consent, the devil cannot harm us. For thus he says: "Whoever touches you touches the apple of my eye," Zech. 2, 8. And Christ says: "Without the will of your heavenly Father, not a hair of your head can fall off," Luc. 21, 18.

#### **88. a marvelous story of a virgin, how the devil played a game with her.**

There were two students in Erfurt, one of whom was so fond of a virgin that he almost went mad over it. Then the other one, of whom he did not know that he was a black artist, said: "Will

If you do not take her in your arms, I will make her come to you. When he agreed, he brought it about with his swan-like art that the virgin came to him. And when she went into his parlor, as he was a very beautiful man, he received her so kindly and talked to her that the black artist was always worried that he would love her. And since the student could not refrain from great love, he embraced her. Then she fell down and died. Now that she lay dead, they were very frightened. The black artist said, "Now we must try the worst; and he made the devil carry her home again, and did what she had done before in the house. But she was very pale and spoke nothing. After three days, the parents went to the theologians and asked them for advice on what to do with her. When they spoke harshly to her, the devil left her and fled, and the dead body fell straight down with a great stench. For the blood is a cause of good color, and the living spirits, these the devil cannot make, but God alone is the Creator.

#### **How to use the history of the devil's tyranny.**

Some years ago in the land of Thuringia, the devil wanted to take away a young journeyman, but he resisted and argued with him for a long time, so that the devil had to give way. -Then he repented and reformed, and was preserved.

These are truly not useless and futile histories and stories to make people fearful: they are truly terrible, and not at all children's work, as the clever think. Therefore, take good note of such histories and the like, that you may be more modest, chaste and diligent, and beware of cursing and blasphemy, and do not invite the devil as your guest: he is much nearer to us than we think. And at the same time remember this saying: "The Son of God has appeared to destroy the works of the devil," 1 John 3:8.

Well, may our Lord God help us, not only because the course of the heavens and the

Star, together with many cruel and terrifying

The church is not only a sign of no good, but also a sign of the devil's cunning, trickery, and practices, who is now attacking the church on all sides without ceasing in the most fierce and powerful way, and is storming towards it.

#### **90. the devil's way.**

(Cordatus No. 168.)

The wolf has the devil's kind in many things, but he is similar to him in that he does not eat a fenced sheep, because he killed them all first. The same is found with the devil, he does not want to destroy one, but all. 1)

#### **91) The devil's power is seen in the case of the saints. 2)**

(Cordatus No. 158.)

How powerful the devil, the prince of this world, is, cannot be seen from the fall of carnal people, nor even of wise people, nor of those who are the most perceptive by pure natural powers [in puris naturalibus], but from those who are endowed with the Holy Spirit, such as Adam, David, Solomon, Judas, Peter. For how great sins these have committed! But so it must be, that all flesh may not boast before the face of God. Lest David boast because of his government, lest Solomon exalt himself in his splendor and power 2c. In the sight of God, all saints must not be so holy that they never need to pray: Miserere mei, Deus, Lord, have mercy on me [Matth. 15, 22.] 2c.

#### **The Satan, when he is once seen, does not soon relent.**

D. Martin was informed that N. N. sder Churfürst von Brandenburg, Joachim I.] 3) saw the devil disguising himself as a man. Then the doctor said: "Whoever sees the

1) Cf. Cap. 7, § 34, para. 3.

2) The 4th paragraph of Cap. 2, § 11 is so similar that it seems to be only another redaction of this §.

3) Cf. 45, § 4. In dresem § the black artist and Gauricus is One person, but there they are divorced from Lauterbach. Cap. 45, § 1 Gauricus is called a mathematicus; § 4 "his physician".

The one who invites the devil as a guest will not get rid of him. For D. Lucas Gauricus, the black artist, whom he had brought from Italy, has publicly confessed to me that N. N. had dealt with the devil, and that he wanted to help himself with the holy scripture. He was right to do so, because it was written: "The seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent", Gen. 3, 15. That man would have the power over the devil, that he would have to come to him if he wanted 2c., I do not want to dare, said D. Martin.

### 93: Of deceased noblemen who have gone astray.

Afterwards he told a story, which Mr. Niclas von Amsdorf would have told him for certain: How he once lay at night in an inn, two of the nobility, who had died before, would have gone with two boys, who carried torches, to him in the chamber, would have woken him up that he should get up, no harm should befall him. When he had gotten up, they would have called him to write a letter; as they had told it to him from their mouths in the pen, then ordered him: he should give it to the old M. 1); were thus gone. But he would have handed the letter over to the prince. Amsdorf indicated to me that it had certainly happened to him. Thus one sees in many histories and writings how the devil does not celebrate. He is truly not a bad master who is to be so despised; he is much closer to us than we think: he can deceive and cheat man's soul and spirit, how much more can he vex and afflict the body!

### 94. How the devil can deceive people and beget children.

Doctor Martin Luther said: That he himself had heard a story from Duke Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony, that a noble family had been in Germany, that they had been born from a succubus. For that is what it is called; just as Melusina at Lucelburg was also such a succubus or devil.

1) Margrave, Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg. Bindseil I, 207.

But it would have happened like this: A nobleman had a beautiful young wife, who had died to him and was also buried. Not long after that, the master and servant were lying together in a chamber, and the deceased woman came at night and leaned over the master's bed as if she were talking to him. When the servant saw that this happened twice in a row, he asked the squire what it was, and whether he knew that every night a woman in white clothes came to his bed? He said, "No, he sleeps all night and sees nothing. When it was night again, the squire took care of it and woke up in bed: then the woman came before the bed again. The squire asked who she was and what she wanted. She answers: She is his housewife. He says, "Have you died and been buried? She answers, "Yes, she died because of his cursing and because of his sin, but if he wanted her back, she would become his housewife again. He says: "Yes, if only it could be. But she said, "I will not," and admonished him that he should not curse, as he had cursed him in a special way, because otherwise she would soon die again. This the man promised her. Then the deceased woman stayed with him, ruled in the house, slept with him, ate and drank with him, and fathered children. Now it happened that once the nobleman had guests, and after the meal was over, in the evening, the woman was supposed to fetch a gingerbread cake for the fruit from a box, and she stayed outside for a long time. Then the man became mischievous and cursed the usual curse, and the woman disappeared from that hour and was gone with her. Since she did not come back, they went up to the chamber to see where the woman was. There her skirt, which she had on, lay half with the sleeves in the box, but the other part lay outside, as the woman had hunkered down in the box, and the woman had disappeared, and had not been seen since that time. This is what the devil does, he can change into a woman and a man.

Jam est Quaestio: Whether they are right women? and whether they are right children? These are my thoughts, that they are not right women.

They can be women, but they are devils. And so go to it: the devil makes a noise before their eyes and deceives them, so that people think they are sleeping with a real woman, and yet it is nothing. The same happens when it is a man. For the devil is strong with the children of unbelief, as St. Paul says.

But how are the children begotten? To this I say: That these sons were also devils, having such bodies as the mother. It is truly a horrible example that Satan can afflict people in such a way that he also begets children. So it is also with the mermaid in the water, who draws men to him as virgins and maidens, with whom he keeps them and begets the devil's children. Otherwise, begetting children is a divine work, and our Lord God must be the creator, because we always call him Father, and the conception must also take place *per constituta media, et per homines* in one moment; because he uses men as a means for creation, and through them he works alone, and not through the devil. Therefore, they must be stolen children, as the devil can steal children; as one sometimes loses children in six weeks, or they must be *supposititii*, change children, which the Saxons call *Kielkropf*.

#### 95 Historia von einem Wechselkinde zu Dessau.

Eight years ago, there was one in Dessau that I saw D. M. Luther, which was twelve years old, had its eyes and all senses that one thought it was a real child. The same did nothing but eat as much as any four farmers or threshers. It ate, shat and sank, and if one attacked it, it screamed. If things went badly in the house, so that damage happened, it laughed and was cheerful; but if things went well, it cried. It had these two virtues. Then I said to the prince of Anhalt: "If I were prince or lord, I would take this child into the water, into the hollow that flows near Dessau, and would dare to commit homicide. But the Elector of Saxony, who was one of the

Dessau, and the princes of Anhalt did not want to follow me. Then I said: "So they should have the Christians pray an Our Father in church, so that the dear God would take away the devil. This was done daily in Dessau; the same changeling died the next year. So it must be there too. Someone else has written about the Succubis and Incubis, because it is not strange. And the Succubi are women who have to do with the devil and atone for the lust of the same old whores and weather makers; as Melusina at Lucelburg was also such a Succubus and devil.

In 1541, D. Luther also thought of this history over tables, and that he had advised the Prince of Anhalt to drown the changeling or the goitre (which is so called because it always keels in the goitre). Then he was asked why he had advised such a thing? He answered that he thought that such changelings were only a piece of flesh, a *massa carnis*, since there was no soul inside: for the devil could well do this, as he otherwise corrupts men who have reason, even body and soul, when he possesses them bodily, so that they neither hear, see, nor feel anything, he makes them dumb, deaf, blind: so the devil is in such changelings as their soul. It is a great power of the devil that he thus holds our hearts captive. And said, Origen did not understand the power of the devil sufficiently, because he was in the thought that at the last day the devils should be redeemed from eternal damnation. Oh, he says, it is a great sin of the devil that he knowingly sets himself against God, his Creator.

#### 96 Another history of a changeling.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 660.)

It is true that the devil substitutes his children for the right ones, as it also happened in our time to someone who brought a very voracious changeling, since he was not able to satisfy it, to Our Lady in Hockstadt to be weighed there. As he crosses the river, the devil calls out of it: *Kielkropf!* The latter lay in a basket and

answered: O, ho! - Where do you want to go? - I want to go to Hockstadt and let myself be swayed. When the man heard this, he threw him into the river, in which they played with each other and mocked him.

It is said that such changelings and keelheads do not live beyond eighteen or nineteen years. This often happens that the children of the women in six weeks of childbirth are confused, and the devils take their place, and make themselves nastier with shitting, eating and screaming than other ten children, so that the parents have no rest from such unfortunates, and the mothers are so sucked out that they can no longer breastfeed.

And when Luther was asked over the table, "Are such changelings also baptized?" he answered, "Yes, because they are not known soon in the first year, but only when they suck their mothers dry. Luther then said, "Let us not despise the devil in this way, for he is truly an artist in a thousand ways. See how he tricked the poor boy who fell to his death here in Ambrosii Reuter's house in 1538 on the 5th day of December, who was a pious and diligent student; but when he was standing up in the house at four o'clock in the evening, he suddenly fell down and died. The devil can also prove this trick to pious hearts.

#### **Satan is a wise spirit through long experience and practice.**

Anno '39, the 15th of January, there was talk about the great security of the people in these last times. There spoke D. Martin: Oh, one must not be so sure, for we have great and mighty adversaries and enemies against us, namely the devils, which cannot be counted, so great a multitude are they; and they are not small party devils, but country devils, court devils and prince devils, who have now for a very long time, over five thousand years, become exceedingly wise and experienced through constant training. For, just think, if the devil in the beginning of the world would be a

He has been a bad creature, but he has become very cunning and wise through such long practice that he has challenged and plagued Adam, Methuselah, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, David, Solomon, the prophets, apostles, even the Lord Christ and all believers with all his might without ceasing.

#### **98. from Samuel, so king Saul appeared, what it gewest.**

Doctor Martinus was asked: When Samuel, at the request of King Saul from the soothsayer, appeared to him, 1 Sam. 28, 14, whether it was the right prophet? He said, "No, it was a ghost and an evil spirit. Which proves that God forbade in Moses that one should not ask the truth from the dead; but was only the devil's specter, in the form of the man of God. Just as a sorcerer and black artist, the Abbot of Spanheim, had managed that Emperor Maximilian had seen all deceased emperors and great heroes, the new 2) best, so called, walking in his chamber one after the other, as each one had been shaped and dressed when he lived, among whom had also been the great Alexander, Julius Caesar, item, Emperor Maximilian's bride, 3) whom the King of France, Carolus 4) Gibbosus, had taken from him.

#### **Where it comes from that one is more afraid at night than during the day.**

(Contained in Cap. 48, K15.)

#### **The devil hinders all joy.**

I should be happy, said Martinus, so that I would be completely healthy with joy and could not become ill with joy. But the devil goes about without ceasing, making me sad and distressed, and if he does not do it for himself without means, he does it through means, as through the N. or another, and this happens and happens to me only often.

1) Perhaps the son of the mayor Benedict Pauli in Wittenberg. Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1565 ff.

2) Aurifaber and Stangwald: "Neien". This is missing in the Latin table speeches.

3) Anna, Duchess of Brittany. (Fürstemann.)

4) Carl VIII.

### The devil's art and masterpiece to challenge us.

It is useful and good to know the devil's tricks, wiles and practices. He takes the very smallest sins, which he can make so high, that one does not know where he should stay before it. Once he really tormented me with the words of St. Paul to Timothy and almost strangled me, so that my heart wanted to melt in my body. For he reproached me and accused me of being a cause that so many monks and nuns had run away from the monasteries 2c. 1) And took the main article of righteousness, which is before God, finely from my eyes and heart, so that I did not remember it, and held up to me the text, 1 Tim. 5:11, about the young widows, who, when they have become lustful and foolish, so that the food stings them, they want to be free, and have their judgment that they have broken the first faith 2c. And I came by the grace of God into the disputation of the law: there he had brought me naked and into a corner, that I could nowhere turn. D. Pommer was with me, I held it up to him, he went with me into the hallway: there he also began to doubt and waver, because he did not need to know that it was so urgent for me; then I was very frightened at first, and had to bite it all night with a heavy heart. The next day, D. Pommer came to me again and said: I am quite angry, I looked at the text right at first 2c. And it is true, it is a ridiculous argument; yes, if one is with himself, except for the challenge, otherwise not before. Such a fellow is the devil, he lurks everywhere for us.

Nevertheless we have Christ, who came not to condemn but to save. If one stands on him and remains, there is no other God in heaven or on earth, but such a God who justifies and saves. Again, if you leave him out of your sight and heart, there is no help, comfort or rest. But when the saying comes: "God sent His Son, and so loved the world that He gave His Son" 2c., Joh. 3, 16.

1) Cf. Cap. 26, § 37; Cap. 7, § 72.

Rest of heart. Therefore let all who are tempted set before them Christ as an example and model, who also was tempted everywhere, but it was much more sour for him than for us. 2)

I have often wondered how it was possible, because Christ knew that he was completely pure, that the devil could have challenged him. But that humbled him, that the devil said to him: "Do you hear? You are a scoundrel, you are one of the boys, you are the son of man; should you be the outlaw? Therefore thou art partaker of all the sins of the whole world, and of this flesh which thou hast put on. Yes, says Christ, I have done nothing. No harm, says the devil, I will find you here all the same! Therefore there is nothing in our temptation.

I have not had a greater or more severe challenge than from my preaching, that I thought: this being you are directing everything. In my rebellion I often went into hell, until God brought me out again and comforted me that my preaching is the true word of God and the right heavenly teaching. But it costs much before one receives this comfort: with others it comes with righteousness or piety, and thereby challenges them.

The devil wants to have only *activam justitiam* 3) in us, such a righteousness, which we do ourselves; so we have only passive, a foreign righteousness, which is given to us, and shall also have no *activam* and own, which we do, and which is valid before God. He does not want to leave us the other, namely, the alien and given righteousness of Christ; so we have only lost the *activam justitiam*, the righteousness that we do ourselves out of our own strength, because with it no one can stand before God. But if one rejects him and says, "Here is the one who was crucified, died and rose again for sinners: do you also know him? In whose righteousness I live, not in mine: if I have sinned, he answereth for it. And this is the very best way and way to overcome Satan through the Word. The other way is that we

2) So Stangwald. At Aurifaber: because us and me.

3) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 222.

We must overcome him by contempt, that we reject the thoughts he gives us, and turn our hearts to other thoughts, than to amuse ourselves with walking, eating, drinking, going to people, talking with them, and being merry, that we may get rid of heavy thoughts. This is also good, Gerson wrote about it.

It must be so, our Lord God attacks us honestly, but he still does not leave us stuck. We should also do what is ours, and wait for our body and give it what is due to it, eat and drink, be of good cheer; according to the common old saying: Drink and eat, do not forget God. For in temptations it is a hundred times worse to fast than to eat and drink. When I am in temptation, I would not eat a morsel in three days, for I have no appetite, nor desire, nor inclination. This then is double and twofold fasting, that I eat and drink, and yet without desire. Now when the world sees such things, it regards them as drunkenness. But God will judge whether it is drunkenness or fasting. She will get the fasting, but not like me. Therefore keep your belly and head well, and do not torture yourself to death with fasting, especially when you are in melancholy, heavy thoughts and temptations; otherwise you have plague enough.

It is like this with me: When I wake up at night, the devil soon comes and disputes with me, and gives me all kinds of strange thoughts, until I encourage myself and say: Kiss me on the buttocks; God is not angry, as you say.

#### **The devil's temptation.**

Apart from grace, said Luther, that is, according to the law we are evil. The devil is always accusing us of this temptation and tormenting us with it, especially at the last end or when we are in danger of life and limb.

#### **103. terrible story of a student who had surrendered to the devil.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 13, 1538, p. 26.)

On February 13, a young man, a certain Valerius (bell ringer), son of the

Mayor in Nuremberg, absolved by Luther in the Sacristy in the presence of the deacons and his preceptor Georg M[ajor]. For this young man was very disobedient and had no inclination to righteousness, but was in a quite desperate situation. When he was examined by his preceptor; Why he lived without all fear of God and man? he confessed that he had surrendered to the devil five years ago with these words: I tell you (sChrist) to give up your faith and to accept another Lord. Luther questioned him about these words and pressed him hard whether he had said anything more; whether he was also sorry and now wanted to convert. When the young man imploringly agreed to this, then D. M. prayed with us. prayed the Lord's Prayer with us, laying his hands on his knees, and then added: "O Lord God, heavenly Father, you have commanded us to pray through your dear Son, and have ordained the ministry of preaching in your holy Church, that we should instruct the brethren, who may be overtaken by error, with a gentle spirit; and Christ himself says: He is not come but for the sinner's sake: therefore we beseech thee for this thy servant, that thou forgive him his sins, and receive him again into the article of remission of sins of thy holy church. 1) Then he recited to the young man in German these words, which he repeated to him one by one: I Valerius confess before God and all His holy angels, and before the assembly of the Church: that I have renounced my faith to God, [and] surrendered to the devil; I am heartily sorry for this, and now I will henceforth be a renounced enemy to the devil, and willingly follow God, my Lord, and amend myself, amen. He then exhorted him to repentance and godliness, that he should live sincerely in godliness and obedience, and resist the devil's devotions and lusts in faith and prayer. If the devil were to tempt him with evil thoughts, he should prepare himself with God's word, and quickly go to his preceptor or chaplain, and accuse and expose the devil with his counsel.

1) This prayer is already printed in the X. Theil dev St. Louis edition, Col. 1500 s.

**The devil's tyranny is in vain against the God-fearing.**

(Contained in Cap. 48, § 38.)

**How a man, who is a poor and weak creature, can overcome Satan, the most powerful and strongest enemy.**

God is even considered a fool, in that he sets against the most powerful enemy, the devil, who is mightier and stronger than a thousand Turks, man, who is a weak creature, who is like a crushed reed. It must greatly disgust the devil that he cannot overcome the common man, and that he cannot harm him, God forbid and allow him to do so. That is why Satan is angry and shoots fiery arrows into us. For this reason, we need the shield of faith.

I have tried and experienced this fight. Now it does me no harm when I am with people. But when he seizes me alone, he teaches me morals. Satan takes the cleverest, holiest and most powerful in the world; again, God needs simple people, sends a poor peasant, a shepherd, a fisherman 2c. against them. This greatly displeases the devil.

**106 Of the power of the devil.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 4, 1538, Monday, p. 156.)

On November 4, there was a lot of talk about the power of the devil, who takes away people who are devoted to him bodily through the air. How a certain man, who had made a covenant with the devil, finally realized his danger, repented and confessed. When the hour came and was near, he often repeated: "The body is of the devil, but the soul will be saved. Finally, in the presence of many guards, he was kidnapped through the window. He answered: "One must not lure the devil, otherwise he will come and would like to be with us, as our rejected enemy. As the scripture describes him with a terrible title, where it calls him the prince of the world and a god of this world. It is a star

ker, great enemy. Therefore, I believe that if infant baptism did not exist, there would be no church; for adults, seeing the power of the devil, would never take upon themselves baptism and the vow against Satan.

**The devil blinds people's eyes.**

Since H. B. was astonished that it was said that the devil could blind people's eyes, D. M. Luther said: "Do you not believe this? M. Luther said: "Do you not believe this? See how the devil can blind reason as powerfully as he blinds N. N.". At that time, the weather was remembered that had been in Nuremberg in the 33rd year on February 18, which had risen at midnight and raged so that it had torn down four thousand trees in the Nuremberg forest, and the roof on the fortress there was almost exposed in half; for a great, cruel wind had come, with thunder and lightning, so powerful that it was thought that the last day would come.

Then said D. M. Luther: The devil makes such weather, but the good winds make the good angels. For winds would be nothing else than good or evil spirits. The devil snorts and breathes, just as the angels do when healthy, good winds blow.

**108. comfort against the devil and his scales rages.**

Dear brothers, said D. M. Luther, despise the devil quickly. For he who was crucified by him has crucified him again, the ruler of Israel, and has led him in the play, and has given us to mock, to ridicule, and to rebel against him, if we believe otherwise in the crucified one, the devil's crucifier. For though he crucify us, yet will we crucify him again, even with whom he crucified us. We will also crucify him on that day, or even before, and lead him around in the spectacle.

**What is the greatest challenge of the devil and how to overcome it.**

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 56.)



**110. difference between the holy and the evil spirit.**

(Contained in Cap. 38, B 12.)

**What Satan challenges Christians with the most.**

(Cordatus No. 456.)

The devil plagues the godly with very little arguments, not because of contempt and blasphemy of the name of God, not because of faith and love, but our weaknesses he makes us very big, with snowballs he throws us and yet he magnifies his small, few and fictitious things in such a way that we believe he throws whole houses on us if we are not careful in faith. Summa: he is and remains a slanderer. If God allowed him, he would accuse us of the gravest sins against the first tablet, which we could not bear. Evil God allows him, but to afflict with greater things, the honor He has taken away from him.

**112. how to keep oneself in temptations.**

When a challenge comes, ask and say, "Devil, in what commandment is it written? If he does not indicate this, then say, "Troll yourself, you mischievous one, and let me be satisfied with the jokes. If these temptations do not want to remain outside, excommunicate them and put them under ban, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and say: God has forbidden us to take this coin. They are not Hungarian or Bohemian pennies, or the thalers of the Lords of Saxony, but are beaten by the devil; therefore we shall not take them, but reject his coin, for it is forbidden coin.

**113, Every thing has its time.**

There is a time for war, and a time for peace; there is a time to be foolish, and a time to be wise; there is also a time for temptation and sorrow, Ecclesiastes 3:1. But the Lord hears the soft sighing of the afflicted and the afflicted.

**114. Another of Luther's temptations and his thoughts.**

If heavy thoughts occur to you, dispel them with whatever you can; if you know nothing more, talk to good friends about something else that you feel like doing. One of them said, "Is it possible to do nothing great without heavy, deep thoughts? Then said D. M. Luther said: "Thoughts must be distinguished. Thoughts of the intellect, intellectus cogitationes, do not make one sad, but cogitationes voluntatis, the thoughts of the will, do: when a thing vexes or displeases 2) one, which are melancholy and sad thoughts, because one sighs and complains, they hurt. But the mind is not sad.

So, when I wrote against the pope, I was not sad, because then I worked with my head and mind; then I wrote with joy: that even the preceptor of Lichtenberg 3) said to me one evening over the table: I am surprised that you can be so cheerful: if the trade were mine, I would have to die over it 2c. The pope has never hurt me, except for the first time, when Sylvester wrote against me, and put on the front of his book this title: The Holy Palace Master. Then I thought, "Corpse, will it be that the matter will come before the pope? Nevertheless, our Lord God gave me mercy, because Bachant wrote such a wicked thing that I had to laugh. Since that time I have never been frightened. Now, at this age, I have no fear of people, I have nothing to do with them: but the devil walks with me in the sleeping house, and I have one or two, who listen to me strongly, and are visceral devils: and if they can gain nothing from me in the heart, then they attack my head, and plague it well; and if it will no longer rest, then I will throw them into Ars, where they belong.

**115. sadness of the spirit.**

(Cordatus No. 453. 454. 455.)

When I was struck by a sudden fainting spell on New Year's Day, I said: It

1) "his" probably misprint instead of "heavy". (Förstemann.)

2) In the editions: gefällt.

3) Dr. Wolfgang Reißbusch. Cf. Cap. 68, § 1.

the LORD rebuke thee, Satan, thou shouldest only be an angel of life and truth, and hast become a spirit of falsehood and death; and I have found myself better.

We must neither fear nor hate the temptations, but love what David did after he experienced the benefit of his temptations. Let the wicked be afraid, the Cochläus, the Faber, the Margrave. That is, the temptation of the spirit does not concern us, because we are servants of God.

Schlaginhausen said: O my sins! To whom I answered, "I present to you four things which are to be held against the devil and sins: That one is baptized and absolved, that one has communicated and practices the Word daily. But if the temptation wants to hurt us a little, it does no harm, and the one who is tempted wants to call upon God, he gets angry. But whoever touches Anna, the devil will soon make it sweet. We lack only faith, which alone is the victor over all sins. And with Satan one must not argue about the law, but about grace, otherwise the evil one can make a cameo out of a louse.

**What Satan cannot do himself, he does through old wicked women.**

(Contained in Cap. 43, § 40.)

**The first time the author of the book was a student of theology.**

Satan wants me to look at the law, sin and death. He holds this trinity against me and torments me with it, and in it he has the advantage that sin is against God and the law. But St. Paul instructs and teaches me against it in a fine masterly way, when he says, 1 Cor. 15:57: "Thanks be to God, who has given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

When Schlaginhausen, the priest of Anhalt in Köthen, complained to the doctor about his fear of prayer, he said, "He has often done it to me, but I know that I pray more a day than all the monks and priests, even though I do not babble much. And one shall

Do not despise the prayers described, for he who prays a little psalm shall be warmed. The devil has often reproached me and argued against the whole thing I lead and against Christ. But it is better that the temple should be torn to pieces than that Christ should remain hidden and concealed.

(From here to the end of § Cordatus No. 654.)

If any man be in affliction, or with them that are afflicted, only smite Moses dead, and cast all stones at him: but if any man recover, then shall the law be preached unto him. But to him that is afflicted no affliction need be preached.

**God gives life, the devil kills.**

Everything that God makes, He creates for life, as Jeremiah says: He creates that it be, and calls that which is not, that it be. It is said: He has a desire for life, but out of Satan's envy and malice death has come into the world, Weish. 1, 13. 14., therefore he is called a founder of death; for what does the devil do other than to deceive people from the right pure religion, awakens rebellion, war, pestilence and all misfortune?

(Similar to Cordatus No. 275.)

It is very beautiful that the holy scripture of GOD takes away death from GOD Himself and makes the devil the Lord of it, Ebr. 2, 14. For GOD is a GOD of life.

**119. the devil's mildness.**

The devil gives heaven before sin, and after sin he makes a despondent conscience and despair; but Christ does the opposite, he gives heaven after sin, and makes a happy conscience.

**120) How Satan dealt with D. M. Luther.**

Today, said D. M. Luther, when I awoke, the devil came and wanted to dispute with me, objicirete and accused me of being a sinner. Then I said: Tell me something new, devil, that I know well before. I have otherwise done many true sins; it

there must be righteous sin, not fabricated and invented sin, which someone himself specifies, which God must forgive for the sake of his dear Son, who has taken all my sins from me. Now that my sins, which I have committed, are no longer mine, but Christ's own, I will not deny this benefit and grace of God, but confess it. But if thou hast not had enough of it, thou devil, I also have thrown and pissed; thereon wipe thy mouth, and bite thee well therewith.

Then he reproached me and said, "Where have you put the monasteries in the world? I answered and said, "Strike lead, and you will see how your worship and blasphemy remain.

I think that the devil often wakes me up, since I otherwise sleep well, only because he vexes and torments me. I am now completely immersed in the article of forgiveness of sins, and I am always going about it day and night, and all my thoughts are of Jesus Christ, my only Savior, who has done and paid enough for my sin. I confess nothing to the law, nor to all devils. He who can believe in the forgiveness of sin is a blessed man.

#### **Satan flies the musica.**

The devil is a sad spirit and makes sad people, therefore he cannot stand happiness. Therefore, he also flees from music as far as possible: do not stay when one sings, especially spiritual songs. So David soothed Saul's affliction with his harp when the devil was tormenting him.

(Here 6 lines are omitted because included in Cap. 68, § 1.)

And D. Luther turned to his table companion 1) and said: "Do you have thoughts to sell? Rather, beat them out, and do not engage in argument and battle with the devil, and do not dispute with him about the law, for he is a thousandfold artist who plagues people in a wonderful way.

N. Leonhard, priest of Guben, said: "If he had been captured, he would have been

1) Stangwald: "zu Doctor Wellem".

The devil would have been afflicted, and the devil's heart would have laughed, if he had taken a knife in his hand, for he would often have said to him, "Stab yourself. Therefore he would often have had to throw the knife away. If he had seen a thread lying on the ground, he would have picked it up and gathered so much that he could have made a rope out of it to hang himself. Yes, he had driven him to the point that he could not have prayed the Lord's Prayer or read the Psalms, which he had otherwise known quite well. Luther answered: "I have often encountered this, too, that when I have taken a knife in my hand, such evil thoughts have occurred to me, and that I have often not been able to pray, and the devil has chased me out of the chamber.

(Here a paragraph is omitted because contained in Cap. 26, § 34.)

#### **122. from contestation.**

When we have hardly torn through the temptation, and with all our effort and work have come to the point where we begin to pray, then the dispute really begins. For then our conscience comes, and holds us back from our sin: then the devil is on all sides, so that we cannot believe that God wants to hear us, thinking that we are not worthy. Moreover, the longer we pray, the worse it gets for us.

#### **Difference of obedience to God and Satan. 2)**

(Cordatus No. 86.)

Between the obvious obedience to God and the devil, there is nothing more beautiful than superstition, 3) and people perform both [obedience] with the same zeal. Obedience to God is the obedience of faith and good works. But the obedience to the devil is from unbelief to evil works and superstition.

2) Cf. cap. 2, § 118.

3) The meaning is: the ugly superstition lies between obedience to God and obedience to the devil.

**Human security among so many mighty evil spirits.**

(Contained in Cap. 24, § 97.)

**125th history of a small blacksmith.**

(Lauterbach, Jan. 10, 1538, p. 6.)

On January 10, a young man, a blacksmith, was deceived by night ghosts, frightened and led through all the streets of the city, in the evening from 6:00 to 6:00 p.m., and then he was questioned by the ghost whether he adhered to the catechism and what he had done the other day that was ungodly, that he had taken Holy Communion under both guises, and finally it said: "If you go into your master's house, I will break your neck. Therefore he would not have gone into the house in a few days. We took this young man to the doctor and told him the case. Luther said: "It is not easy to believe everyone, because many people make up such things. Admittedly, he had seen a ghost, but he should not have left his profession. Then he examined him, what he had talked with the devil, and said: "See that you do not lie, but fear God, hear his word, go to the house of your Lord and work according to your profession, and if the devil should return, answer him: I will not obey you, but God, who calls me to this work; I, even if an angel would come from heaven, will still do my job.

**This is the first time that a book has been published.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 13, 1538, p. 29.)

After that they mentioned the satanic deception, which deceived the people by ghost apparitions and night ghosts soft]. For in the Netherlands a monster of the size of a man and of the shape of a dog would have run around, which would have attacked the people who should have died there, and this monster is seen by some, but not by those whom it attacked. This monster was called Leichmal. Then the dying people resorted to superstition and masses. Luther answered: Dear

GOD, keep your word, for if that is lost, we believe it all and worship it. For when that is taken away, there is nothing so distasteful that is not worshipped, as Priapus among the Romans. Therefore, after the word was lost, the annual feasts, the thirtieth, 1) the seventh, and the third day came to be for the dead, so that even the holy men Bernard and Gregory fell away, as Christ saith Matt. 24, [v. 24.] "That being deceived into error (where it would be possible) even the elect." For when Christ is lost, and the state of justification by the word of faith, one easily falls into those errors. When the article of justification stands, that deception falls, as we see in experience.

**The devil's request among Christians.**

(Contained in Cap. 24, 8 2.)

**128. devil's image.**

Doctor Martin Luther found a large caterpillar and said: "This is a devilish walk or creep, and is of various colors, like the devil, who sees, walks, and also creeps in this way.

**129. hellhound, the devil.**

(Cordatus No. 741. [Cf. No. 213.]

Cerberus Greek, Hebrew Schirbor, is called the infernal dog, which has three jaws, the sin, the law, the death. Behemoth is the big ox, and denotes the death, which constantly, since children are born, grazes the older ones, like that ox all grasses of the world in one night, which grow again by the falling dew. Thus the Leviathan is the great dragon, whom God has ordered to joke with him, and whom he irritates by his pious ones, and he fools with him [i.e. he plays his game with him] every day for three hours.

**130: Of the whale fish, the devil.**

Job wrote two chapters (Cap. 40. and 41.) about the Behemoth, the whale fish.

1) Trigesimä, to say thirty masses for the dead, cf. Cap. 27, § 120. Cf. also Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 1388, § 165: "redeemed with a thirtieth."

that no one is safe from him. What will you do with the Leviathan, he says, do you think he will fall at your feet and worship you? There are faded words and figures or pictures, so that the devil is indicated. The whale fish asks for no ship, Behemoth neither. He asks for no art, wisdom, force and power: the prince of this world considers it all stubble and straw, he asks nothing for it, it is as nothing to him. But one thing shall overthrow him, that is, God's word and faith. The seed of the woman must do it.

**131: Of Poltergeists, from M. Hieronymi Besold's Collectaneis.**

M. Luthern was told by someone over the table how the devil was rumbling and storming in his house, and yet one could not see anything, nor did it speak; and he then asked the doctor if he could ask who it was? The doctor answered, "No, don't swear at him, don't ask him, but you know who it is; you know it's the devil, and you shouldn't swear at him. And said: In Saxonia 1) a Spectrum would have run around like a dog, whom he had attacked, he had died. That could (said D. Luther) the devil well, he sees defectum complexionis; as a Medicus from the urine of the sick opportunity sees, and says: He will not live over three days 2c. Thus he sees the voluntates hominum, that one is so and so inclined against the other, and bears aversion together; then he can easily say: they will still stab each other; for he sees finely the cohaerentiam causerum. Then it goes on, if prayer does not intervene, and that our Lord God does not hurt the devil.

Otherwise one cannot chase the devil away, because credendo in Christum, that one says: I am baptized, I am a Christian. If one calls the name of Jesus Christ with earnestness, he flees from the Semine mulieris, from Christ, because he is afraid of him, and he knows that he has corrupted his teeth in it: just as we have the teeth in the bite of an apple, so he is afraid of it.

1) Cf. §126 of this chapter. There it says: In the Netherlands,

he has ruined it in the semine. But if our Lord God causes the devil to become powerful over us, then it is a trial.

It happened in Prussia, there were good full brothers in a monastery, who always carried enough beer with them into the church, because they were full day and night. Finally they start to sing the antiphon, Bonorum meorum non eget; they sing something else for it. Then the devil came out, as he had been painted in ancient times, with an infernal rod, and with the same rod he struck a blow on the earth in front of each monk, so that they all fell to the ground, and some remained dead. When an old friar, who was looking at the altar but had not entered the choir, heard this, he began to cry out: Ecce, Verbum caro factum est; and the devil quickly disappeared.

M. Luther said: In necessitate one throws away caps, plates and all good works, and takes hold of Christ, saying: Help, dear Lord JEsu Christe; then he also helps. One does not know the devil, because in Christ. Christ illuminates us.

**132: Von des Teufels Gespenst und Betrug, from Äl. Veit Dieterich's witten Collectaneis.**

Over Luther's table, they talked about the Spectris and changelings: the doctor's wife, his housewife, had told a story: how a wistful mother in one place had been led away by the devil to a woman with six children, with whom the devil had had to do: she had lived in a hole in the water in the Milda 2) and the water had not harmed her at all, but she had sat in the hole as in a beautiful parlor.

M. Luther said: "These are all Somnia. They were smothered as if he led them under the water: for the devil makes people asleep; he can do that well, and makes a jugglery before their eyes, with which they play until they awake. It is the same thing with the Hörselberg, in the

2) Stangwald: Mulde.

Land zu Thüringen bei Eisenach; these are also just loud Somnia.

There is a story about Episcopo Germano, who had come to an inn for a while. Next to his table, another table had been prepared, and deliciously prepared with food and drink, and yet it was night. When he asked what that meant, he was told that they would have more guests. Then he asked who the guests would be. They told him that they would be their neighbors. When it was time to go to bed, and everyone wanted to sleep, and the guests were still to come, the bishop asked the innkeeper to let him lie in the parlor, for he would like to see the guests. The innkeeper agrees. He lies down and keeps watch; then the guests come in, and they are all Daemonia. He looked at them and told them to stay there and not to leave until he told them to. Then he woke up his famulus and sent him up to the innkeeper to come down with his wife and servants. When they come, the bishop asks, "Are these the guests? The innkeeper said, "Yes, because Hans is sitting there, and Kunz there, and the names of his neighbors. Then the bishop said, "Go ahead, send them out and see if they are at home. Then they were all at home. Then the host saw that they had all been devil ghosts. And St. Germanus told the devils to go away. After that, the guests did not come back.

Similis est Historia<sup>1</sup>) of another all-father: He had moved into a house, since no one else could live inside; but as soon as he comes in, it became "quiet inside. For the devil does not like Christ, whom the Jews blaspheme and the whales ridicule.

Sed illa omnia pulcherrime conspiciuntur in Historia de Gregorio Neocaesariensi, as these high people could have throbbed the devil, since he wrote thus in the letter: Gregorius Apollini salutem. This must be a great faith

been. It has had fine people at the same time: plenos fide. It takes courage not to be afraid of the devil. Christ is afraid of him, so that he sweats bloody sweat in the garden. We must also be weak at times. Christ is weak now, but he will still become strong; you will see, he will still accomplish something. Although this is a great thing, that the pope, the high power, must now be silent, and may never move before the word of God: yet never came a greater power or imperium on earth; for he did not rule with the sword, but when he only said: Do this: be emperor; so it must be.

### 133. mockery of the devil against the monks.

Doctor Martin Luther once said that the devil had possessed a farmer bodily in one place. Now there had been a monk who had wanted to cast him out, and had taken other monks with him, who had gone in procession with great devotion into the house where the possessed man was lying. When he came into the house, the devil spoke through the possessed peasant: "Popule meus, quid feci tibi?

### 134 Of the Devil's Rumble.

When the devil is driven out of the houses where he roars, so that he no longer has to go around and roar (once said D. M. Luther), then he leads into the people, as, into the heretics, Rottengeister, into coiner and his kind; item, into the usurers and others.

But it is not a strange, unheard-of thing that the devil rumbles and roams about in the houses. I heard him several times in our monastery in Wittenberg. For when I began to read the Psalter, and after we had sung matins through the night and I was sitting in the rempter, studying and writing my lection, the devil came and rushed in the hüllet three times, as if someone were dragging a bushel out of hell. At last, since it would not stop, I gathered up my books-

<sup>1</sup> This and the immediately following history are detailed in the church postil. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, col. 1208 and 1209.

2) D. i. Oven corner.

But I regretted this hour that I did not look at him, and yet I would have seen what the devil still wanted to have done. I also heard him once above my chamber in the monastery, but since I noted that it was him, I did not notice it and fell asleep again.

Duke Johansen of Saxony was also plagued by the devil when S. F. G.'s last husband died in 1521, that he rumbled in the castle as if his husband's soul was perishing. But S. F. G. wrote to me, D. M. Luthero, and offered to give a thousand guilders, from which one should keep soul measurement, and asked me for advice, what S. F. G. should do in this? But I answered S. F. G. that he should by no means establish a soul mass, but rather he should only despise the devil and his polishing, then he would probably remain outside.

### 135 From a Tenfelsheinzlein.

The Epicureans, said D. M. Luther, think nothing of either God or the devil. One of them said: "Should they not fear him, since they see that the devil possesses people physically? The doctor answered and said, "They think this is phantasia, or melancholy. As that maid also did: she always had a devil sitting with her at the hearth, because he had his own little town, which he kept very clean; as the devil likes to keep it clean where he is; as the fly also likes to shit on the clean, as, on white paper. Now once the maid asked the little Heinz (for so she called the devil), he should let himself be seen, how he would be shaped; but the little Heinz would not do it, until once the maid went into a cellar, then she saw a dead child swimming in a barrel. Then it was revealed who the devil was, namely, autor caedis; for the maid had once had a child, and had strangled it and put it into the barrel.

### 136. of the devil's cunning and ravings against us men.

One told about M. Luther's table, how one had almost choked on a bit of bread. Item, another would have fallen down from the house and would have remained almost dead. Then said

D. Martin Luther: This is all done by the devil, who is so close behind us. But the race does not believe that it is the devil, it thinks it happens casu. Therefore, when you are in danger and the devil wants to throw you down the stairs, call out, "Help, dear Lord Jesus Christ," and take up the cross in front of you, but in faith, the devil will control himself, for he does not like this name. The devil is angry with us because of the man of Christ, whom he cannot stand. That is why it is called *Orate*. Item: *Sufficiat tibi gratia mea*, he said to St. Paul, 2 Cor. 12, 9: Let it suffice thee that I hear thee, and call thee to pray. Here then belongs the *Doctrina de officio Angelorum bonorum et malorum*. If then the devil tempts you, say: I am a Christian. As that virgin said, I am baptized, and my name is Christiana; so the devil does not stay long.

And D. Luther told a story about it: That in a monastery there had been a possessed brother, who could see when someone stranger would come. Once he said to the conductor (he called him a porter, like Judas): "Listen, you will have guests today, order the kitchen. This happened. After that the vicar of the same order came and traveled to the monastery; there he said again: Listen, porter, the little David is coming, order the kitchen; called the vicar thus, because he was a little man; and had said: I wanted to have thrown him down the stairs, but the width (called the virgin Mariam thus) helped him. There one sees, how the devil is a liar.

When the vicar came, the conductor asked him if he had been in danger on a staircase. Then he confessed that he had almost fallen down a staircase. Finally, they wanted to help him and asked for advice everywhere for the sake of this brother. Then the abbot of the cell in Meissen advised that he should be accufiren inobedientiae and prodded with rods. This was done, and he was brought before them. When he saw the rod, he cried out, "Not with the rod, for many heathen brothers have been beaten with it," but they continued. Then the devil went out. These are only the devil's mendacia and illusions.

**How Luther was able to despise the devil's temptation.**

(The first paragraph was contained in Cap. 24, K114, therefore omitted).

Dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum, Psalm 110, 2. This reads as if our Lord God should say to the devil: I know it well that you are Dominus mundi and supreme abbot in this monastery. Nevertheless, I will place the Lord Christ in your rule, and he shall remain with me. Defy him who does anything to him. He has now reigned over five thousand years, and if this lord were nothing, his kingdom would have long perished. For all other idolatries have ceased, and other new ones have risen in their place. But this Lord Christ remains alone, because the Father has placed him there: Constituit eum super montem Sion ejus. The crucified Christ, who is thus weak and martyred, shall thus pass through. Therefore the 24th Psalm, v. 7, says: Attollite portas principes vestras; as if David should say: Ge

think and let him rule, be obedient to him. Now they say, v. 8: Quis est iste Rex gloriae? Ei, it is Dominus exercituum. See how David is such a fine poet above all poets. But N. and N. think: We will stake our country on it, and not suffer the gospel and Christ. But David says here: "You must obey him, or you will all perish. A Christian should know the Psalter as well as he knows his five fingers. According to this, the four evangelists are also very clear.

St. Bernard used to say, said D. M. Luther: Ecce, in p:me amaritudo mea amarissima; id est, in peace my sadness is greatest. The church is never worse than when it has peace and tranquility.

**The Christian teacher Gerson's advice on how to control the devil's temptation.**

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 67.)

**The 25th chapter.****Of sorceries.**

1. how D. L.'s mother was plagued by a sorceress.
2. the power of sorcery against the Christians.
3. from jugglers.
4. from a charmed maiden.

5. from milk thieves.
6. from two sorceresses.
7. sorcery, painted on theologically.
8. example, that one sorcery has paid the other.

**1. how D. L.'s mother was plagued by a sorceress.**

Doctor M. Luther said a lot about sorcery, about the heart potion and the Alps, how his mother had been plagued by her neighbor, a sorceress, so that she had to keep her in the most friendly and glorious way and reconcile her, because she shot her children so that they cried themselves to death. And a preacher punished her only in general, then she bewitched him, that he had to die, one could help him with no medicine. She had taken the earth when he had risen and thrown it into the water and bewitched him with it, without which earth he could not get well again.

**2. the power of sorcery against the Christians.**

(Cordatus No. 1276.)

Our soul and body are completely subject to vanity. Therefore, even though the soul is liberated through faith in Christ, our body is still subject to the devil's murder 1). That is why sorceries are brought against the believers, and I believe that my illnesses are partly sorceries and not purely natural. God, however, frees His own from such evils.

- 1) The comma before Satanus should be deleted.
- 2) Cf. cap. 24, § 53.



### 3. from jugglers.

In N. 1) there was one, named Wildferer, who ate a farmer with horse and cart; which farmer then lay for several hours, over several field paths in a puddle with horse and cart. So a monk was talking to a farmer who had a load of hay for sale at the market, and he asked him what he would take and let him eat the hay. Then the farmer said: He wanted to take one kreuzer. The monk began, and had almost eaten up the hay, so that the farmer had to drive him away.

Similarly, a debtor had a leg torn off by a Jew, so that the Jew ran away and he was not allowed to pay him 2c. So mighty is the. So mighty is the devil to deceive people in the outward senses; what should he not do in the soul?

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, 22 Febr, 1538, p. 39.)

A certain citizen of Brandenburg, bewitched by witches, lost all blessings of goods. He went to a devil's soothsayer in Berlin to ask him for advice. At last his tormented conscience sought consolation. Luther answered: He has acted wickedly and ungodly. Why should he not stop after the example of Job with prayer for the blessing of God? Tell him that he should become reasonable again and no longer take refuge in Satan, but that he should bear God's will with equanimity.

### 4. from a charmed maiden.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 20, 1538, p. 117.)

On this day, D. Spalatin reported about the impudence of the witches, that a certain girl in Altenburg sheds bloody tears; if that woman is there, even if she does not see her, nor knows [that she is there, she feels her presence and sheds the tears. Luther answered: Then one should hurry to the court with such. The jurists want to have too much testimony, despise these revealed [facts] I, he said, have had a marriage case these days, where the wife wanted to poison her husband, so.

that he has broken out lizards, and she, embarrassingly questioned, has answered nothing, because such witches are dumb, despise the tortures; the devil does not let them speak. These facts give enough evidence that an example should be made of them, to frighten others.

### 5. from milk thieves.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 25, 1538, p. 121.)

On August 25, people said a lot about sorceresses and witches who steal eggs from hens and milk and butter. Luther answered: "You don't have to feel sorry for them. I wanted to burn them myself, according to the custom of the law, where the priests began to stone the guilty; for it is said that their butter, because it is stolen, stinks, falls to the ground in the food, and the sorceresses are tormented willy-nilly, when milk and butter are put on burning coals, then they are so tormented by the devil that they are forced to come. The village priests and schoolmasters knew their art a long time ago and plagued them well. But D. Pomer's art is the best, that one plagues them with the dirt and often stirs it, then all their things become dirty.

### 6. from two sorceresses.

There was talk of two sorceresses at D. Martina's, who in an inn had set two jars of water aside for the evening, in one place; and they discussed with each other whether it should be for the grain or wine. When the innkeeper, who was standing on a secret corner, heard this, he took both of the jars or stouts, and when they had gone to bed, he poured them over them; then the water turned to ice, so that they both died of it from that hour on. Said D. Martinus: The devil is very powerful in the sorceresses.

### 7. magic on theologically painted.

Although all sins are an apostasy from God's works, so that God may be grievously angered and offended; yet sorcery, by reason of its abomination, may be rightly called *crimen laesae Majestatis divinae*, a rebellion, and such a vice, that one may beware of

1) In the Latin manuscript: One in Nordhausen named Wildfeuer. Linäseil III, 10.

namely, against the divine majesty in the highest way. For as the jurists artificially discuss and speak of various kinds of rebellion and abuse against the high majesty, and among others they also count this, when one becomes a fugitive from his lord, disloyal and goes to the enemies: and to all such they recognize the punishment of life and limb. So also, because sorcery is a shameful, abominable apostasy, when one goes from God, to whom he is pledged and sworn, to the devil, who is God's enemy; so it is justly punished in body and life.

**8. that one sorcery has paid for another.**

Emperor Frederick, Maximilian's father, had a black artist invited to the meal and made by his skill and art,

that the black artist got ox feet and claws on his hands, and sitting above the table, the emperor told him to eat. But he was ashamed and hid the claws under the table. At last, when he could no longer retrieve them, he had to let them be seen. Then he said to the emperor: I will also make something for Her Majesty, if she allows me. Then the emperor said: Yes. Then he made a noise with his magic outside the emperor's chamber; and when the emperor looked out of the window and wanted to know what was there, he got big antlers and deer horns on his head, so that he could not bring his head back in the window. And said D. M. Luther: That pleases me well, when one devil vexes the other and geheiet; from this I conclude that one devil is stronger than the other.

## Chapter 26.

### Of contestations.

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| <p>1. Luther's challenge to his doctrine, so that the devil often plagued him, and how he fought him off.</p> <p>2. the power of the divine word.</p> <p>How a Christian should resist the heavy thoughts of death that the devil gives him, as if God is angry with him.</p> <p>4. the usefulness of the challenges.</p> <p>5. temptations are a sure sign that God loves us.</p> <p>6. that two things are blasphemy.</p> <p>7. how to overcome the temptations.</p> <p>8. what a man cannot hinder and is unjust, let him be patient and pray; but do not approve, but command God.</p> <p>9. a remedy against useless thoughts.</p> <p>(10) How to answer the devil's grievous temptations because of sins.</p> <p>11) How a Christian should conduct himself in poverty and affliction.</p> <p>(12) Challenge teaches, but we soon forget.</p> <p>Pious Christians have to suffer a lot.</p> <p>14. a rhyme by D. Luther.</p> <p>15. consequence of the challenge.</p> <p>16. what challenges are for.</p> <p>17. what the challenge is.</p> <p>The Christian victory through the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>19. Christians must suffer.</p> <p>20 Not everyone can endure temptations in the same way.</p> <p>David's trials were much more severe than ours.</p> | <p>(22) How to comfort one who is challenged and thinks he has sinned against the Holy Spirit, which sin is not forgiven.</p> <p>23. how D. Luther answered the devil when he challenged him at night.</p> <p>(24) For which people are chastened by God.</p> <p>25. the challenge of youth, and of any age.</p> <p>26. of David's temptations.</p> <p>27. how to keep with the challenged consciences.</p> <p>28. exhortation to patience in temptations.</p> <p>29. spiritual temptations the most severe.</p> <p>30. comfort in the highest temptation.</p> <p>31. from a contested person.</p> <p>32. comfort Wider sadness.</p> <p>33. the benefit and fruit of the holy cross.</p> <p>34. the devil's restlessness.</p> <p>God helps from temptation.</p> <p>The righteous church is always in danger and challenge.</p> <p>37. of temptations, how to drive them away and how to resist them.</p> <p>(38) Wherever the gospel is taught purely, persecution and temptation always follow.</p> <p>39. comfort for one who is challenged.</p> <p>40. contestation of faith.</p> <p>How to defend yourself against spiritual temptations.</p> <p>From what causes God lays out the holy cross to the godly.</p> <p>43. the greater the saints before God, the greater the challenge.</p> <p>44. heavy thoughts offend the body.</p> <p>45 Every man has his challenge.</p> |
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- 46 D. M. Luther's wish in his illness.  
 47. physical temptations are much easier than spiritual ones.  
 In suffering, one should have patience.  
 49) What the cross and the challenge are good for.  
 The unchallenged understand nothing in the matters of God.  
 51. how to resist the challenge.  
 52. of melancholics, and how their melancholy had been driven out of them.  
 53. Luther's concerns under the papacy.  
 54 Of Satan's temptations.  
 (55) Let them that are in temptation and weak take heed lest they be alone.  
 (56) Which is the greatest challenge.  
 The most difficult thoughts that the devil enters.  
 58: How Luther visited and comforted a sick and challenged woman.  
 59 Luther's letter of consolation to Benedict Pauli, whose son had fallen to his death from the house.  
 60. consolation to 21. ambrosium Bernd von Jütterbock, to whom his wife, children and mother had died in one week.  
 61. comfort for a sick, afflicted person.  
 Another of Luther's consolations to a sick woman.  
 How Luther comforted the old master Lucas Kranach, painter at Wittenberg, because his son John had died in Italy.  
 64. comfort for a sick person.  
 65: About Luther's illness, how he comforted himself.

- Another comfort for a very sick person.  
 67. Luther's prayer of consolation in the last hour.  
 68. consolation Against the challenge of oversight.  
 69. how to overcome the challenge of the accident.  
 70 Consolation against the temptation of our unworthiness.  
 71) How to comfort those who are challenged in faith.  
 The devil's most noble challenge.  
 73- Admonitions of other people comfort in temptations.  
 74 A different one from the accident.  
 The first is that one should not argue about the provision.  
 76. benefit of the sayings of the accident.  
 77. cause of temptation.  
 78. beginning in the thoughts of the accident.  
 79 Of Christ's temptations.  
 Christians should not like to be alone.  
 81. em lonely life one should flee.  
 What harm loneliness brings.  
 Sadness is the devil's instrument.  
 Of the sorrow and bloody sweat of the Lord Christ in the garden.  
 How to ward off the spirit of sadness and comfort the sorrowful.  
 86 D. Luther's Weakness.  
 How Luther comforted a sick woman.  
 How to defend yourself against the challenge.  
 89. benefit and fruit of the challenge.  
 90. devilish temptation of a woman.

### 1. M. Luther's doctrine, so that the devil often plagued him, and how he resisted him.

(The first paragraph of this § in Kummer, 2. part, x. 366 b.  
 [Lauterbach, p. 203.])

One should not argue with Satan about the law. He who disputes with the devil about the law has lost. He only stops at the right time. Therefore, let no one dispute with this excellent speaker about the law or about sin, for he has the handwriting against us. He can make a big mountain out of a beam, therefore he must be overcome with the word of the gospel and the doctrine of grace, which annoys him very much. Judas is as necessary in the number of apostles as otherwise three apostles, and solves countless arguments 2c.

I know, praise God, that my cause is good, right and divine; for if the gospel, baptism, sacrament and absolution are right, then I am also right. If Christ is not in heaven and a Lord over all, then my cause is wrong. What I teach, write, preach, and intend to do in the school and church, I do freely in public during the day, not hidden in

I am in a corner, and I judge everything from the Gospel, baptism, the Lord's Prayer 2c. The evil one still wants to turn everything around for me. Christ stands there, I cannot deny him. I base my cause on the gospel; if I revoke it, my God will protect me. Nevertheless, he often brings it so close to me with his disputes that I break out in a cold sweat. He is fiercely angry, I understand and feel that. He sleeps much closer and more with me than my Kätha, that is, he makes me more uneasy than she makes me happy.

But through the gospel, I solve and dispel all his arguments, if only I can remember it and take hold of it, and meet him with it. But I sometimes lack it. That is why he reproaches me: The law is also God's word, why then do I always hold the gospel against him? Yes, I say, but as far apart from the gospel as heaven and earth. For in the Gospel, God confides in us His grace, wants to be our God, and out of pure love gives us His only begotten Son, who redeemed us from sin and death and acquired eternal righteousness and life through His suffering and resurrection.

I do not want to make him a liar. Besides the gospel, he also gave the law, but for a different use.

## 2. power of the divine word.

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 1362.)

When the devil finds me idle and without reflection on the Word, he drives into my conscience that I have disturbed the world order by false teaching, that I have stirred up sedition, he often brings me to that. But when I take the floor again, I am victorious. For I counter him that my teaching is not mine, but the Son of God's, that God does not ask about worlds, even if ten of them were rebellious and perished. It is said [Matth. 17, 5.]: "You shall hear him," or it] overthrows all in one heap, and [Pf. 2, 10. 12.]: "Let yourselves therefore be instructed, ye kings," "that ye perish not." Thus Paul also had to comfort himself when they accused him in the Acts of the Apostles [16, 20.; 17, 6.; 24, 5.] as a rebel against GOD and the emperor. God wants the article of justification in its entirety, and if men accept it, they will not lose the rule of the world and the household; but if they do the opposite, they may blame themselves for the evil.

So Christ also had to die, as if he had forbidden to give the emperor the womb, arousing the people; item, blaspheming God, that he had made himself the son of God. Therefore I say to the devil: As you have been disgraced in Christ and Paul, Squire Satan, so shall it be with me 2c.

**3. how a Christian should resist the heavy thoughts of death, which the devil gives him, as if God were angry with him; but if he gives us a thought of death, he will be angry with us.**

**Christ sent, that we should live through him 2c.**

All gloom and sadness comes from the devil, for he is a lord of death, Ebrews 2:14; especially when a man is sad and anxious, as if he had an ungracious God, it is surely the devil's work and operation. Therefore, if a heavy thought comes into your head, as if God wants to be

have mercy on you, or that he will let you die in your sins and condemn you, or that you will now give up the ghost because of fear, then soon conclude that such a thought comes from the devil. For this reason God does not afflict, does not terrify, does not kill, but is a God of the living, and sent his only begotten Son into the world, not to terrify sinners, but to comfort them; and Christ died and rose again to destroy death, which is the work of the devil, and to become Lord over it, and to make us alive. Therefore in the Scriptures these and similar words of comfort are used: Be glad. Rejoice in the Lord. Do not fear. Be undaunted. Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. The sting of death has become dull and chipped on me, even broken.

Therefore, you should take courage in such a challenge and think that from now on you are not a man's child, but God's child through faith in Christ, in whose name you were baptized: therefore death cannot thrust its spear into you. For if you belong to Christ, believe in him and have been baptized into him, death has no right over you, much less can it harm you, for he is eternally devoured through Christ.

But the wicked Satan resists as much as he can, so that such good, comforting thoughts of God do not occur to us in our temptation; or he darkens and obscures them for us. For the heart of the one who is challenged is then so violently taken up with the heavy thoughts of the law, of sin and death, that it cannot grasp the article of justification and faith: I believe in Jesus Christ 2c., much less comfort itself.

On the other hand, all joy, comfort, peace, well-disposed, joyful heart in Christ comes from God. 1) For the Holy Spirit is undaunted and undaunted in the hearts of believers; indeed, He is the courage and comfort even in the trials of death. He speaks out courageously: World, sin, death, hell, leave me alone, you have no part in me: if you will not let me live, then I will die, in God's name.

1) Cf. cap. 38, § 12.

But you shall not succeed. If you cut off my head, it won't hurt; I have one who will probably put it back on.

#### 4. use of the challenges.

Such trials are not only necessary for us, but also good and useful, otherwise we would surely go without all fear of God and not call on him for help. For he who is healthy and happy has no need of a physician or comforter; then the devil could easily deceive us. After this, temptation also serves to make us live in the fear of God, walk carefully, pray without ceasing, grow in the grace and knowledge of Christ, and learn the power of the word: and though we are still weak, yet the power of our Lord Christ is mighty in the weak, 2 Cor. 12:9.

#### 5. temptations are a sure sign that God loves us, because He chastens all whom He receives.

(Cordatus No. 863,564,565,566,567. The last number here transferred from § 35 of this chapter).

Better is the sadness of the spirit than the security of the world. And the temptation that torments the conscience is twofold, for the devil torments us first with lies when he accuses us, who are justified by faith, of sin, but he attacks the body with murder. By sadness he kills the body, by certainty the conscience, that is, as much as is in it. Furthermore, let no one choose a trial, but when it comes, let him suffer it, and let him think that it will profit him very much.

From all temptations we shall learn by experience that the devil kills with lies and murders. Through the spirit of sadness he denies us the joy of conscience from faith, his lie is opposed to the truth of Christ. He will not yet tear Christ down from heaven; when he has done so, I will hang myself on the nearest tree.

Since one 1) said he would rather suffer the greatest diseases than this his challenge

1) According to Rebenstock II, 223 d D. Hieronymus Weller.

of conscience, he answered, After that are the diseases. For to every sickness impatience is added, and the devil's delight is lifted up, which happened to Job, who at first was very patient. But when he said in his heart, "God is angry," he became angry, and blasphemously said, "God is no longer merciful," which is to say, "God has changed His nature. But if He has not changed His nature, He does not cease to be merciful.

But that God puts an end to all temptation, I am a witness, for ten years ago my body was so tormented by sadness that I could hardly breathe. The cause of this is that God calls to that which is not that it be. [So he delivered me alone, by struggling and writing, alone, I say, for whomsoever I approached and sought comfort, all answered, I know not his. He is not alone who is challenged, which the Psalm indicates [Ps. 116, 11.]: "I spoke in my trembling" 2c. There, of course, one finds temptations in the Psalter. I have experienced this verse every night [Ps. 6, 7]: "I wash my bed all night long"; nevertheless, the devil does not get the upper hand, because he has burned himself on Christ.

The sadness of the spirit is the conscience itself, which, suffering the same, gives birth to the last day. But since we give birth to him, we will not perish for Christ's sake, because Satan has not yet condemned Christ. And such a contested one does not feel temptations of the body, like those of fornication. Such little devils have nothing to do there, but the passions hinder good works, because a fornicator does not study.

(Here a paragraph is omitted because contained in Cap. 58, § 9, and Cap. 13, § 70.)

#### 6. blasphemy is twofold.

When one of them told D. Martin, "How that another was severely challenged, that he did not find in him a perfect righteousness, that he was not as pious as God requires of us in the Law, and in prayer always felt such blasphemy against Christ," D. Martin said. Martin: This is a good sign; for blasphemy

is twofold: An activa, really, when one knowingly and wantonly seeks causes to blaspheme God; as Faber (Doctor Schmid) does, H. M. 1) 2c. God protect us from that. The other is a suffering blasphemy, passiva, when the devil, against our will, gives us such evil thoughts before we know it, and we resist them: with which God wants us to be exercised, so that we do not lie and snore, or become lazy, but fight and pray against them. So at last such thoughts will disappear and subside, especially at the last end. Then the Holy Spirit is with his Christians, assists them, drives away the fierce devil, subdues him and makes a fine calm and peaceful heart and conscience.

Therefore write to him, said D. Luther, that he neither worry nor torture himself, but be confident, trust God, and keep his word: the devil will then cease from himself to awaken and increase such blasphemy. But as far as perfect righteousness is concerned, that he would like to be completely righteous and pious, and feel and experience that he is completely holy and pure, nothing will come of it in this life, but this is an angelic life that will happen to us in the life to come. Here we are to be satisfied with the righteousness of Christ, which he has earned and merited for us with his rose-colored, innocent blood, and bestows it on us in the Word out of pure grace and mercy, without any merit or worthiness on our part, to those who grasp it with faith, and then prove it with good works, as fruits, which God has commanded, not we ourselves choose, 2c.

#### **7. to overcome temptations.**

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 16.)

#### **8. what one cannot prevent, and is wrong, he should have patience and pray, but not approve, but command God.**

David was a wonderful man, because he was allowed to teach and speak publicly against the false worship of the Jewish people.

1) Perhaps Heinz Mordbrenner, the Duke of Brunswick.

He was the first to see the people, and yet he could not prevent it. He saw one of them measuring and sacrificing, and the other one teaching falsely. And these were the greatest and most mighty multitude. If he had been able to overthrow and defend everything with his might, he would have done so; but because he knew neither counsel nor help against it, he had to have patience, and sang a little song to our Lord God about it, and called to him.

#### **9. remedy against useless thoughts.**

When I, said D. Martin, when I am in thoughts concerning the worldly or domestic government, I take a psalm or a saying of Paul and fall asleep over it. But the thoughts that come from the devil cost me something more: there I have to make a strong joke until I pull myself out.

#### **(10) How to answer the devil's grievous temptations on account of sins.**

(Contained in Cap. 24, 814.)

#### **11) How a Christian should conduct himself in poverty and affliction.**

(Contained in Cap. 12, § 84.)

#### **(12) Challenge teaches, but we soon forget.**

(Cordatus No. 283.)

When one challenge is over, there is certainly already another one that we have to face; but when the other one comes, we should hold ourselves in the same way, 2) as if it were the first one and we had not experienced any before. But we are thus dismayed, or sometimes we succumb to the new-arriving [temptations], since we should have become wiser through the experience of the former. This is reproved by the evangelist, who says, "And they heard not of the loaves." And Paul exhorts and says: "And do not grow weary" [Eph. 6, 13. namely because one temptation follows another. For all at once afflict our flesh for our good.

2) It is not necessary to change A6rarnu8 to gerimus, since it fits well.

### Pious Christians have to suffer a lot.

<sup>1)</sup> The barley must suffer much from people. First, it is thrown into the ground so that it rots. When it has grown and ripened, it is cut or chopped off. Then it is threshed and soaked, dried and boiled to make beer or kofent, which is drunk by the peasants and given back down and up, and peed on the fences.

Flax is a similar martyr. When it is ripe, it is gathered, roasted, dried, blued, broken, spun, woven, and made into canvas for shirts and coats, which are then torn. Then they use it for wiping, smearing plasters on it, which they put on wounds and sores. Item, the rags are taken from it, put them in stamps on the paper mill, crushes it small: from it one makes paper for playing cards, for writing, for printing: the paper is torn, and used for the very lowest works.

These and many such creatures, from which we have much benefit, must suffer. So all godly and pious Christians must suffer much from the wicked and evil ones. David was a wonderfully chosen man and was rolled away desolately. But such a man is dear to God. Barley, wine, grain 2c. have an advantage over flax and flax, become flesh and blood, and inherit the kingdom of God in the godly and Christians. But at the last judgment they will cry out against the godless peasants, burghers, nobles 2c. and accuse them of having abused them so shamefully.

### At one time D. M. Luther told this rhyme:

Christ lets sink well, but not drink away.

### 15. consequence of the challenge.

(Cordatus No. 1541.)

Cross and persecution teaches one the golden art.

### 16. what challenges are for.

(The first three paragraphs of this § at Cordatus No. 813. 814. 815.)

No one can write or speak anything properly about grace unless he has been exercised by spiritual trials. The monks and the lawyers have not been able to speak of it properly.

If I dispute with the devil about the law, he has won. Therefore, I will help stone Moses, or he will remain with the defiant and stiff-necked people, not with the fearful and faithful consciences.

The wicked are made worse by the preaching of the gospel, for they learn from it only the licentiousness of the flesh. Therefore, the people belong under the law, not under the gospel. For it happens to them as to evil-disposed and evil-acting children, who become worse when they are honored and not chastised when they have sinned. A rod belongs on wicked children, not sugar.

This distinction is to be diligently noted and kept, that the ungodly may be terrified and deceived by the law, and held as prisoners in a dungeon; but grieved and distressed consciences, recognizing their sin, feeling the wrath of God, and being terrified, are to be restored and comforted with the gospel, 2) preaching Christ to them, that the heavenly Father has accepted and loved them with grace, out of pure mercy, for the sake of His dear Son JEsu Christ. To him he has earnestly commanded that we should hear him saying, "Be of good cheer." "Fear not, I have overcome the world," John 16:33. "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden," 2c., Matt. 11:28. Therefore, if ye will hear Christ, and call upon him in time of trouble, all things shall be added unto you.

And this is the right worship, yea, the very easiest, and comforting to the poor, troubled, and burdened consciences, who otherwise cannot do the law enough, and are grieved because they have not kept it, nor are able; to whom the gospel is to be preached and reproached.

1) The first paragraph is probably formed from what Cordatus offers in No. 891: I have often cursed the first brewer. All of Germany would like to be preserved with the barley, since one brews the disgraceful liquid manure, which one then pisses on the wall.

2) Cf. cap. 12, § 20.

**17. contestation.**

All temptation is to forget the present and desire the future, as Eve did in Paradise.

**The Christian victory through the Holy Spirit.**

(Lauterbach, April 25, 1538, p. 69.)

On April 25, he spoke much of human frailty, which would be exposed to all temptations and dangers, internal and external, the devil and the spirits in the air, and if GOD were not for us, who could endure it One Hour? That is why the Scripture calls the Holy Spirit by a very beautiful name παράκλη-ο, i.e. an advocate who guides our cause in the dispute, gives victory to faith, intervenes in the case, chases away Satan. This is the victory of faith, by which we overcome the world, not by our strength and power, but by the action of the Holy Spirit and faith. It is truly something great that the wretched flesh and blood of the [weak] little children of men can overcome those spirits and powers of the devils.

**19. Christians must suffer.**

We, who are baptized, must endure and suffer, both active and passive, from God, who works and creates everything in them, as a potter prepares the clay, and from the devil and the world, who afflict them and wear them down, so that a Christian only suffers constantly and is a true martyr.

Item: When M. Georg Rörer's little children lay ill, D. Martinus said: Our Lord God vexes all his saints, they must all drink from the chalice. He did the same to Mary, his mother. Summa, what is dear to him, that must endure. Christians overcome when they suffer, and when they fight, they lose. I am afraid of that.

(Here 4 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 26, § 33.)

**20 Not everyone can endure temptations in the same way.**

(Cordatus No. 475.)

Just as strong bones must be there to support the great mass of the body, so

God does not lay great or many trials on the weak, because if there were all flesh, not bones and nerves, it would fall in a heap. That is how it is in the Church, that is why we pray for each other. And since it is impossible for the human heart to have and keep the fear of God, the very best treasure, without the cross, the temptation is something very good, and whoever has temptations certainly has a gracious God. What are we groaning for?

**David's trials were much more severe than ours.**

David must have had worse devils than we do, for he could not have had such a great revelation without great temptations, for they are great and glorious. David made and sang psalms, let us also, as best we can, make and sing psalms, in honor of our Lord God, and to the displeasure of the devil and his bride.

**(22) How to comfort one who is challenged and thinks he has sinned against the Holy Spirit, which sin is not forgiven.**

Doctor M. Luther, when asked about this, said: "Let it be said to him that he is idle in his temptation and does not worry about it, for he is not guilty of such sin. Our Lord God does not say to an adulterer or a murderer, "You have trampled my son's blood underfoot," but: If you are sorry and believe in the Son, your sins are forgiven. As he said to the adulteress, Joh. 8, 11. and to the murderer at the cross. But to the Pharisees and scribes, who opposed the righteousness of the gospel and trusted in their own piety, he said, "Woe to you.

Then one asked him, "Did he also sin against the Holy Spirit who knowingly denies the word of God, as there are many of them now among the rulers of George who deny it? No, he said, because it is done in weakness; as Peter denied Christ, and yet did not sin against the Holy Spirit; but Judas persisted in it, truly repenting, and remaining obdurate.



### How M. Luther answered the devil when he challenged him at night.

When the devil comes to me at night, 1) said D. Martinus, to trouble me, I give him this answer: Devil, I must sleep now, for this is God's command and order, to work by day and sleep by night. On the other hand: If he will not desist, and holds my sin against me, then I say: Dear devil, I have heard the register, but I have done another sin, which is not in your register, write it also: I have thrown in my pants, hang it on my neck, and wipe my mouth on it. Thirdly: If he now continues, presses hard, and accuses me as a sinner; then I despise him and say: Sancte Satana, ora pro me: Dear devil, pray for me, for you have never done evil, you alone are holy. Go to God and obtain mercy for yourself; and if you want to make me pious, I say to you: Medice, cura te ipsum: Physician, help yourself.

The devil, however, is such a wicked man that he does not bring great and heinous sins before me and keeps them, namely, keeping Mass, despising God 2c. Also, God protect me for this. For if it occurred to me what a great abomination is the faithful work with the mass, and the greatness of the sins against the first table of the ten commandments of God; then I would have to die. I would not like to beat my husband very much, otherwise he would become stupid and hostile to me, so I would know no greater heartache. So God also does, and says: "I chastise you, little children, but through another, namely, through the devil or the world; but if you have recourse to me and cry out to me, then I will save you and help you. For our Lord God ever did not want us to become enemies of Him.

### (24) For which people are chastened by God.

The godly is chastened, lest he be condemned with the world; but the ungodly, that he may know himself, or be hardened. The greater the Christian, the greater the condemnation; the greater the sin, the greater the fear.

1) Cf. cap. 24, § 120.  
2) Cf. § 56 of this Cap.

### 25. the challenge of youth, and of any age.

(Cordatus No. 1525.)

Young men and young men are challenged by beautiful virgins, the great multitude by other vices. The men of 30 years by gold, of 40 by ambition. If only I were pious!

### 26. David's temptations.

(Cordatus No. 545.)

"Absalom, my son" [2 Sam. 18:33]. The writing of this song represents in all its pieces the movements of a mourner, and shows the sobbing and the greatest anguish that that holy king had, which obscured all his promises, and he had only two tribes for eight years. When he had become king in Israel, a conspiracy arose against him, Absalom killed his brother Ammon, his daughter was violated by her brother, purely tragic upsets that could have made him feel sorry for his life, even thinking it an evil. I would not have endured such a puff to our Lord God. This is how it goes in the life of all patriarchs, whose examples more obscure than promote grace and promise. It is necessary to hold here.

### 27. how to keep in mind the contested consciences.

(Contained in Cap. 24, § 117.)

### 28. exhortation to patience in temptations.

(Cordatus No. 716. 717.)

If we considered the greatness of the matter and the glory of the life to come, which we expect when we rise from the dead, we would not be so unwilling to suffer the plagues of this godless world. But when Christ comes to judge the living and the dead, and we experience this, we must be ashamed in our hearts and say to ourselves, "Fie on you!

If I believed the word, on the last day, when the verdict is passed, I would not only have suffered bad an-

I would also say: Oh, that I had not thrown myself under the feet of all the Turks and the ungodly for the sake of this glory, which I now see revealed, which has been bestowed on me through the merit of Christ. Therefore Paul says [Rom. 8, 18]: "I consider that the suffering of this time is not worthy of glory" 2c.

### 29. spiritual temptations the most severe.

(Cordatus No. 1659.)

The struggle of the Church is the most difficult of all, because it is not with flesh and blood, but with spiritual wickedness. The flesh takes away the body, fields and children, but spiritual wickedness takes away the soul and God Himself, eternal life and all heavenly goods. This struggle has made the night quarrels with the devil much more painful for me than the day quarrels with the papists and the enthusiasts.

### 30. comfort in the highest temptation.

(Cordatus No. 378 and 379.)

To another, 1) who was afflicted, I said: Be of good cheer, you will get better, your affliction will be to [God's] honor, to your and many people's benefit. That should be believed, because I was also sick in this hospital and had no one to comfort me, not even Staupitz, who once answered me when I complained: Magister Martin, I don't understand. Therefore it is nothing that we go either to Philip or Cordatus, that they say many things to us who are afflicted, - to Christ verse you good and good shall befall you, because he is a thousand times better than I, or Philip or Cordatus. Hold Christ up to the devil, and he shall surely come on.

When he complained again that his challenges were on the right and on the left, I answered: "The devil can do this masterfully, because he would not be the devil if he did not understand this. But this is to consider" that even the apostles were great husks, which Paul testifies of himself [1 Tim. 1, 13.], and has

Did not Peter commit an act of evil with his denial? These are the ones Christ presented to us as an example in the forgiveness of sins, so that we might observe the mercy of God in them. I believe that the prophets were also often such people, and the Fathers said that one should stick to one's first intention. The first intention of Christians is to obtain forgiveness of sins from God, and we should always leave other thoughts behind.

### 31. from another challenged person.

(Contained in the conclusion of the previous §.)

### 32. comfort against sadness.

(Cordatus No. 414.)

Doctor Martin Luther looked at a challenged man 2) and said: "Be of good cheer, you are not the only one who is challenged, I am also one, and have much greater sins than you and your fathers. I would rather have been a whoremonger or a robber than to have sacrificed Christ like this in the mass for fifteen years.

### 33. benefit and fruit of the holy cross.

(Transferit after § 20 of this Cap., where it belongs).

### 34. the devil's restlessness.

(Cordatus No. 494. 495. 496.)

The papists have little devils, but we have doctors, they have lawyers, we have theologians [to devils], and the devil has good advantage against us, because our own flesh agrees with him. But what do we care? Since he says [2 Cor. 12:9,j]: "My power is mighty in the weak." And if God did not humble us, we would become very hopeful boys. I would have long since become a Münzer or Zwingli.

Those who are of a broken heart and spirit are afflicted, Ps. 51, [19.]. Wisdom does great things in such hearts, in the weak and foolish, 1 Cor. 1, [25. 27.], but not without challenge. Yes, Jeremiah takes offense at the weakness of God,

1) According to Rebenfock II, 221 d. Joh. Schlaginhausen.

2) According to the Hall manuscript II, 292 D. Hieronymus Weller.

and complains [Jer. 23:23, 24] that God is too far away from us, as if He were a guest on earth.

When I am so cold in heart that I cannot pray, I confront the ungodliness and ingratitude of the adversaries, of the pope, of Ferdinand, so that I may inflame my heart with righteous anger, so that I may say, "Hallowed be thy name, come" 2c., and my prayer becomes fervent.

#### **God helps from temptation.**

(This § is omitted because it is contained in Cap. 26, § 5; the last paragraph is transferred there.)

#### **The righteous church is always in danger and challenge.**

(Cordatus No. 284.)

We now see from Scripture and experience alike that the church is in constant great distress. For what else did we see before the Diet of Augsburg but that the cause of the church was in despair? At the Diet everything was in despair. But now that we have been freed from this evil by God's mercy, even greater distress is breaking in through sectarians, mainly the Anabaptists 2c. Therefore, the church stands in fear, and this prayer is always true in it [Ps. 119, 92]: "If your law had not been my comfort, I would have perished in my misery" (that is, in despair).

#### **37. of temptations, and how to drive them out and resist them.**

(Cordatus No. 1651. 1652. 1653.)

Fearful thoughts, and that is if they are connected with sadness, are the surest weapons of death, because they dry up the bones. Such thoughts have tormented me more than all the enemies and my works. Whatever I did to dispel these thoughts of the devil, I did not achieve anything with them. I have sought consolation even from my wife. But we do not want to be comforted, so corrupt is our nature. However, we must make every effort to drive away the devilish thoughts by some more violent movement of the mind.

All sadness is diabolical because Christ, in whom we believe, came to comfort and have mercy. Therefore, in sadness, the Holy Spirit must be invoked, who is the defiance against death and dangers. When there is sadness because of death, say [Ps. 118, 17.], "I will not die, but live," and will rejoice. But, dear GOD, the article of faith does not want one. That is why so much sadness comes. Often I am angry with myself for having given so many lectures, preaching and writing how to overcome this temptation, and when I myself am challenged, I cannot eradicate the sadness. But the Scripture says [Ps. 32:11], "Rejoice in the Lord."

Even if you have to suffer many plagues, let them go, for they are necessary and useful to us, so that power may be exercised through weakness. [See the little faith of the patriarchs, prophets and apostles. What if we were also the very weakest in this last worst time, in which complete godlessness reigns and rages, and the godly are slackened? Such thoughts can be dispelled through Christ and prayer, and God's Word drives away sadness.

(Similar thoughts as in this § in Kummer p. 287 f. [Lauterbach p. 73 f.]

As one takes a thing, so it is. [That is why, in the time of the challenge, it is necessary to turn one's thoughts away from the tribulation, to think and speak of Christ: Christ lives. I am baptized, God is not a God of sorrow and death. But the devil, on the other hand, is such a God. The true God is a God of joy, that is Christ, who is a gracious God, who does not want to strangle. A Christian should and must be a joyful person. If not, he is tempted by the devil. I was once very much tempted in my garden by the lavender. There I sang the song: "Christum wir sollen praben schon", otherwise I would have died there. Therefore, if you feel such thoughts, say: This is not Christ. It may bear Christ's name, but it is a lie. For Christ says: Peace be with you; likewise: Let not your heart be troubled; be of good cheer, I have

overcome the world. Because of God, we are commanded to be joyful. Be joyful. But I preach it now, and I also write it, but I do not understand this art yet, when we are challenged like this. This fruit we have from being instructed. If we should always have peace, the devil should cheat us. God knows that our hearts are frightened. Therefore He speaks and commands: Do not let your heart be troubled. Furthermore, we are not equal to the holy fathers in faith. But the less we are compared to the fathers, the more glorious victory this will bring for Christ. For we are very inexperienced, very weak, very foolish against the devil, for he has a great advantage over us, because there was such great wisdom, power, holiness and faith in the fathers. Namely, our Lord God wants to put an end to extreme foolishness. Paul had to say: I alone am an apostle for all attempts of the devil. Either hypocrisy or violence rules. Violence with the rebels like Muenzer, hypocrisy with the monks and in the papacy. The devil often tormented me with these words: Who sent you to teach against the monasteries? Likewise: Before there was the most beautiful peace, which you have disturbed, who ordered you to do it? Here a certain one interrupted the speech and said: Your fatherliness has not commanded it, neither with regard to the monasteries, nor to disturb the peace. But he [God] only taught: "In vain do they serve me, because they teach such doctrines, which are nothing but the commandments of men" (Matth. 15, 9.); from this then followed of its own accord and from God's permission that which your fatherliness says. Luther said: "Before this occurs to me, I have already left a sweat over it.

**(38) Wherever the gospel is taught purely, persecution and temptation always follow.**

The gospel cannot be without persecution. For the man who is called Christ must taste blood; as Moses' wife said before to her husband, Moses, Ex. 4:25: "Thou art a bridegroom of blood unto me." For the Antichrist cannot be Christ's friend; as we now, in our times, know by experience.

see how the pope rages and thunders against the gospel. If I had not been biting, the pope would have eaten me: Nisi ego fuissem mordax, Papa fuisset vora. He would have eaten and devoured us all. I am the Pabst's Kaulbars, which has spiky scales, which he cannot devour. He found a hedgehog to chew on me.

**39. comfort for one who is challenged.**

The Lord, our God, is a God of the humble and afflicted, who are in distress, temptation, persecution and danger, in which God demonstrates His power and strength. For if we were strong, we would be proud and hopeful, since God cannot show and prove His power except in our weakness. He does not extinguish the smoldering wick; neither will he crush the broken reed. But the devil would like to extinguish it and crush everything.

God loves temptations and is also hostile to them. He loves them when they provoke and entice us to pray and to trust in Him; He is hostile to them when we despair for their sake. Therefore said D. Martinus said: "If you are well, sing a little song to God and praise him; but if you are not well, call on God and pray, for "the Lord is pleased with those who fear him and wait for his goodness," Ps. 147:11. Peace has its time, war has its time; being wise and foolish has its time; being happy and sad, as well as affliction and temptation, also has its time. It is with us, like the April weather.

He who feels that he is weak in faith desires to be strong: the food pleases God in us and is pleasing to Him. Oh, how great a part and piece of righteousness it is to desire to be righteous and godly. Therefore, do not despair, but straighten yourself up and comfort yourself with God's word and with the examples of the holy Scriptures. For God, who has helped all the patriarchs, prophets and saints, will not abandon you.

**40. contestation of faith.**

The contestation of faith is the very greatest and heaviest; for faith is supposed to be the

And the other temptations must all be overcome. If this one is defeated, then all the others, even the smallest and worst, must overtake man. But since faith remains, one can despise the greatest temptations and dangers. For if faith is right and sound, all other temptations must diminish and abate. This challenge to faith has been St. Paul's scolops, a great spit and stake that has passed through both spirit and flesh, body and soul. It has not been a challenge nor a plague of carnal immorality, as the papists dream, when they have felt no other but such carnal immorality. They have not tried the great battles, nor have they ever experienced them; therefore they speak and write of them as the blind do of paint.

#### 41. how to resist spiritual temptations, r)

(Lauterbach, Jan. 5, 1538, p. 4.)

Holy devil, pray for us, if we have not sinned against you, merciful Lord Devil, you have not created us, nor given us life. Why then do you accuse us so harshly before God, as if you were so holy and the supreme judge of the right saints of God? Take the staff in your hand and go to Rome to your servant, whose idol you are. (Mockery of Satan.)

#### From what causes God lays out the holy cross to the godly.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 20, 1538, p. 34.)

God puts tribulations on the believers because of what is still backward in the flesh and because of the present sin. Therefore, the argument is not valid: the righteous must have it good; the believers in this life are righteous; therefore, they must have it good. It is to answer the subordinate clause: the pious are righteous in this life by imputation [of righteousness], but because of the flesh which they still have about them, they feel the tribulations. The supersentence is a sentence of the law.

1) According to the sense contained in Cap. 24, § 14. § 44; Cap. 26, § 23.

#### 43. the greater the saints before God, the greater the challenge.

(Lauterbach, March 29, 1538, p. 49f., except the last paragraph.)

Then came Doctor Weller, very challenged and fainthearted, whom Luther comforted to take heart in the Lord and deal with men, and asked him whether he was angry with God, or with Luther, or with himself. He answered: I confess my murmuring against God. On the other hand, he said: God does not give up anything. I myself often serve my God in this way. If I should put on good incense to him, I bring stinking pitch and devil's filth of grumbling and impatience, and if we did not have the article of the forgiveness of sins, of which God has promised for certain that he shall perform it, we would be in a bad way. Weller said: The devil can seek you out masterfully where it hurts the most. [Yes, he does not learn that from us. He can do it very nimbly, because if he did not give it to the patriarchs, prophets and the prince of the prophets, Christ, then he will not overtake us either. He can make the most wonderful final speeches: You have sinned, God is angry with sinners, therefore despair. Then we must descend from the law to the gospel and take hold of the article of the forgiveness of sins. You are not alone, dear brother, in suffering these temptations. For Peter admonishes that we should not let it alienate us that the same afflictions come upon us as upon the brethren (1 Pet. 4:12; 5:9). Moses, David, Isaiah suffered much. What do you think that David will have had for temptations when he made the Psalm (6.): "Oh Lord, do not punish me in your anger" 2c. He would much rather have perished by the sword than have felt the horror against GOD and GOD against him. I believe that such confessors far surpass the martyrs, who daily see the idolatries, aversions, sins, happiness and security of the wicked, but the fear of the pious, who find themselves like sheep for slaughter.

March 29. After that he urged Wellern that in such sadness he should seek contact with people, not live alone. "Woe

to the man who is alone," says the Holy Spirit (Gal. 4:10). I flee loneliness with great diligence when I am unhappy, although even Christ was alone in the desert and was challenged by the devil. The desert of John the Baptist was inhabitable like thieves [Düben], Jesson [Jessen] and such oerter before men. In short, spiritual temptations are far greater than bodily afflictions. The challenge of Judas: "You have betrayed innocent blood" (Matth. 27, 4.) was the worst death for him; especially when the devil makes a law out of the gospel. For the teachings of the law and the gospel are very necessary and must be intelligently combined, otherwise people either despair or become presumptuous. Thus Moses describes very well this teaching by the upper and lower millstone. 1) The upper stone rumbles and pushes, it is the law. But it is rightly hung by God, that it only rubs. But the lower stone lies still. This is the gospel. Our Lord God has hung the upper stone finely, so that it does not grate completely and feeds the grains to the lower one. This is the only and most important advice, so that you will not be alone in the challenge or even flee into loneliness. As that monk did when he was challenged in his cell and said, "I will not stay here. I will run away from the cell to the brothers. Thus it is written in the Acts of the Apostles (28:15) about Paul, who had endured much through hunger and shipwreck for fourteen days, that afterward, being received by the brothers, he gained a confidence. So do I to him. I would rather go to my shepherd John, even to the swine, than be alone.

Bishop Albrecht of Mainz used to say that the human heart is like a millstone in a mill. If grain is poured on it, it runs around, grinds, crushes, and makes it into flour: but if there is no grain, the stone still runs around, but it grinds itself so that it becomes thinner, smaller, and narrower. Thus the human heart wants to create: it does not have the works of its profession before it.

Then the devil comes and shoots in temptation, melancholy and sadness, and the heart eats itself up with sadness, so that it pines away, and many a man is distressed to death. As Sirach says, "Sadness kills many people, and sadness consumes the marrow and legs, and there is no benefit in it. Sir. 30, 25. 38, 19.

#### **44. heavy thoughts offend the body.**

(Lauterbach, 29 Apr. 1538, p. 73.)

On this day he encouraged D. Wseller] that he would like to resume his profession so that he would not be troubled with his thoughts. But he objected to his health, that he was bothered by constant rivers. Luther answered: I believe that easily, because thoughts make rivers. For if the soul is occupied with thoughts, sleep, food and digestion are hindered. For if the soul does not revive, the body must repay it. Therefore Augustine said very well: The soul is more where it loves than where it animates. For all inclinations and passions that go beyond measure exhaust the body. Without soul it is dead, as a horse without the steer. But a calm spirit takes care of the body. Therefore, one must resist the thoughts as much as one can. Because it is also a very difficult struggle for me to argue with these thoughts.

#### **45 Every man has his challenge.**

(Lauterbach, April 5, 1538, p. 56.)

After that he advised someone in his complaints and finally said: "No man's life is peaceful, for everyone has his troubles, and he himself should cause trouble. For no one is content with his fate. He who has a wife wants to be single, the single wants to be married, the master a servant, the servant a master, the poor rich, the rich desires more.

#### **46 D. M. Luther's wish in his illness.**

Oh, how I would like to die now, for I am now weary and worn out, 2) and have

2) Cf. Cap. 48, § 26, and Cap. 4, § 32, Cordatus No. 1380, Appendix II.

1) Cf. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 86, § 33.

For I know that as soon as I get well again, I will have neither peace nor rest; sorrow, trouble and temptation will not remain outside. For since the great man Paul could not be exalted, who thus complained "of Satan's angel that smote him with fists," 2 Cor. 12:7, neither shall we have it all in peace without temptations. For "we must go through much tribulation into the kingdom of GOD." Apost. 14, 22.

Oh, if St. Paul were alive now, how I would like to learn from him what a challenge it would have been. It has not been a thorn in the flesh of dear Thecla 1) to fornication, as the papists make them dream. Oh no! because it has not been a sin, nor that would have bitten him in the conscience. I do not know what it has been. It is something higher than despair because of sins, as the temptations are in Ps. 8:6: "You will let him be forsaken by God for a little while"; and Ps. 22:2: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" as if he wanted to say: You are an enemy to me without any cause. And yet there was no sin: item Ps. 73, 21: "It stings me in my kidneys," that is, a spear goes through my kidneys.

The book of Job is full of such challenges, since his friends and counselors are wise, prudent, just and pious people, yet they do not meet it. For from this is the whole dispute in the same book: I am righteous and innocent, says Job, though God asks nothing of human piety and innocence. But they speak against it and say: "This must be the devil, that you should be pious and righteous, so God must be unrighteous. Over this quarrel and question goes the whole dispute. I think that the Book of Job is a history, and then put into a poem and poem, which happened to one, but not in such words as it is described.

Jerome and other fathers did not feel such temptations, had only carnal and childish temptations, which

They are also somewhat vexed. Augustine and Ambrose also had temptations and were afraid of the sword, but it is nothing against Satan's angel who strikes with fists. Scolop's stake, when one is hanged on the gallows, the childish temptations of Hieronymi and others pass away.

If I should live a while longer, I would write a book of temptations, without which no man can understand the Scriptures, nor know godliness and love; indeed, he cannot know what spirit is. As our Grickel is, who misses much and lets himself think, since he has never had any temptation, has neither tried nor experienced anything. He will do harm after my death.

Oh, dear Lord God, it is not so easy to understand the Holy Scriptures, even if you read them diligently. Let us learn the three words well, and remain eternally students of what it is to love, fear and trust God. Can we not learn Virgil, Cicero, Terence; how are we so presumptuous in the holy scriptures? Fie on you!

#### 47. physical temptations are much easier than spiritual ones.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 2, 1538, p. 105.)

August 2. During the night Luther had the most severe pain in his arm from tearing limbs. Then he said: "May the name of the Lord be given. This can still be said, because it is still easy to send in the penny, the skirt, the skin. But when spiritual temptations come, so that the day must be lost in which I was born (Job 3:1 ff.), then it is difficult. Christ was almost in a similar trial in the garden, when he said: Father, take this cup from me; there was will against will, but soon he surrendered to the will of the Father and an angel appeared and comforted him. (Matth. 26, 39. Luc. 22, 43.) In short: Christ, who is tempted in our flesh, is the best representative before God in all temptations. He presides as

1) Cf. § 30 of this Cap.

we are only responders 1). Granted that God's wrath manifests itself in our misfortunes, but if we repentantly believe, God's grace and goodness is hidden under wrath, like power under weakness, only that we must persevere in hope and pray, not fretting at appearances.

#### 48. to have patience in suffering.

On August 8 of the 38th year, D. M. and his wife were sick with fever. Then he said: God has nevertheless attacked me quite a bit, I have also been impatient, because I am exhausted by so many and great illnesses; but God knows better what it is for than we ourselves. Our Lord God is like a printer who puts back the letters: we see his typesetting and feel it well, but we will see the imprint there; however, we must have patience.

#### 49) What the cross and the challenge are good for.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 31, 1838, p. 125.)

On the last day of August, Luther was informed by Jonas of the many and varied temptations with which the pious were whimsically afflicted. He answered: "One must have patience and pray. For if everything went according to our will, we would only become sluggish and brutish, as happened to the Romanists. Therefore, the temptations are our best remedies, which strengthen us against many evils, as your stone, D. Jonas, makes you suffer and is of more use to you than ten cotters. 2) God knows best how he must govern the life of his own; we are to obey according to our profession.

(The last paragraph is spurious, an adaptation of Aurifaber on Cap. 20, § 7, which immediately follows this § in the original).

1) The idiom is taken from court proceedings, where names are called out to determine who is there. Hence responäntes, answerers. The meaning is: Christ, by seme representation, does everything, man nothing.

2) Kux -- share in a mine.

#### The unchallenged understand nothing in the matters of God.

The temptations of God-fearing Christians are powerful and useful, and a proper Christian school and training for the flesh and blood. He who is not tempted nor challenged understands and knows nothing. Therefore the whole Psalter is almost in every verse nothing but temptation, grief, sorrow, and a book full of temptations. The temptations of the holy fathers are childish in comparison, in the first table of the ten commandments of God; like St. Jerome's temptation of carnal lust. Ah! the great temptations can well ward off the party devils. Therefore, they do St. Paul injustice by blaming him for longing for the Thecla, as if he had called it a stake in the flesh, when it says that Satan's angel beat him with his fists.

#### How to resist the challenge.

(Cordatus No. 467 and No. 570.)

This morning the devil began to dispute with me about Zwingli, and I learned that a satiated person is not disposed to dispute with the devil, but an empty stomach. Example: A bishop had a sister who was challenged that her brother, who was still alive, was damned. Since her brother could not dissuade her from her thoughts, he kept her for three days in the most glorious way and asked her how she was. She answered: "Fine. When he then inquired where her former thoughts were, she answered: I have forgotten her. So do good, you who are afflicted. But the fornicators must fast.

Where there is a melancholy head, there the devil has his bath. For such a one, a hungry stomach or a lonely life does not fit. Here belongs the example of the bishop's sister. [In the preceding.]

#### 52. of melancholics, and how their melancholy had been driven away.

(Cordatus No. 1129.)

Where there is a weary head, there the devil has his bath. That is why Jesus says Sirach,



Cap. 38, [21.], well, "Let not sadness enter into thy heart, but put it from thee." Well known is the story of the one who said he was dead, and a dead man does not eat 2c. Another said he was a rooster, had a comb on his head and a beak in his face, so he also crowed like a rooster. For three days, another monk was like him; at last he said that he was no longer a rooster, but a man, and so he freed the other one. Another heard a monk preach that the flesh must be tortured; one must let it turn sour. This one decided that he would not let his water. This one was also freed by one who pretended that he had done the same, but when he realized that he had become more hopeful through this vow, he desisted, and that one also desisted from his preaching.

### 53. Luther's concerns under the papacy.

I often confessed to Doctor Staupitzen, not about women, but about the right knots. Then he said: I don't understand it. 1) That means quite comforted! When I went to another one after that, I felt the same way. In sum, no confessor wanted to know anything about it. Then I thought, no one has this torment and temptation but you. Then I became a dead corpse. At last, Father Staupitz spoke to me over the table, because I was so sad and exhausted, and said: "How are you so sad, Father Martine? Then I said: Ah! where shall I go? And he said, Alas! You do not know that such treatment is good and necessary for you, otherwise nothing good would come of you. He did not understand this himself, for he thought that I was learned, and that if I did not have a challenge, I would become proud and hopeful. But I accepted it, as Paul says in 2 Cor. 12:7: "I have been given a stake in the flesh, that I should not exalt myself to high revelation"; therefore I received it as a word and voice of the Holy Spirit.

I was very pious in the papacy, since I was a monk, and yet so sad and distressed.

1) Cf. § 30 of this Cap. /

that I thought God would not be merciful to me. Then I said mass and prayed, and had neither seen nor had a wife, since I was in the order and a monk. Now I have to suffer other thoughts from the devil. For he often reproaches me: Oh, how many people you have seduced with your teaching! Sometimes I am comforted and my heart is again troubled by a bad word in my temptation. Once my confessor said to me, because I always brought foolish sin before him: "You are a fool, God is not angry with you, but you are angry with Him; God is not angry with you, but you are angry with Him. A precious, great and glorious word, which he said before this light of the gospel.

Therefore, whoever is afflicted with the spirit of sadness, let him take the greatest care and see to it that he is not alone. 2) For God created the society in the church, and commanded the brotherhood, that its members should hold themselves together; as the Scripture says: "Woe to the man who is alone; for if he falls, he has not one to help him up," Eccl. 4:10. Also, God does not like the sadness of the heart, although He allows worldly sadness: but He does not want me to be sad against Him; as He says: "I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner," 2c., Ezek. 33:11; item: "Rejoice in the Lord," Phil. 4:4. He will not have such a servant who does not think well of him. Even though I know this, I may change my mind a hundred times in one day, but I resist the devil.

Sometimes I hold up the pope to him and say, "What is your pope, if you make it so great that I should celebrate him? Behold, what abomination hath he wrought, and hath not ceased this day. So I hold before me forgiveness of sins and Christ; but I reproach Satan and set before him the abomination of the pope: so then is the abominatio and the abomination so great that I become courageous over it and freely confess that the abomination of the pope, after Christ, is my greatest comfort. Therefore, these are unholy fools who say that the pope should be

2) Cf. the last paragraph of Cap. 24, § 5, and § 43 of this Cap.

do not scold. Only quickly scolded, and especially when the devil challenges you with the Justification. He often attacks me with an argument that is not worth a damn, but I do not see it in the torment and challenge; but when I am recovered, I see it finely.

Well, the poisonous spirit does us much harm: but because we have and keep the doctrine pure, it shall not harm us; but if the doctrine falls, or is counterfeited, we are done for. But praise be to God, who has given us the Word and has sent His only Son to die for us. He did not do it in vain, so we should have some hope and believe that we are holy and blessed. If he has so accepted the thief on the cross, and Paul after so many blasphemies and persecutions, we have no reason to doubt. And indeed, we must all thus come to blessedness, like the thief and Paul. Dear God, what do you mean that He gave His only Son? For this reason he also sets apart all other good things that he has. For this reason we have no reason to fear his wrath, and yet we must fear it for the sake of the old Adam, who cannot grasp it as he might. And if we had only the first three words in faith, "I believe in God the Father," they are far beyond our understanding.

#### **54. challenging Satan.**

(This § is an excerpt from the "Tröstlichen Unterricht," Walch, St. Louis edition, Theil X, Col. 1780 ff, A 2-18.)

#### **(55) Those who are in trouble and weak should take care that they are not alone.**

(This § ibid. Walch, St. Louis ed., vol. X, 1786 ff. 8s 24-32.)

#### **(56) Which is the greatest challenge.**

On 14 Decembris Anno 1541 spoke D. M. Luther: The greatest challenge of the devil is that he says: God is hostile to sinners: you are a sinner; therefore God is hostile to you 2c. One feels this temptation differently from the other. He reproaches me for not having

Sin, which I did in my youth, as especially among others, that I kept mass 1) and sacrificed and martyred God's Son, and thereby blasphemed Him: but many other things, which are nowhere equal to these; others he reproaches for what they did before in their lives.

But in this syllogism and conclusion, the major, the first part, is to be denied, namely: it is not true that God is hostile to sinners. If then the devil says against this, and holds up Sodom and other examples of divine wrath to you, hold him up against it again before Christ, the Son of God, whom he made man for the sake of sins. If he were hostile to sinners, would he not have sent his Son for our sake, and not let him be miserably executed, tortured, suffer and die? But he is hostile to those sinners who think they are pious and righteous; that is, those who do not recognize themselves as sinners, whom he will neither hear nor see until they come to the right knowledge of their sins and hold to Christ alone by faith in the word.

Such trials are very useful, good and necessary for us, and do not happen, as is thought, because we should be corrupted and lost by them, but rather be instructed and taught. For every Christian should remember and know that he cannot rightly learn or know Christ without trial and the cross, which is the school by which one rightly learns to know the man and the Savior. Twenty years ago I first felt this despair and challenge of divine wrath. Before that I had peace of mind that I also took a wife; I had such good days. But after that it came again.

When I complained about it to D. Staupitzen, he said: He would never have felt nor experienced such temptations; but as far as I understand and realize, he said, they are more necessary to you than food and drink. Therefore, let those who feel them get used to them and learn to bear them, for this is true Christianity. If Satan had not tormented and exercised me so, I would not have been so hostile to him, I would not have been able to

1) Cf. the second paragraph of § 23 of this chapter.

Nor can we do so much harm. For when the challenge comes, I cannot overcome even a few, daily, smallest sins; therefore, it keeps us from hope, and at the same time increases the knowledge of Christ and God's gifts. For from the time I began to be challenged, God gave me this glorious victory, that I overcame monasticism and the shameful, cursed, blasphemous life that is in it.

And how should our Lord God do it differently? Because Pope and Emperor cannot restrain me, there must be a devil who assails me, so that God's power may be known, and so that I may not grow weary and perish without enemies. St. Peter has a fine saying in 1 Ep. 5:9, where he says: "And know that the same afflictions pass over your brethren in the world," that we are not alone, but suffer much in the world from time to time, the same ones with us whom we do not know. Yet we are not left desolate, but our victory remains, that we may overcome and succumb, for we have forgiveness of sins. Therefore, those who feel our sin have no reason to fear us, but those who do not feel it may well fear them. Everything depends on it, that we, who are frightened before, do not accept the hard, terrible sayings, nor the terrible examples, because only the consolation belongs to us.

### 57. the most difficult thoughts of the devil.

(The first two paragraphs Cordatus No. 357 and 358.)

The most difficult temptations are when the devil brings this into our temptations, that we search for the causes of well-being and unhappiness, why it goes well with me and badly with you, why this or that happens. These temptations are very heavy and easily bring down. This is what he started in paradise with Eve and deceived Adam and all his descendants.

There is no prouder thing on earth than a hopeful healer at the time of prosperity, and there has not yet been anyone among the saints who has not been troubled with the why, wherefore. 1)

1) Another relation of what is contained in these two paragraphs in Cordatus No. 1412.

Gerson writes that nothing can better avoid and drive away the devil's temptations and thoughts, which he gives you, than to despise him honestly. Just as if one despises a dog that barks in a hostile manner and passes by, it not only does not bite, but also stops barking. But if you provoke him with striking and throwing, he is likely to attack you and bite you and tear you to pieces. So the devil never ceases his temptations when he sees that you fear him and do not despise him, but you encourage and help him more and more.

### 58: How Martin Luther visited and comforted a sick and challenged woman.

Doctor Martin Luther visited a woman and comforted her, who had a great longing and desire for him. However, she had a serious illness in her and endured terrible paroxysms, which no physician could advise or help; for it was a pure evil work and unnatural thing and of terror and devil's ghost origin, because the devil in the form of a calf had pressed her, that she even fell into unconsciousness. Therefore she arrived afterwards for several days in great terror and trembling, so that she had four paroxysms, each of which lasted three or four hours, at which time she fell to the ground and died, so that she had to be resuscitated, fed and cooled, and became very ill, so that she could not breathe. Therefore she clasped her hands together and looked up to heaven with her eyes and sighed. Her hands and feet were so crooked because of the spasm, as if they were horns, and in addition they were very cold, and her tongue was dry and parched. Also, her body was lifted up by the disease and fell down again. When she was very ill, she opened her eyes, which were as if she were drunk with sleep, and said, "Oh, how heavily I have borne; take this great stone from me. And as she thus spake, she saw Martin Luther standing before her bed. Then she was very happy, got up and received him, and said, "Oh, my dear father!

in Christ, prayed to God for me, and fell back into bed, saying: I am still drunk asleep.

Then said D. Martin Luther: Devil, God command you that you leave this divine creature and creature satisfied. And turning to those who had gone with him to this sick woman, he said, "She is afflicted in body by the devil, but her soul is blessed and preserved; therefore let us give thanks to God and pray for her. And he prayed aloud over her the Lord's Prayer, and concluded with these words: "O Lord God, heavenly Father, who hast called us and the sick to pray, we beseech thee through Jesus Christ, thy dear Son, that thou wouldest fatherly deliver this thy servant from her sickness and from the devil's bonds. Save, dear God, her soul, which you have purchased and saved from sin, death and the power of the devil, together with her body, through the shedding of the blood of your dear Son Jesus Christ. 1) Thereupon the sick woman said, Amen; and said to D. Luthern: Oh dear father, pray God for me, that I may abide in the Lord Christ, whom you have so faithfully preached to me: he is my only comfort and life. Even though he is now stumbling, he is doing it so that he may humble me, but not so that I may be saved again through this. But, O dear Lord Christ, grant patience and knowledge of my sins.

Then Doctor Martin Luther comforted her with God's word and said: "She should recognize this fatherly will of God and command herself to him, for our Lord God used to nudge his little children so that their spirit would be blessed. Then the woman made a glorious Christian confession of her faith, and a beautiful thanksgiving, and said: I have been proud and hopeful, relying more on jewelry than on the word of God; the sermon went in one ear and out the other. But now I am in the right school, where God preaches to me. Therefore help, dear Lord God, for the sake of your Son. She spoke more such glorious words, and said, "When she is in the pa-

roxysmo, she felt nothing, she heard nothing; but only rested as in a deep sleep, and as if she carried a heavy burden; and when she came to herself again, she would be very tired in all her limbs. And when she had visited D. Luther the same day, she had good peace the following night, but after that the weakness had come again. But in the end she was mercifully delivered from it.

**59: Letter of consolation from Doctor Martin Luther to D. Benedict Pauli, whose son had fallen to his death. 2)**

(Cordatus No. 1690. 1691. 1692.)

It is not forbidden in Scripture for a father to mourn his blessedly dead child, because the holy patriarchs also did this; only moderation must be kept, and a Christian also has comfort in his mourning, namely, that God reclaims the gift he has bestowed, as Job [had this comfort] when he says, "The LORD gave it, the LORD" 2c.

He who rightly contrasts good and evil [sees that] he gains more than he lost, just like Job. Therefore, one must not focus on the existing evil, but on the many other gifts that God has left us until now. Even though the Son died, He [God] did not take away the knowledge of the Word; He left a good conscience, which is better than all good, for an evil conscience is true death and hell.

When the children die, the parents must think that Abraham suffered much hardship,

2) This § in Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1565 to 1568, where another relation is found, which seems to be a translation of the Rebenstock text. (Rebenstock II, 2a.) With minor deviations from Rebenstock also in the Hall manuscript (Bindseil III, 206). Also in De Weites Briefen Vck, 218, where the same text is found as in Aurifaber's Tischreden, with the date 1538. Without date (After December 5?). This date is incorrect, because none of Cordatus' speeches can be dated after 1537. Most likely, it is not a consolation writing, but a consolation speech, which therefore does not belong in the collection of letters. The reason for this was that the nine-year-old son of the mayor Benedict Pauli in Wittenberg had fallen down from the roof while removing sparrows' nests. - Cf. Cap. 13, § 34.

1) This prayer is already printed in Walch, St. Louis Edition, Theil X, 1501.

because he was commanded to kill his own son, and Jacob, [who thought] his son was torn by a wild beast, and David, because he was driven away by his son. Furthermore, this is a certain comfort to the parents, that it was God's good will that the child should die. Whoever holds another against them is the devil.

**60. consolation to L. Ambrosium Bernd of Jüterbock, to whom his wife, children and mother in**

**One week had died. 1)**

(Cordatus No. 615. 615a. 615b. 616.)

I comforted a magister, who had lost his mother, wife and children in one week, as much as I could, saying: God's mercy in our misfortunes is much greater than all our misfortunes. You have cause for sadness, but it is nothing, there is a good sugar in this vinegar. Your wife 2c. is very well off, for she is already living with Christ. Have taken a leap from this misery into eternal life. Oh, that I had already gone through this leap, I would not long for it again.

Do not look at the vinegar alone, let the sugar also count for something. Behold also other calamities full of vinegar where there is no sugar, as in the downfall of Zwingli, Münzers 2c. Thy afflictions are only bodily, namely *στοργαί φαιχαί* [natural affections]. Your wife has well died, leaving you nothing but the fondest memory of her intercourse and obedience. Be comforted by this; by this affection show thyself to be a kind and pious husband, and do not forget her.

You are a very good dialecticus, you teach

Now practice this art publicly and explain well, distinguish, summarize, learn to distinguish the spiritual from the physical. Let the sugar also be something. Compare other misfortunes with your misfortune, then you will see that the death of your wife is not miserable in truth, but only in affection, because there are *στοργαί φαιχαί*. Therefore it is a memorable saying of Maximilian, who comforted King Philip, his son: you must get used. You will lose her many more who are dear to you. This is what those who have a noble, Christian spirit must do; nothing else will come of it. For the devil, who is the author of death and error, does not cease to work his wickedness on Christians. But he does not prosper; that is why Christ was under his hands, that he might destroy his dominion and overcome the author of death. For the devil is the author of death, God himself does not kill. For if Christ killed, who would run to him for help? For this is not the business of God, but of the sinner. When he takes away his hand, the devil eats us up. He inflicts death, of which God is not the author. Our death is indeed the will of God, but he has no desire for it. In short, God and the devil are opposed to each other. Everything that God does, He does so that it may be, but Satan does so that it may not be. Therefore, the devil is the author of death, a liar and a murderer, that is his craft.

We cannot make the world pious, Master Hans must draw it. Therefore, Emperor Carl does right, who also kills the murderers again and spares none.

**61. comfort for a sick afflicted person.**

Anno 36, the 18th of July, after the sermon, D. M. Luther went to an honest, pious matron. M. Luther went to an honest, pious matron, who had been driven from Leipzig: who, because her husband had drowned, was in such distress and heartache that she also fell ill over it and fainted fifteen times in one night. When the doctor came, she received him kindly and said, "Oh, my dear doctor, how do I deserve it for you?"  
D. Martin ant

1) This § in De Wette VI, 189 ff. in the excerpt, "from 606. 187. 4° Ootb." - According to the superscription, it is Mag. Ambrosius Berndt from Jüterbock to whom this consolation was addressed. He studied in Wittenberg since 1520 and became a master of philosophy in 1528. In the summer of 1537 he administered the decanate of the philosophical faculty and died in 1542. In 1538 he married Luther's niece Lene Kaufmann in second marriage. All these colloquia fall into the year 1532, therefore the death of Berndt's first wife will probably also fall into this year. (Wrampelmeyer.) Therefore also the date of the letter to Ambr. Berndt in De Wette, VI, 195 f.: "After May 1, 1538", is incorrect.

Waited and said, "It is long deserved; Christ Jesus with his blood has done and deserved much more.

Then he asked her: How was she, how was she doing? He admonished her that she wanted to please God's will and bear it with patience, as he chastised her as a father, whom he had previously redeemed from the greatest evil, from Satan and the abominations of the papacy. Dear daughter, he said, be content, and suffer the father's chastisement, be it for life or for death, as it pleases the dear God; for we are the Lord's, we live or die; as he himself says: "I live, and you also shall live", Jn. 14, 19. He has sent you a noble treasure to suffer, he will give you that you may bear it with patience, therefore pray diligently. To this she answered very Christianly: She would be well satisfied, God would ever weep well and fatherly with her, would also give her patience and help her bear such a cross 2c. So the doctor parted from her, blessed her and entrusted her to the protection of our dear God.

#### **Another consolation of D. M. Luther to a sick woman.**

In 36, August 4, Luther visited Hohendorff, 1) mayoress of Wittenberg, in sickness, and said to her: "My dear godparents, you should have patience and gladly bear the will of God, which is good and holy; for the body that has sinned must suffer and die. But we have the comfort and advantage of handing over our dear soul to the one who redeemed it. The world does not have this consolation.

#### **How M. Luther comforted the old master Lucas Kranach, painter at Wittenberg, since his son John had died in Italy.**

Anno 1536, the first Decembris, D. M. Luther visited the mayor Lucas, painter, who was very sad and distressed about his dear obedient son's departure, so with the

1) Cf. cap. 30, z 13.

He died in Bononia 2) on the 9th day of October, in the evening, in a beautiful, glorious, Christian confession. But the parents, beyond their natural love and inclination, were also tormented and tortured in conscience, as if they had been a cause of his death, because they had sent him into it.

Thereupon spoke D. M. Luther said, "If it were true, I would be as high a cause as you, for I have faithfully advised you and him. But we did not do it in the opinion that he should die. Our conscience gives us witness that you would much rather have him alive, yes, much rather storm yourselves, and lose all your goods. Therefore put down this thorn in your conscience, for both heart and will bear much different witness to how you feel about your son.

Then he turned to his father, who was weeping, and said: "Dear Master Luke, be still, God wants to break your will, because he likes to attack you when it hurts him the most, to kill our old Adam. And even though we do not have the greatest temptations, ours, which we feel, hurt us the most. Remember dear Adam, what a sorrow of heart it was when the first two brothers murdered each other in his presence. Remember dear David, who wept two whole years over his firstborn son Amnon, when Absalom stabbed him to death, 2 Sam. 13. Then, when he found Absalom stabbed to death in his sins, hanging on the tree, there was a wailing: when he saw his son eternally damned, there was weeping and anguish, 2 Sam. 18. for one.

On the other hand, we should be comforted by his piety and obedience. For the world is so wicked and rude nowadays that even the very finest young men come to shame and sin: this could also have happened to your son, for you see how naughty and desolate the world is, that one may sin freely and do everything in denial, so that even in public sins and misdeeds one may impudently say, "My no!

2) Bologna.

is as much as your yes. 1) And said, first of all, about the desert life of our students. After that he said of a master at Erfurt, who had been a learned and pious man, but after that, when he became a priest, he fell into adultery with a stone-breaker's wife, who was ugly enough, but could not leave her: finally, one day, early at six o'clock, after he had taken mass, he went to the wife, and was seized by the man and stabbed. That is a terrible death. I also have five children, who are dear to me; but when I think of the evil courses of the future time, in which they might also turn out badly; when I think of it, I wish that they had all died, for there is little improvement to be hoped for in the world; as before my eyes.

Thirdly, although it is painful that you had a pious, obedient son, for one can ever forget the evil, disobedient ones before the pious and faithful ones; let his obedience and Christian farewell be a joy to you, for he has received a good, blessed little hour, brought to him by God. Oh, blessed and blessed is he who comes well with the hour: it is my daily sighing and pleading that God grant me a blessed, happy hour, then I will have been well here and, delivered from all misery and sorrow, will be happy with God.

To the fourth: Dear Master Luke, command this to God, the highest Father, who has more right to your son than you do: for you are only his physical father, have nurtured and nourished him only for a time, but God has given him body and soul, has protected and preserved him until now, is much, much closer father than you are, who knows and can preserve, care for and nourish him much better than you and the whole world.

Fifth: Make a measure of hardship and mourning, forget it always cleanly, command it to God's will, which is better than ours! Your son is well pleased...

1) Lauterbach, Nov. 16, 1538, p. 169: My no is as valid as your yes. D. Gregorius Brück answered: The cause of the one who denies something is much more worthy of applause than the one who claims something, because the plaintiff has the proof.

happen. Eat and drink, refresh yourselves, and do not grieve so, for you shall serve more people: But sadness and sorrow dry up the legs.

#### 64. comfort for a sick person.

In Torgau, Luther visited a clerk who was a pious, diligent man and was sick with dropsy. He comforted him that he should be unconcerned about this illness of his, that he should not trouble himself with sadness, but should keep to the doctors' rule, so that God's blessing would not be hindered by sorrow and heartache. For, as they say, good courage is half the body; when the heart is glad, there is no need for the body. And that he should keep himself according to the counsel of St. Peter, and commit his soul to the faithful Creator. We should die gladly, he said, for we have lived enough, only that we must live a while longer for the sake of others.

#### 65. of D. M. Luther's illness, how he comforted himself.

(Lauterbach, July 17, 1538, p. 98.)

When Luther was still seriously ill on July 17, he noticed a change in his pulse. The doctor comforted him. He replied: I surrender to the will of GOD; to Him I have surrendered completely. He will do it well. I know for certain that he will not die (John 11:25), because he is the resurrection and the life; whoever believes in him will live, even if he dies. Therefore I let him have his way.

#### 66. another comfort for a sick person.

Doctor Martin Luther even visited an honest matron who was lying very ill, and comforted her thus: "Muhme Lene, do you also know me, and do you hear me? And when she understood and knew him, he said to her, "Your faith rests entirely on the Lord Christ. And he said unto her, The same is the resurrection, and the life. You will not lack anything, 2) you will not die, but like the Lord you will live.

2) So Stangwald instead of "grant".

You will fall asleep in a cradle, and when the dawn rises, you will rise again and live forever. Then said she, O yes; and the doctor asked her, saying, Have ye no temptations? No, she said. How, then, do you not suffer? Yes," she said, "my heart aches. Then he said, "The Lord will soon deliver you from all evil, and you shall not die. And he turned to us, and said, O how good is he, for this is not death, but sleep. And straightway he went alone to the window, and prayed; and departed from her again about twelve past noon: and in the evening about seven she gently fell asleep in Christ.

#### 67. Consolation prayer of D. M. Luther in the last hour.

(This § is in Walch, St. Louis Edition, Part X, Col. 1420 f.).

#### 68. consolation Against the challenge of oversight.

(Cordatus No. 1705. 1706. 1707.)

If the justified have peace, then those who do not have peace are not justified. Whoever should be thus challenged should know that the Christian life or righteousness moves in the midst of sorrow, trouble, tribulation and death. But they are God's children who suffer such things, according to this, "My son, do not slight the chastening of the Lord," Ebr. [12:5J So if they are children, they are not neglected by God, even though they are very severely afflicted by the devil, and because of God's good will toward them, it behooves them to be joyful in the midst of the afflictions, even because of the good conscience of faith [it behooves them to be joyful], through faith.

The peace of faith, of which Paul says [Phil. 4, 7J, is higher than all reason, in such a way that it must also be there in death, in which nothing is seen less than peace. The flesh and the senses do not know it, but feel the struggle and the unrest. Thus David complains [Ps. 38, 4.]: That there is no peace in his

Even Christ on the cross did not feel peace, and if a Christian did not feel the same, to what should the promises and consolations of the gospel refer? Likewise the preaching of grace, such as [Matth. 11, 5.]: "The poor have the gospel preached to them", [Luc. 12, 32. "Fear not, little host", [Rom. 14, 1.]; "Receive the weak in faith", [2 Cor. 13, 11.]; "Comfort one another", and many similar words], which are mainly spoken and written for such people.

Christians always have tribulations and feel sadness. That is why the first commandment is given, so that the sad and afflicted may be comforted. Would that they would accept the consolations!

#### 69. how to overcome the challenge of the accident.

(Cordatus No. 784. 785.)

The challenge of misunderstanding is like a very great fire and the wind that blows into it, because the more someone disputes about it, the more he despairs. God hates this disputation so much that He has instituted the Word and the Sacraments against it, so that we should hear that and look to this: I am baptized and believe in Jesus Christ, what do I care whether I am baptized or not? He has laid a foundation for us to stand on, Jesus Christ, and has made him a ladder for us to climb to heaven.

The only way and the door to the Father according to the will of God is Christ, so we want to build above the roof in the name of the devil with contempt for the foundation, therefore we must also fall. If only we could believe the promises that God has spoken them, and look to Him [who speaks], then we would esteem this word great. 1) But since the world regards them almost less than the words of men, they are the same to us as if a cow had bleated.

1) The bracketed words are added according to the unanimous testimony of the Latin table speeches, namely Kummer >. 287 (Lauterbach p. 73), Bindseil III, 219, Rebenstock II, 8b.



**70 Consolation against the temptation of our unworthiness.**

(Kummer p. 423. "Lauterbach p. 62.)

This is copied from Luther's hand psalter: I Doctor Martinus Luther am unworthy, but I have been worthy to be created by my Creator; to be redeemed by the Son of God;

To be taught by the Son of God and the Holy Spirit; that I have been entrusted with the ministry of the word;

that I suffered so much for the same; that I have been preserved in so many evils; that I have been commanded to believe such things; that I have been threatened under the curse of eternal wrath not to doubt them in any way.

Therefore I will be mindful of your works and consider the deeds of your hands. Cast your care upon the LORD, and he shall feed you. - Be ye manly, and let your heart be strong, all ye that hope in the LORD.

Hallowed be your name	everything that concerns reason	the devils
come Your will be done	everything in which one may be angry	against the world the flesh
in	everything that may be desired .	

and so on.

**How to comfort those who are challenged in their faith, D. M. Luther.**

(This § is taken from Luther's letter to Dr. Wenc. Link, dated July 14, 1528. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, col. 1535-1537, § 10-§16.-In Cordatus No. 361 and 362 an excerpt from this. Cf. De Wette III, 349. the letter to Wenceslaus Link is again in Walch's old edition, vol. XVII, 2697 ff.).

**The devil's most noble challenge.**

(Cordatus No. 502. No. 1428.)

The devil holds up the law to the conscience and Christ as a judge, and thus says: God hates sinners because he is righteous, but you are a sinner, so 2c. Thus he strikes down the conscience. Who could well distinguish and say: He hates not all but the ungodly sinners, and the penitent and

But he makes the weak sinner blessed, because it is a twofold sin, as well as a [twofold] righteousness.

Turning one's thoughts away from temptation is the best remedy against it, that is, one must think of Venice, the land of sleeping monkeys and similar things, but one must stop at prayer and adhere to some text from the Word of God.

**Other people's admonitions comfort you in times of trial.**

D. Luther said: "When he was in trouble, he would often have been comforted by a word he had heard from a good friend. For when, in 1535, the University of Wittenberg was transferred to Jena for the sake of the dying process, and I was quite distressed and sad about something, Doctor Pommer said to me: "Our Lord God is undoubtedly thinking in heaven: What more should I do with this man? I have given him so many wonderful, great gifts, and he still wants to despair of my grace. These words were a great and glorious comfort to me, and they remained firmly in my heart, as if an angel had spoken them to me from heaven itself; although Doctor Pommer did not think at the time that he wanted to give me any comfort with his speech.

**74 A different one from the accident.**

One should beware with all diligence of the disputation of the dispensation, for thereby a man is brought by Satan to disregard God's word and the sacraments, to consider Christ more a cruel tyrant and executioner or cane-master than a savior; He even abolishes Christ's office and custom, and makes us forget God, so that the whole service of God, which consists in praying and giving thanks, is extinguished and perishes, and nothing else but blasphemies prevail and are multiplied.

Therefore, against this disputation, take the word, in which you have revealed God as He has revealed Himself and depicted Himself correctly, and recognize the great good deed of Christ, that for your sake He came down from heaven to give you

He became a good man and your brother, yes, flesh and blood, took all your sin upon himself, paid enough for it, and paid the Father for you with his bitter suffering and death, rose again from death, overcame death, the devil and hell, and took them captive through his ascension, all for your good. This is a great unspeakable love that God the Father has for you, that He did not spare His only begotten Son, but gave Himself to death for you. Let no other thoughts lead you away from this, but remain with Christ, lying in the bosom of his mother, or hanging on the cross.

**(75) That one should not argue about the accident. 1)**

(Cordatus No. 812.)

The disputation of the verse is to be completely avoided, and Staupitz said: If you want to dispute about the verse, then start at the wounds of Christ, and it will cease. If you continue to argue about them, you will lose Christ, the Word, the Sacraments and everything 2c. I forget everything that is Christ and God when I get into these thoughts, and come to think that God is evil. We must remain in the word in which GOD is revealed to us and blessedness is offered if we believe Him. But in the thought of the transgression we forget God, and the laudate [praise] ceases, and the blasphemate [blasphemy] begins. But in Christ all treasures are hidden [Col. 2, 3.], without him all are closed. Therefore, one must simply deny the argument of misappropriation.

**76. benefit of the sayings of the accident.**

The sayings about misfortune, which have the appearance of frightening us, are only intended to do this and serve to show us the weakness of our strength and inability, and to admonish us to pray. If we do this, we are provided.

But since one wants to argue and say: He who is provided, pleases God.

1) Cf. cap. 2, § 84.

David is provided for; therefore he has not done wrong nor sinned. Answer: It is not our duty to judge according to what we have seen, but according to God's word, which is revealed and condemns evil works. For a godly and right pious Christian is not idle, but good works are only testimonies and fruits of our believing heart, yes, a newborn man is guilty and obligated to do what God has commanded.

**77 Cause of the oversight.**

The reason why God calls this one or that one is not to be put on our Lord God, but on man; he is to be blamed, not God. For the promises are universal, given and promised to all men, no one excepted, be he who he will, without distinction. Now God wants all men to be saved; therefore the guilt is not of our Lord God, who promises and will faithfully and surely keep what he promises, but of our own who do not want to believe it.

**78. beginning in thought of the accident.**

In the disputation of the verse it is useful and best to start at the bottom of Christ, so one finds and hears the Father; for all those who started at the top have fallen down the neck. So I once heard from Carlstadt in a disputation about the verse, that he said: If that should be, it would be just as much run into hell as carried into it. And M. Eisleben once went forth with these words: I am worried that it will rain dirt. And Muenzer, when we reproached him with this saying of St. Paul, Rom. 8, 30: "Whom he hath before ordained and called, them also hath he justified, them also hath he glorified," said he: "I know your sayings well. Therefore they fought hard in the disputation, because no one wanted to believe in Christ: and God says of the Lord: "Him you shall hear", Matth. 17, 5.

Thus Christ says: "No one comes to the Father except through me"; but they do not want Christ and his word. As Muenzer also said (that God would forgive him): "If Christ did not want to speak to me, I would have him speak to me.

do not look at 2c. Therefore they also went to the ground, and Muenzer set up the first sect with the spirit, and despised the oral word. Carlstadt did not think anything of the Sacrament, so the Sacramentarians came out; and the Anabaptists also set up their sect. These are three hard, horrible sects; but after our death many sects will go out. God help us.

I was plagued and tormented by thoughts of misfortune, namely, what and how God wanted to do with me? But in the end, praise God, I have let them go and despised them, and I have swung again and held to the revealed will of God and His word. We cannot go any higher, for man can never know the secret will of God, and God hides it for the sake of the devil, so that the wise spirit may be deceived and put to shame; for from us he has learned the revealed will of God, but God Himself reserves the secret will for him and hides it. We have enough to learn from the humanity of Christ, in which the Father has revealed Himself: but we are fools not to heed the word and the revealed will of the Father in Christ, to ponder and search out the secrets that are hidden, which God has not commanded us to know; therefore, many of them also fall down their necks over it.

#### 79 Of Christ's temptations.

Christ returned to Jerusalem on the tenth day, and on the fourteenth day he was slain and killed. His thoughts and temptations were of sin, of God's wrath and of death, of which even kings and great lords fear and are afraid. 2) The other temptation and affliction of the Lord Christ was that he would work in vain and in vain for his people.

the misfortune overtook, and miserably went to failure.

Now we also lament and cry out about the plagues that are coming upon us, so that we may be justly punished, but we remain silent about the cause, namely the sins that well deserve such. If we said how we should do justly: I will no longer live like this against my Lord's command, for my redemption has cost him much, has turned sour in his blood 2c. [And it is a great and terrible thing that such a punishment should come upon his city and people, where his church, priests and authorities were. What is against her Babylon, Nineveh, Assyria, Sodom and Gomorrah? What is Jerusalem now, even Antioch, where the first Christian school was, and so many martyrs are buried? How many stones are left on the walls? What is Rome? How has she fared? How do you think Germany will fare?

#### Christians should not like to be alone.

(Cordatus No. 541.)

The papists and the Anabaptists teach a solitary life, and whoever wants to be saved likes to be alone. They say: Become a brother of St. Nicholas, which completely contradicts the first and second tablets. In the first commandment, God demands faith and fear, and in the second commandment, He wants this to be preached and praised publicly among men, but certainly not in the corner. Thus the second tablet teaches that one should do good to all neighbors. With this teaching he certainly teaches sociability, not separation. This also contradicts marriage, the household, the world order, which require companionship, not segregation. And Christ's life was thoroughly social and never lonely, except when he prayed, although this was very similar to a riot, because the people constantly ran and wanted to be around him. Therefore, away with those who say, "Stay alone and your heart will remain pure.

#### A solitary life, or vitam solitariam, is to be fled.

(Cordatus No. 376.)

The challenged person should be told that he does not have to be alone, because he is not subject to the devil, who is

1) So Stangwald and Bindseil instead of "divine".

2) Thus Stangwald. In Aurifaber the unseemly words follow: "But being young, he wept." Perhaps after Luc. 19, 41. the words should be read: "When he came near, he wept."

is stronger than a thousand worlds, too weak, and yet they want to be alone. Christ also did not like to be alone, which we know from the fact that when he was sad, he said, "You leave me alone," John 16:32. But even so he does not want to be alone, because he says that the Father is with him, with whom he comforts himself alone. 1)

#### **What harm loneliness brings.**

(This concern is Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 179," No. XII.)

#### **Sadness is the instrument of the devil.**

(Cordatus No. 1067.)

The deeper someone is in sadness and passions, the more suitable a tool of the devil he is. For our passions are the tools through which he enters us and is effective in us if we are not careful. Where it is wet, one may easily water, and where the fence is evil, one may easily get over. So the devil has easy access where there is sadness. Therefore, one must pray and deal with godly people.

#### **84. sadness and bloody sweat of the Lord Christ in the garden.**

One does not find in any *Historiis gentium* that a man would have been so very distressed that he would have sweated blood. Therefore it is a wonderful history. No man can understand what the bloody sweat is, and that the *Dominus Gratiae et irae, vitae et mortis* should be so weak and so highly afflicted that he must seek *solatium* from the poor disciples, and say: Oh, dear, do not sleep, yet awake, yet talk with one another, so that I may hear that people are around me. That is right, as the 8th Psalm, v. 6, says: *Minuisti eum paululum ab angelis*, Ebr. 2, 7; but the sins of the whole world press him thus, and drive out his sweat. Against this he will have prayed: *Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, nec in ira tua corripas me*, Ps. 6, 2. He drew out the heavy psalm, and many words will have fallen in the long prayer.

1) According to Aurifaber's *Tischreden*, the challenged person was Dr. von Schafhausen.

#### **How to ward off the spirit of sadness and comfort the sad.**

(Contained in § 5 of this Cap.)

#### **86 Doctor Luther's Weakness.**

Doctor M. Luther once fell ill during communion in the church at Wittenberg, and as he was leaving the church, he said on the way: "Yesterday I was fine, today it is completely reversed; it is the *mutatio aëris*". People are the best and most natural mathematicians; they soon feel it in their bodies and limbs when there is a conjunction, opposition, or change in the weather in the sky and the stars. Thus the devil is such a companion, he can soon cause diseases; as St. Peter says in the stories of the apostles that the diseases are *Vincula Diaboli*. And although God has ordained many medicines for one disease alone, and the same is often used, yet it works nothing; for the devil is so powerful, he can change medicines and apothecaries, and put dust in the boxes. Therefore we should have recourse to the right and true physician Christ, and ask him that when the hour comes that is to strangle us, as it must be one day, that he will give us a happy end.

#### **How Luther comforted a sick woman.**

Doctor Luther once visited a sick woman of nobility in Wittenberg, called the *Selbitzin*, and comforted her thus, saying: "It has taken far too long, if we only now in the last need want to learn to recognize Christ. He came to us in baptism and was with us, and has already made a bridge for us, so that we can go on it 2) from this life through death into that life; you should certainly believe this.

#### **How to defend oneself against contestation.**

In *omni Tentatione* one should see to it that one does not interfere with thoughts by reflecting; for if one does the same, it follows

2) Aurifaber: "him".

soon there is a case of being plunged into sin. For where the serpent puts his head into a hole, he will certainly crawl in with his whole body; there is no defense. Therefore it is said: Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur. And the apostle Peter also admonishes us to resist the devil, who walks about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour, in faith, 1 Pet 5:8, 9, so we must do in high temptations. It is true that we should first be terrified because of our sins, but we should not remain and persist in this terror forever, but return to the grace of God. Otherwise one does too much on both sides: for great joy is generally followed by security, and great terror causes despair. And our Lord God has forbidden both with the highest punishment, namely, that one should not despair of Him, and that one should not be secure in us.

#### **89. benefit and fruit of the challenge.**

In 1541, Doctor Luther remembered his spiritual challenge and illness, since he had neither eaten, drunk, nor slept in fourteen days; and said: "During this time, I argued a lot with our Lord God out of great impatience, and reproached him with his promise: God taught me to understand the Holy Scriptures correctly; for when one does everything according to his will, he does not know much about God's word. Now, God does not want us to become too impatient, therefore He requires throughout the Scriptures that we hope and wait, as the Psalm says: "I wait for the Lord from morning till morning," or until evening, Ps. 130:5, 6, for if God does not help soon, He still gives grace so that one can endure the temptation. So Job [13, 15] also says: "Even if God kills me, I will still hope in Him." As if to say, "Though it seems that you have turned your face away from me, yet I will not believe that you are my enemy.

The Book of Job is a good book, and in it one has a fine picture and example of a challenged and afflicted Christian man:

because the same book is not written for Job or any other single person, but is a mirror of all suffering Christians. For we see in it what kind of trial God leads with the temptations of the saints. For if the devil and the Arabs are wicked, Job is patient and able to suffer, saying, "May the name of the Lord be blessed forever. But when God is angry with him, he cannot bear it; and he falls into trouble and into the disputation of the happiness of the wicked. But he also worked his way out of this trouble and said: I know that thou art merciful, though he hardly says so. In sum, all men have flesh and blood in their bosom that murmurs against God and resents God, for it is hard to believe, when we are in temptation, that God will be gracious to us.

St. Jerome wrote only thoughts about the Book of Job, because he did not have much anguish. But if I had been able to preach in my illness, I would have preached many a beautiful sermon and lecture on temptations, for then I understood the Psalter and its consolation a little. Christians should not be at all displeased that the wicked are well in this life: it should be a comfort to them that they should wait for what God wants to give them so abundantly in heaven. My illness has come libratim, and will go away unciatim, said the Count of Nassau.

#### **90. devilish temptation of a woman.**

One told D. M. Luther about a woman who was plagued by the devil with these thoughts, as that she did not believe. Luther answered and asked, "Does she also believe what is preached about Christ, how he died for our sin and has done enough for it? Then they said, "Yes, she professes the Christian faith and loves God's word, but the devil frightens and torments her so badly that she is very distressed and worries that she herself might die if she did not spare her children. Then said D. Luther said, "Tell these women that she should avoid such fear of the

For if the devil should hasten to hang or drown her, it should not harm her soul, for it would happen to her as if she were walking in a dream at night and had her neck cut in two.

For this is the work of the devil, which cleaveth and layeth hold on the pious: if he know a pious heart, he layeth hold on it, as on a poor weak creature; as on this woman, or else on a sick man:

Then this strong spirit proves its power and strength, and does harm to the poor Christian's body, but the devil shall be rewarded again on that day. It is only *Tentationes charitatis et spei erga Deum*, if one makes the devil out of God. But nobody understands that, because *Filius Dei*, he also tried this tentation and sweated blood over it. In former times we called it *Tentationes Blasphemiae*, and it is also rightly so called, that one spits God straight into the face of our Lord. And our Lord God protect us from such a deed.

## Chapter 27.

### Of the Antichrist, or Pope.

1. the image of the Antichrist.
- 2 Luther's interpretation of the prophecy of the prophet Daniel Cap. 11 about the Antichrist.
3. that the pope is a living devil in disguise.
4. from the Pope Julio, the other.
- 5) From where the Roman bishop got the name that he is called Papa, Pabst.
6. that everyone owes it to the pope, the bear wolf, to defend and resist. The papacy is a mixed majesty.
8. of the pabst's triple crown.
9. the tyranny of the popes against their successors.
10. from the pope Julio.
11. about the Pabst's stinginess.
12. from the pope Alexander.
- 13th epitaph of Pabst Alexander Buhlschaft.
14. from Pabst Gregorii all-to-monastic piety.
15. from the pope Clemens.
16. how a pope must be.
- 17 Of the Pabst's Sword.
18. of one who surrendered to the devil that he might become pope.
19. that many martyrs lie in Rome.
20. how three popes have been at one time.
- 21 A pope must be a great villain.
- 22) Whether Peter was the first pope, and how goods, land and people came to him.
23. from Pope Hadrian and an English cardinal.
- 24) We know that the pope is the most diligent.
25. the papists' blindness.
- How long the papacy shall last and stand.
27. painting of the pabst's godless nature and tyranny.
- How and by what means the papacy has arisen and increased.
29. the case of the pope.
- 30 What overthrew the papacy.
- 31: The Pabst's Violence and Practices.
- The Pabst's wickedness and evilness cannot be sufficiently explained with words.

- The pope is not an authority nor a primate in the church.
34. one question.
  35. of the pope's goods.
  - The Pabstthum is stolen property.
  37. Constantini Donation.
  - 38 The Pabst's Ascent.
  - 39) The Pope's bragging with his newly made cardinals, and how God has blessed such.
  - 40: How Gerson attacked the papacy.
  - The first chapter of St. Paul's to the Romans.
  42. of the pabst's evil wiles.
  43. the pabst is a table or belly servant.
  44. the pope is a devil.
  - The hatred of the Pabst and his followers against the gospel is unceasing.
  46. of the papist practices.
  - 47 The Papists' Blindness.
  - 48: The Pabst's Treachery.
  - 49 Pabst's Case in Our Time.
  50. the pabst's crown.
  - The pope is not the head of the church.
  52. comparison of the Pabst with the bird cuckoo.
  - The pope is the cuckoo, and the Christian church is the lark.
  54. the papists' impenitence and obduracy.
  - God is hostile to the papacy.
  56. the papists' bloodthirstiness.
  57. who is the pope.
  - The pope is the right Antichrist.
  - The ordination of priests in the papacy.
  - D. Luther's simplicity and lowly person harmed the pope.
  - 61 The pope falsely boasts that he has followed in St. Peter's footsteps; therefore the power is taken from him justly.
  - The image of Pabst was found underground in the Mansfeld mine.
  63. that one should preach harshly against the pope.

The papal bishops do not have the same authority as the apostles.  
 The first is the "Antichrist of the Papists".  
 66 From the Junker Pabst.  
 The pope has a desire to get, therefore he hinders the concilium.  
 68 Pabst's regiment is best for the world.  
 69 Pope Clement the Seventh's attacks against the Lutherans.  
 70. of the pabst's deceit, how and from what he strikes coin.  
 71. from St. John's head.  
 72. the stationirer fraud.  
 73. deception of an antonite.  
 The first of these is a book on the subject.  
 The Pope's and the Cardinals' court has corrupted their cause and promoted Luther's doctrine. Luther's teaching.  
 76. from the Agnus Dei.  
 77 The Sanctuary.  
 78. from the sanctuary of the donkey on which Christ rode on Palm Day.  
 79 From another fraud.  
 80: The Pabst's robbery.  
 81. of the Pabst's errors.  
 The papists' outrageous lies.  
 83 From Antonites.  
 84 Des Pabsts Geiz und Treudelmarkt.  
 85 From the Pope's Right.  
 Of the keys and pouches of the pope on which he hung.  
 The first of these is a book on the subject of the "Pabst's Abominations in his Decrees.  
 The power of papist idolatry.  
 The first of these is the "Bishop Benno's Idolatry and the Glory of the Papists".  
 90. of an official and his caplan.  
 The papist tyrants rage against Christ and his Word.  
 The Papists' Hatred of Luther.  
 The first time he was a member of the German Catholic Church.  
 94 Papists do not allow themselves to be reformed.  
 Why the dispute is primarily with the papists.  
 96. what to quarrel with the papists about, and what and how much to yield to them.  
 The papists' false doctrine and blindness.  
 The first is the first of the two.  
 99. the pabst's tyranny.  
 100. of the rosary in the papacy.  
 101 The Pabst's paucity.  
 102 Blindness in the Papacy.  
 The first is a new version of the original, which is now available in English.  
 In the papacy, the statutes of men were held in higher esteem than the Word of God.  
 The Pabst's Three Churches and Tyranny.  
 The first is a new version of the original.  
 The arguments of the papists are full of holes.  
 The hypocrisy and hypocrisy of the papists, who now want to whitewash their idolatry and godlessness.  
 109. from sorbonnists.  
 The Pope's hope for the restitution of the papacy.  
 111. of the papist measuring servants plates.  
 112. the papists' ignorance in good arts.  
 113. world fraud of the papists.

Violence is the defense of the papists.  
 115. 116. The Papists' Abomination.  
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 130 The fornication of the papists.  
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 134. of the lies of the antichrist.  
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 136. Daniel's prophecy from the pope.  
 The Papal Church is not the Christian Church.  
 138 The Papists' Deception.  
 139. of the papist mass, as they are now flowering.  
 140. 141. The Papists' Murder.  
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 The abominations of the papists should not be forgotten.  
 145. from the feast of Corpons Christi.  
 146 Pillars of the Pabstium.  
 147 The Papist Prayer.  
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 149. the pope's stubbornness, fierceness and persecution.  
 150: The Papist Tyranny.  
 151. oath of those who are to recant and renounce their error.  
 152. a form of the oath of revocation.  
 153 The Malice of the Papists.  
 Whether the pope is about a concilium.  
 155 M. Veit Ammerbach's pretense that the pope should be the external head of the church.  
 The papists' lies are public.  
 The pope is a lion and a dragon.  
 158 The Malice of the Papists.  
 The papists' tyranny and despotism.  
 160. exhortation to patience in such tyranny.  
 161. belly servants, who do it the way you want it, hang the coat to the wind.  
 The bitter hatred of the papists.  
 163. persecution and rampage of the papists.  
 164. beginning of Luther's teaching with indulgences.  
 Luther was undaunted against the pope.  
 166: That D. Luther is silly, and yet he leads his cause against the devil.

### 1. the image of the Antichrist.

(Cordatus No. 1354. 1355.)

The body of the Antichrist is at the same time the pope and the Turk, because the body consists of body and soul. The spirit of the Antichrist is the pope, his flesh is the Turk, who attacks the church physically, but the latter spiritually. But both are from One Lord, the Teusel, since the pope is a liar and the Turk is a murderer. Bring the Antichrist into one and you will find both [namely lying and murdering] in the pope.

But as the Church from the beginning remained victorious over the holiness of the Jews and the power of the Romans, so she is still victorious today and will always remain so against the hypocrites, that is, against the pope, and against the power of the Turk and the emperor. Let us only pray.

### 2nd Interpretation by D. Luther's interpretation of the prophecy of the prophet Daniel, Cap. 11, v. 36, 37, about the Antichrist.

(Cordatus No. 1409. 40. 1676. 1441.)

The passage in Daniel [11, 37]: "And he will not respect his fathers God" 2c. is a certain description of the Antichrist. He will not respect God, that is, religion, love of women, that is, the world regiment and the household. For by woman is meant procreation; he who despises this despises all men. Whoever disgraces preachers and women will not fare well. The same means: they despise all [people] and everything on earth, the office of teaching and the position of procreation; he [the Antichrist] despises God and people.

Daniel said that the Antichrist will respect neither God's nor women's love, i.e. the pope will have neither God nor a legitimate wife, he will despise religion, the world regime and the household. Because the woman is, so to speak, before the household. Thus, the whole world government is for the sake of the woman, and to raise offspring through the woman. And this means that the Antichrist will despise the laws, the orders, statutes, all rights, good customs,

He will despise kings, princes, rulers, and all that is in heaven and on earth, and will only lift up his little feet.

Daniel was a mighty prophet whom Christ loved, and he spoke most accurately about Christ and the Antichrist, that he would reign between two seas at Constantinople, but the place is not holy and he does not worship the god Maosie (*sic!*) in such a way, nor does he forbid marriage. He also says [Dan. 11, 45.] to be abandoned by his lord. This is already the case with the kings who fall away from him. Therefore only believe that the pope is the antichrist. 1)

The Turk and the pope are not different in the form of religion and differ from each other only in words and ceremonies. The Turk holds his own ceremonies and those of Moses, but the priest holds ceremonies that are partly Christian and partly those that sprout from his own brain, but of both they claim that they serve the worship of God and the forgiveness of sins, and just as the Turk acts against the ablutions of Moses, so the priest acts against baptism and the sacrament. And just as the former does not remain with Moses, so the latter does not remain pure with Christ.

(The following is omitted because contained in Cap. 75, § 1.)

### 3. that the pope is a living devil in disguise.

I believe, said D. Martinus, that the Pope is a disguised and incarnate devil, because he is the end-Christ. For as Christ is a true natural God and man, so also the Antichrist is a devil incarnate. Therefore, it is true that the Pope is said to be an earthly god, who is neither pure God nor pure man, but a mixture of two natures; an earthly god, that is, a god of this world.

But why does he call himself an earthly god? as if the right one were some and all.

1) The meaning of this paragraph: Daniel's prophecy of the Antichrist is not to be drawn on the Turk but on the pope, Constantinople is not a holy place, the Turk has not the mass 2c.



mighty God not also God on earth! It is indeed an abominable great wrath of God of the kingdom of Pabst, namely an abomination of desolation, who stands in the holy place, as Christ says, and quickly says: "Whoever runs it, let him take notice of it", Matth. 24, 15.

It must be a great wrath of God that a man may exalt himself above God in the Church of God after Christ has come and been revealed. If it had happened among the Gentiles, before Christ's future and revelation, it would not have been such a miracle. And although Daniel, Christ himself, St. Paul and Peter diligently warned us of such a poisonous beast and pestilence, we Christians have been so foolish and senseless that we have worshipped all his lies and idolatry, and let ourselves be persuaded that he is a lord over the whole world, under the title and name of St. Peter's heir, when Christ and St. Peter have left no dominion on earth.

#### 4. Bon Pabst Julio the Other.

The Conversation of Pope Julio the Other is a finely funny poem, and at the same time true in itself, and well worth that one does not let it perish, but keeps and reads it diligently for and for. For it describes with splendid, magnificent words the papacy, especially in Julio, who before others has been a horrible, mighty beast of wonder, even a godless man, a cruel raging king and aggressive warrior, who has been allowed to undertake, dare and submit to everything, so that he might be an earthly god: he has defeated the Venetians, but with the help of the Emperor and the King of France. Now that he was powerful, he opposed the French before Ravenna with great boldness and a mighty army, in his own person, since he was defeated on Easter Day. If he had been powerful against the French at that time, he would have attacked the king of Hispania and the emperor, fought against them, and subdued them.

Summa, he is the last flame in the lamp, if it is now about to go out and go out, and has been the last undertaking of the devil, who flashed with spell and sword

and thundered, waging war by the power and might of others; as Daniel says, that he was mighty, but not by his own power and might; as is now learned. For about this time ago it was said that the pope was mightier in one finger than all the German princes. What do you think, said the whales, that the pope asks for Germania or Germany? But the insolent whore, the abominable stain and filth, has been attacked by the Spirit of God's mouth and has fallen in many hearts in such a way that one no longer thinks anything of him: which no emperor with the sword and force would have been able to do, nor to bring about. For the devil throws on knives and into scabbards; but when he is struck with the word of God, the pope becomes a chrysalis and a death flower, 1) that is, such a flower that goes out with the sun in the morning and sets again with it, like the same gele flower, from which a stubby, bald monk emerges in the evening.

#### 5) From where the Roman bishop got the name, that he is called Papa, Pabst. 2)

When Martin was asked, "Where did the Roman bishop come to be called Pabst? He said: "I do not know of any reason to indicate where he got such a name, unless it came from a little word by reversing the letters, as if he were a father of fathers. For example, among the ancients, bishops were called Papa, as Jerome Augustine, who was bishop of Hippon, writes: the holy one; who was less than Jerome. And in the legend of Cyprian, who was a martyr in the Church before Jerome, it is said that the judge said to Cyprian: "Are you Cyprian, whom the Christians call their Papam?"

So it seems to me that it is a name that has been common to all bishops: just as the children call their fathers Aebbe (from where it may have come); so the bishops are also the fathers of the churches. And since we may interpret it this way, we want to, as St. Paul says 1 Tim.

1) The thistle, Wohlgeruch (Origanum vulgare). (Fürstemann.)

2) Similar thoughts in Lauterbach, 16 Feb. 1538, p. 30.

6, 10. that avarice is a root of all evil, of Rome also say that the pope is a poison of souls and father of abominations.

But who could have thought of him thirty years ago, when nothing but all good things could be said of him? With great reverence and adoration? He would have been banished and condemned a hundred times over, if only he had been. Whoever would have secretly thought what is now publicly said and written about him, would have been cursed by everyone: because at that time the pope could throw him into hell and pull him out again.

**6. that everyone owes it to the pope, the bear wolf, to defend and resist.**

Anno 1539, the 9th of May, D. Martin held a very sharp and serious public disputation in the school in Wittenberg, lasting three hours, against the horrible and monstrous beast, the Pope, the bear wolf, who surpasses all tyrants in ferocity, as he alone wants to be exiled, without all laws, to live and do freely and securely according to all his desires, and to be worshipped, with the loss and damnation of many poor souls; Therefore, whoever loves God's honor and the salvation and happiness of souls should resist and defend him with all his strength, power and ability.

The pope boasts in his filth: He has power, authority and right over all regiments in heaven and earth, a lord over all lords. How can a man speak like that? Neither God nor kings can stand that. He is an ass king, as they say of the king of France. His tyranny has risen too high, he has been allowed to trample emperors and kings underfoot, he has oppressed the whole world and brought it under him with the word: You are Peter. No one was allowed to persuade him and say: "Why are you doing this? Because our Lord God had blinded the world with powerful errors, as Daniel says: Until the wrath is over and out.

I hope he will have done the greatest and the most; and even if he does not fall, he will not increase and rise any more. The old popes were more pious and pure; but since they began to follow the regiment and

The papists, who were afraid that they would have to become servants again, could no longer tolerate or suffer their brother. And the papists are never to be trusted again, even if they promise, prescribe and certify peace. On the day of Nuremberg they devised and held a disputation, so that in the meantime they might drive us away and overrun us. Therefore let us pray and watch in this state of peace, that by this light of the gospel God's name may be hallowed 2c.

**The papacy is a mixed majesty.**

Since four of them were ordained to the preaching ministry, the doctor admonished them with all diligence to faithfully watch over the army of Christ and to look after it. And since the papal bishops are not the church, but the church's adversaries and enemies, there is no doubt that where God's word is pure, there is also the Holy Spirit and his ministry and work. For the pope and his bishops are not shepherds of the church, but a mixed and patched-together majesty, an imperial papacy and a papal emperorship.

**8. the pabst's triple crown.**

The pope has three crowns: The first is strictly against God, for he condemns religion. The other, against the emperor; for he condemns the secular government. The third is against the common people, because he condemns the household, has forbidden the priests and his scribes the imperial right, marriage and household.

The pope is the real rat king of the monks and nuns and platelets, started about six hundred years ago, but two hundred years after that, as the sects broke in and took over, increased and increased a lot.

**9. the popes' tyranny against their successor popes.**

(Cordatus No. 1475.)

There were three popes at the same time at the time of Emperor Sigismund, who deposed them all by the council. There were also once three popes

one after the other. 1) When the first died, his successor had him dug up and ordered that his fingers be cut off and abolished his laws and decrees. But the third one had the head of the second one cut off and let the torso fall into the Tiber. These holy fathers used such laws against each other.

#### 10. from the Pabst Julia.

(The first paragraph in Lauterbach, Jan. 29, 1538, p. 16.)

Thus, when Pope Julius heard of the defeat at Ravenna, he began to blaspheme against heaven: "Be good French in a thousand devils' names, is this how you defend your church? turned around, looked at the earth: "Saint Suicerus, pray for us. And soon he sent Matthias Lang, the Cardinal of Salzburg, to Maximilian.

(The following Cordatus No. 914-920.)

Although Pope Julius was a born warrior and was educated for war and for fighting the Emperor, the Venetians, the King of France and the Romans, he was finally so humiliated that he was forced to almost worship Maximilian, whom he had despised as a poor needy man, but was himself very rich (for he left very great treasures at his death).

The King of France, Louis, asked all the universities for advice whether he was at liberty to break the Pope's arrogance by force of war. If I had taught at the same time, I would have been summoned to Paris with the greatest honors, but I was still too young, and it was not fitting that the King of France should have the name, as if he had thrown down the Pope with his power and wisdom. For [Rom. 4, 17.] God calls that which is not to be, and makes something out of nothing.

God humbles or destroys everything by His Word alone, saying, Jerusalem, cease to be a city; of holy Rome, be destroyed; king of France, be destroyed.

rich, let yourself be captured; Pabstthum, descend, and everything happens! Thus Clement, the richest pope of all, had to fall, even if he would have had the treasures of Julius, and the brother of Leo perished by poison, whom Leo had made king of Naples and whom he wanted to make emperor.

Clement was a complete scoundrel, because he was a *Welshman* and a Florentine, which is as much as three Welshmen, then he was a bastard of the Medici family, which makes a sevenfold scoundrel, and although there was not a more unworthy man in the world, the Word of God oppressed and destroyed him.

It was said that since the time of Peter at Rome there had not been a more powerful pope than Julius, and now he lies in ashes. Ah, priests are supposed to preach and pray.

Once the devil said about the pope Peter: you are called the strange Peter, you have frizzy hair and frizzy senses. That is too much for one bite.

He who does not have frizzy hair, take a wife, he will nevertheless get frizzy senses, and these 2) will well pass away, for it will be said: As she wills. He who takes a wife loses his best days. The clergymen have had the best days up to now, now they get their wives.

#### 11. the pabst's stinginess.

(Cordatus No. 1258. 3)

The pope once decided to reform the Franciscans, who brought 80,000 florins and gave them to him as a gift [to prevent the reformation]. When he saw them, he is said to have said: Who can fight against so many armed men? Money makes peelers.

#### 12. from the pope Alexander.

(Cordatus No. 1536.)

The pope Alexander was a Maran, 4) who do not believe anything. He was followed by Julius, a

2) In the original: to this instead of these.

3) Cf. Cap. 30, §10, where the same narrative is found according to Lauterbach.

4) According to the above, there can be no doubt about the meaning of the word, namely, a complete unbeliever. But about the derivation of the word are the mei-

1) The *oui* in this place should be deleted together with the comma after *suis*. - The three popes John XXIII, Gregory XII and Benedict XIII were deposed at the Constance Council.

so great an enemy of it that he had all the doors and windows on which its coats of arms were affixed torn out. This is what Cordatus saw.

### 13. epitaphium Lucretiae Scorti Alexandri.

(Cordatus No. 1537.)

Conditur hoc tumulo Lucretia.  
Thais, Pontificis Filia, Sponsa, Nurus

[In German]:

Epitaph of Lucretia, Alexander's whore: By this hill is covered Lucretia. A Thais, 1) the pope's daughter, bride,

Daughter-in-law.

### 14. Bon Pabst Gregorii overly monkish piety. 2)

(Cordatus No. 1321.)

Pope Gregory was such a superstitious monk that he handed over his very faithful steward to the devil for the sake of three florins he had found in his cell and had them thrown into his grave. Such people were all the great saints in the monasteries, people without any equity. This is always the case when Christ is taken away from those who want to live godly; then Satan drives thus.

### 15. bom Pabst Clemens.

(Cordatus No. 608 and 609.)

Pope Clement is the richest of all and yet very unfortunate, a bad boy who said: Before he would stop persecuting us, he would rather send the Turk upon us. And remember this when I am dead. Pray.

The pope forges the most ungodly plots; they will have no progress and he will not succeed, just as the king of Hungary, Ferdinand, did not. There is no worse knave

after the devil than the pope, and he has wealth, power and prestige. An Our Father serves against him. He has experienced that Rome was drowned, plundered and died out, and yet this good Clement has not been moved at all by these examples. This must be to me a fellow who is not frightened by any terrors and undertakes evil without ceasing. And when the king of France, with whom he had made an alliance, is thrown down by the emperor, he will invite the Turk to be our guest. He will miss it. He is a Florentine bastard and an enemy of God 2c.

### 16. how a pope must be.

(Cordatus No. 1586.)

To a pope does not belong a pious man, but a rogue and villain. For whoever wants to take on this regiment must be the next villain after the devil.

### 17. the pabst's sword.

Doctor M. Luther once said over the table: "The pope and the papists, because they see that they are becoming disgraced and can no longer cover and protect themselves with the Holy Scriptures, cry out: We no longer want to have St. Peter's key, but we want to reach for St. Paul's sword; that is, they have bloodthirsty advice that they would like to murder and kill us all.

### 18. of one who surrendered to the devil that he might become pope.

One of them would have liked to become a priest, and surrendered to the devil so that he would promote him to the priesthood and help him; but with the condition he wanted to be the devil, not before, because if he held mass in Jerusalem. Now it happened about the time he had become pope that he held mass unknowingly in a chapel in Rome, which was called Jerusalem; there the devils came flying frequently. When he asked what the name of the chapel was, and when it was revealed to him, he remembered the pact and alliance with the devil, confessed it publicly, and ordered that, immediately after the mass had been said, he should be sent to a small church.

The names are different. Some derive it from Llaurus, because the Moors are said to have been called Maran by the Spaniards, others from the biblical Maranatha, according to others from the name of a chaliph Marawan.

1) Tbais, a famous beautiful wooer at Athens. - Cf. § 21 of this chapter.

2) Cf. cap. 27, § 120.

He hoped that he would still be saved, because the ravens had taken the body away, and because they had left the heart there. Which happened, because he had repented, and (as they say) atoned with such death and done enough.

### 19. many martyrs lie in Rome.

In Rome, said D. Martinus, in St. Calixti Church, lie buried 176,000 holy bodies, and 45 popes, martyrs; they lie under the ground cramped; the same place they are called

the cave.

Item: In Rome I have seen in a large alley, which goes straight to St. Peter's Cathedral, a pope publicly carved in a stone, like a woman with a scepter, papal cloak, carrying a child on her arm; no pope passes through the same alley, so that he may not see such an image.

For a woman named Agnes, who was a native of Mainz, was led by a cardinal to England as a boy and finally brought to Rome. There she was elected pope by the cardinals, but she was disgraced and it was revealed that she had a child in public in the same alley. It just happened to the boys, the devil mocked them with his little creature. It amazes me that the popes can suffer such an image; but God blinds them, so that one sees what pabstry is, vain deceit and the devil's work.

### 20. three popes have been for one time.

At the time of John the Great, there were at one time three popes who ruled at the same time until the thirtieth year, and each excommunicated and excommunicated the other with his subjects and relatives. John the Twenty-third held court in Rome, Peter de Luna in Arragon. Benedictus remained in the French mountains. And there was a terrible split, which meant that the papacy would fall soon after. Since Emperor Sigmund could not stand this, he called a concilium at Costnitz. But the Cardinals did not want to allow a reformation, but opposed it.

<sup>1)</sup> and said incongrue: It would be no Sebis- mam, Spältz. Said the emperor: Ei, do you not know the Priscianum yet? One should say: Schisma, schism, not Schismam, Spältz. Then a cardinal answered: Because we are masters over the rights, we are also masters over the Priscianum and the Grammatica.; and in the Concilio all three popes were deposed and the fourth mentioned. But Pope John, who had handed over the papacy, thinking that he hoped that he would be elected pope again, died of sorrow when it did not happen; likewise Benedictus; Peter remained stiff-necked.

Pope John was rejected because of his many evil deeds and tricks, because he had murdered his father and sold the bishoprics 2c. And when these and such horrible articles were publicly read to him over thirty times, he said: "Oh, I have done many things worse than all these, namely, that I came here from Rome over the mountains of Rome; if I had stayed in Rome, you would have left me unseated.

### 21 A pope must be a great villain.

The Pabstacy, said Doctor Martin, has always been ruled by the worst of boys, as is also their doctrine; for as the Creator is, so are his creatures; as the devil is, who is the founder of the Pabstacy, so is also the Pabst.

And Pope Alexander the Sixth told Historiam what kind of life he had led: for he had had two sons and a daughter named Lucretia, with whom both father and son had committed adultery and incest. Both father and son would have committed incest. One brother would have killed and strangled the other on a horse for the sake of a whore. The Cardinal Valentinus would have stabbed the other Duke of N. N. and had become a duke, and wrote of him: O Caesar, o nullo: Emperor or nothing.

After that, the father Alexander, together with his son, asked all the Cardinals, the Columneser, to guests, and wanted to forgive them with poison, so prepared in a special bottle, from

<sup>1)</sup> The following to Orairumtiea is missing (probably with good reason) in Stangwald. In Bindseil it is found in III, 231.

The father died of it, but the son drank tree oil, let himself hang up by his legs, and thus broke off the poison again. Finally the son, after he had committed many evil deeds, was captured by the king of Castile in Hispania, and when he was about to be judged, he cried out beforehand in prison: Misericordia! and asked for confession. Then a monk was sent in to hear his confession; he strangled the monk and took off his clothes.

cap on, and so got away.

I have heard this, said Martinus, for certain in Rome. So they did it: therefore their wickedness was ripe to be put to shame. And it is unheard of that Pope Leo held a council in our time, in which it was first decided that one should believe in the resurrection of the dead, 1) and that no cardinal should have more than five little hairs and little boys.

Summa, no one shall be pope, unless he is a cunning, surpassing rogue and villain. The bishop of N. N. should be made pope at the next election, he deceives country and people. The Duke of B. is said to have said: "The bishop of N. N. buys a lot of cloth for the pope. N. buys a lot of cloth for his skirt, and even if he buys a lot of it, the rogue still sticks out above and below. Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony 2c.. a praiseworthy, wise prince, has been thrown over the fool and deceived by the same bishop, who has had a coin struck, on which is written: "The Lord is my helper, before whom should I fear? Thus the Epicurean swine misuse and mislead the finest and best comforting sayings in the Holy Scriptures, since one knows that their seriousness is not, but the contradiction, mocking our Lord God even more, the desperate boys. "But he that dwelleth in heaven laugheth at them again, and the LORD mocketh them: he will speak unto them in his wrath, and with his fury he will smite them, and bruise them with an iron scepter, and break them as pots"; as the other Psalm, v. 4. 5. 9. says.

1) The same information again Cap. 27, § 132.

## 22) Whether Peter was the first pope, and how the goods, land and people came to him.

All histories say that Peter was the first pope of Rome; but it is all a sham. After him, Lucius, Cletus and Clemens are said to have been there at one time, ruling one after the other. For at that time the church was still very small and thin, and these three preached in vain 2) houses among pious Christians, like deacons; not publicly, they did not rebuke the authorities. After that, the emperors gave them privileges, mainly for this reason: for the emperors had found from experience that Italy would not let itself be ruled by them, because the whales cannot suffer a head, nor have peace among themselves; therefore the emperors handed it over to the bishops of Rome, who all ruled well, except for Pope Hildebrand, the rogue, who fell to the whales and paid the Germans with ingratitude. For the first fifteen emperors, eight of them of the tribe of Emperor Carl the Great, and seven of Germans and Franks, were pious and were able to conquer the whales. Now, however, they have a right stick at the Carolo, which can finely pattern them with the Spaniards and teach mores.

## 23. from Pope Hadrian and an English cardinal.

Pope Hadrian was demanded to the papacy by Emperor Carolo, whose preceptor he had been, but he did not reign long, for he was of lowly lineage, the son of a burgher of Louvain. In England there was a cardinal, the son of a butcher, to whom a jester once said: "God be praised that we have such a cardinal: if he now becomes pope, we will be allowed to eat meat during fasting and on other forbidden days; for St. Peter, as a fisherman, forbade eating meat, so that he would sell his fish at a higher price; but this butcher's son will keep over the meat, so that he will make money out of it.

2) So Stangwald instead of "vain".

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, 8 Jan. 1538, p. 4. 1)

On January 8, Luther mentioned Pope Hadrian, who exalted his praiseworthy actions when he held his triumphal procession in Italy. Therefore, two cities were painted on a tablet, one his father city, the other Leuven, where he had been graduated. [At the first one] was written: I have planted. The second city boasted: I have watered. Then the emperor's image above these cities answered: I have given the flourishing; because he had chosen him to be the pope. Someone who came along mockingly wrote on it: Here God has done nothing.

#### **24 The pope is the most diligent.**

(Contained in Cap. 54, § 27.)

#### **25. the papists' blindness.**

(Here are 12 heals omitted, an entrance brld by Aurifaber to the following).

(Lauterbach, May 26, 1538, p. 86.)

Luther: Cochlaeus denies the power of the pope from the gift of Constantine, but claims to prove it from the Gospel by this argument: 'Every governor has full power of his prince; Peter or the pope is the governor of Christ, therefore he has the same power.' He proves this from the passage: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me." (Matth. 28, 18.) To this must be answered: Peter is the governor on earth, not in heaven, because Christ says (Matth. 16, 19.): "What you bind on earth you throw." He does not say: what thou bindest about heaven. For He says to Peter, Follow Me, feed My sheep; I have come to serve; My kingdom is not of this world, that is: obtained by human powers. (Joh. 17, 19. 18, 36.) Therefore the pope is a red 2) Jew, who only praises the physical in Christ, as they say: Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho. [The rock gave to Peter, Peter gave the crown to Rudolph.

1) In Cap. 44, § 21 at the end, in the section which we have omitted, Aurifaber incorrectly says that the city of Utrecht had the triumphal arch made, but Lauterbach that Hadrian had the panel painted when he held his triumphal procession in Italy.

2) i.e. a Turk, because they are said to come from Edom. (Gen. 25, 30.) (Seidemann.)

Rudolph also dared to do it fresh, like Bonifacius the Eighth. The conversation of Julius has the chaff very well waffled, that is, the fable of the gift of Constantine, only that people did not dare to say it.

#### **How long the papacy shall last and stand.**

(Lauterbach, Oct. 13, 1538, p. 150.)

In the decrees [of the pope] many and indeed very good passages are taken from the fathers and inserted, but the pope robs them of their prestige and determines the right for himself alone, and so he goes along in the name of God and rules, and his kingdom shall last 666 3) years according to the number of the beast, as John says (Revelation 13, 18.). For the heartache began soon after Gregory the First. After that the Constantinopolitan bishop and the one at Rome quarreled about the primacy until Carl the Great, when the Roman pope appeared, who became a lord over all kings.

#### **27. painting of the pabst's godless nature and tyranny.**

In very old books, several figures and paintings of the pope have been found, in which his deceitfulness, impiety, godlessness, idolatry and tyranny are depicted, because some people saw his great evil, but were not allowed to protest against it; they only secretly showed it with figures and pictures, so that one could notice and understand it. How some of these were found in Nuremberg and elsewhere and went out in print.

#### **28 How and by what means the papacy has grown and prospered.**

After the persecution in the Church ceased, the popes soon grabbed the reigns, out of honor and avarice. The first one was Hildebrand, or Höllebrand. After that they frightened all people with the ban. For the ban was such a terrible thing that it also affected the children, even the servants had to take the ban upon themselves. Just as

3) Original: 660.

The pope's deceptions and practices, in turn, were very friendly and sweetly received, through which they sought great favor and the people's approval: they promised and praised the forgiveness of all sins, even the greatest and most serious ones. If someone had weakened the Virgin Mary or crucified Christ, the pope could forgive it if he only gave money. This majesty and power of the Pope was disgraced and taken away from him by God through my pen, said Father: for he made everything out of nothing, and can disgrace everything out of nothing.

### 29. the case of the pope.

The papacy, he said in 1539, must again take the blame and pay. For instance, only the life and the abuse were attacked, that the pope and his people led such a wickedly shameful life; now, however, we are attacking his doctrine and the essence and the foundation on which it stands with all our might. He is also eaten by monks, his lice and his own creatures. That is why Campey, the Cardinal, rightly said: "The great innumerable multitude of monks causes great misfortune and does much evil, namely disrupts and dissolves the most beautiful monarchy of the papacy, which is established with great counsel and concern.

I think his prophecy is fulfilled, that the rat king will be paid by his own people. Theology cannot defend him nor protect him; for the canonists, his jurors and jurors, may well presume to protect him somewhat, out of long custom, that the papacy has so long stood and been in use, but it is of no avail. For the custom that applies to rights should be in accordance with reason and fairness; it is even a cold argument. He went on to say, "Oh, dear God, what is the pope to judge, since he neither knows nor understands anything about business? He is a foreign judge who knows nothing about cases that take place in the world and in the home. That is why he has judged and spoken so foolishly in matrimonial matters, which marriage state he has forbidden his scribes, since he has ordered it to be held as a sacrament. Since marriage would be a sacrament, then

they should not be with the pagans, because the sacraments do not concern the unbelieving pagans. We in the church do not want to have anything to do with matrimonial matters, for as far as conscience is concerned, 1) to instruct it; for they are vain worldly affairs and do not concern the jurisdiction of the church, and do not belong in its jurisdiction and judgment seat.

### 30 What overthrew the papacy.

The pope is now rightly and justly oppressed and plagued, because he has gone against God's word. For if he had only confessed twenty-one years ago that some had sinned and done wrong under the title and name of the church, or had only done too much, and had ordered the Elector of Saxony 2c. and me to be silent, with the offer that he wanted to reform his own 2c., and had condemned corners and heresies, and only left me satisfied; it would not have come so far: but he wanted to defend himself, flashed and thundered. Then the truth burst out, so that even the papists themselves are not all satisfied with the pope. So it goes, for against the Lord no counsel helps. Now Philippi books, in which the most noble articles of our Christian doctrine are briefly, neatly and finely written, are also coming into French-speaking countries, and the adversaries are accepting them. Must therefore be plagued more by his own people and princes than by us. Now he acts as if he does not care about money, always lets them accept it, if only he can maintain his authority and reputation: he intends to get it all back in time.

We, however, grab him by the throat, because we challenge his highest authority and doctrine: to it we rush in, and make him equal to the other bishops. I did not do that in the first place. Just as John Huss only punished the abuses and lives of the pope and his smeared ones. Although the Cardinal of Camers, in his book of vespers, attacked and overawed the pope enough and publicly disputes the pope's violence in Paris.

1) The same statement Cap. 43, § 83.



### 31. the pabst's violence and practices.

Before that time, the pope was very proud and hopeful, despising everyone, as Cajetanus the Cardinal, his legate at Augsburg, said to me: What do you mean that the pope asks for Germany? The smallest finger of the pope is stronger and more powerful than all the princes in Germany. But now, because he sees that the emperor does not fight for him, he flees the concilium, makes him a quandary between the emperor and the French, without which two he cannot be nor exist in this discord. For when the emperor has died, the Frenchman will be able to attack and take the empire, as he had almost five votes of the princes in the last election. If they abandon him, he will call upon the Turk, king in Persia, yes, the devil in hell himself, whom he has a parte, ante and before him, and on his side. He does not hand over the quarrel with the Emperor and the French, but keeps it with the two one, and is neutral, carries on both armpits.

After that he said about the unspeakable wickedness of the pope: As one, who had been notary Rota 1) in Rome for nine years, had publicly confessed that only the grossest lies and vile things were acted outwardly, in the same court; but inwardly, in the Pabst's chamber, in the narrow council, atrocious practices and intrigues were carried out against kings and protesting estates.

Pope Julius the Other has ever well solved, who rebelled against God and man in the most hopeful way; so that he held a terrible, great, miserable battle with the French early on Easter Day, in which much blood was shed and many good people perished and remained dead; as has been reported above 2) once already. Even though the French kept the field and the victory, it was with great bloodshed and heartache, because he lost his best men, since the pope hoped that he would certainly prevail and keep the field.

After that he blasphemed God in heaven. For when the message came to him that his people were defeated, and he sat and prayed his Horas Canonicas, he took the book and threw it against God's ground, saying: "Be now French in all the devils' names, Sancte Sui- cere, ora pro nobis. And so it happened, for he turned Emperor Maximilian away from the French by fraud and practices, and was weakened by the Swiss, after he had taken such a great damage in the same battle.

He read a beautiful mass to the devil on Easter Day, when twenty thousand Christians perished. Oh, what should the boys fight for the church, who do not care about the church, but that they get a lot of money and property, land and kingdoms, that is their greatest concern. If he could bring it about this very day, so that he might preserve his authority, he would gladly do so.

I hope that God's judicial process against the pope and his people will continue as it has begun, because the first three petitions in the Lord's Prayer are mostly against him: let the pope's name be blasphemed and cursed, let his kingdom be destroyed and fall, let his will be disgraced and hindered. I do not hope that there will be more monks and nuns. If his feet are cut off, he must crawl, because in 3) the length cannot be so.

### The Pabst's wickedness and evilness cannot be sufficiently explained in words.

I would like to attack the pope's canons and decrees, the pope's patched coat. There is neither a name nor a swearword that could be used to call the pope hostile enough, as he is well worth it. Even if one calls him stingy, godless, idolatrous, it is still all too little. One cannot obtain nor excuse his great tricks. Therefore Christ denounces him in one word and calls him an "abomination of desolation standing in the holy place" (Matth. 24, 15). And St. Peter paints it finely and paints it with strange and peculiar colors.

1) Perhaps Liborius, licentiate at Magdeburg. Cf. Kummer p. 372. (Lauterbach p. 9.) Cf. Tischreden Cap. 77, § 1.

2) In z 10 of this Cap.

3) The word "in" is missing from the outputs.

Likewise St. Paul calls him 2 Thess. 2, 4. an "abominable man, who exalts himself above all that is called God". Daniel also pointed it out, and says Cap. 11, 36. 37.: He will become the most honorable, and will not respect the God of his fathers.

We have read and re-read this before, and yet understood nothing of it. But now, because such an abomination is shown to us, both in God's word and with experience, we become so spiteful that I get such thoughts about it, which I do not like, namely, that this knowledge of the word will fall again, and the bright light of the gospel will go out. For the gospel clearly says that Christ will come at midnight, when there will be no day nor light.

#### **The pope is not an authority nor a primate in the church.**

The Pope cannot have the primacy, nor be the supreme head in Christendom, for it is impossible that he could visit and govern all the churches if he were Elias, Eliseus, Peter or Paul.

#### **34. question.**

If the emperor gave to the pope his right to proclaim and appoint a concilium, should he (the pope) also be obeyed? D. Martinus answered: The emperor, as a *verbum personale* and ordinary authority, does not have the power to hand over to the pope, as a *verbo impersonali* (who is not an authority). For the pope is such a person or thing, like an interest that stands on no ground or immovable good. Nor would it be a translation, a transfer of power from the emperor to the pope, but rather a devastation; for if the emperor transferred his power and authority to the pope, he would diminish and devastate the empire. Now, however, he has neither power nor right to do so, for the empire is not his own, nor does he inherit it.

Summa, if one denies that the pope is an authority (as he is not), then everything is taken away from him. For what he

- 1) Thus Stangwald. In the editions: "to describe".

He did not have it by right, but stole and robbed it. Therefore it is nothing to say that the emperor got the empire from the pope, because he could not give him what he never had. For Carolus Magnus gave nothing to the pope, nor did he concede anything, as they falsely boast; but, since he had ruled up to the eighth rank, even without the pope, Heinricus, Duke of Saxony, called the Birdman, was elected emperor, and ruled up to the fourth rank, without which emperor's foreknowledge and will no pope was elected. But under Emperor Henry the Fourth, things changed; for since his father, Emperor Henry the Third, had decreed that no bishop should be elected without the prior knowledge and approval of the Emperor, Pope Hellbrand could not stand this, and 2) with Pope Gregory the Seventh, he caused all misfortune; since that time, things have gone as one has seen and experienced. So it goes in the world.

#### **35. the pabst's goods.**

(Cordatus No. 1476. 1477. 1478.)

To the one who asks whether Constantine's donation is true, I answer: it is fictitious. But I have read that Constantine distributed many things among the poor and appointed bishops to them, who finally became lords. He did not give them land and cities. And the whole world wonders where the pope got such a great dominion.

The popes were formerly not lords of the emperors, but were preserved by the emperors. For Lothar, Duke of Saxony and Emperor, bought the right of election from them; for it was a perpetual war in the election. Finally, however, they took this right again by fraud and caused that they would be confirmers of the emperors. This happened first with the election of Carl the Great, whom they elected emperor in such a way that he had the right of succession for his heirs. At

2) Because Hildebrand and Pope Gregory VII are one and the same person, Henry IV is the subject of this sentence. Otherwise, this sentence would have to be changed to: "has as pope Gregory the Seventh" 2c. - Bindseil III, 244 has the same reading as Aurifaber.

The emperorship remained with them for a while, but when there were no more descendants, the popes assumed the right to vote.

After that came the Emperor Otto, who appointed seven Electors, put an end to the war, otherwise there would have been a constant dispute with the Popes.

### **The Pabstthum is stolen property.**

(Cordatus No. 643.)

1) The papacy is vainly stolen property, and must be stolen again, for it is of no use to any custom of the church, nor of the world regiment. This is what they learned under Ferdinand.

### **37. Constantini Donation.**

Emperor Constantius' donation is a great lie, by which the pope arrogates to himself and wants to have half of the Roman Empire. And even if it were true, it would not have been in the emperor's power, he would not have had the power to forgive; it is also not due to the pope, according to the saying of Christ: "But not you" 2c., Luc. 22, 26.

### **38 The Pabst's Ascent.**

Aristotle says that the course of nature is very slow in the beginning, but very fast in the end, and tends to fall. So the papacy has risen to the highest level these fifteen years. Thirty years ago, no priest was allowed to have two fiefs or benefices that did not suffer from each other; now, however, they have innumerable many, and a bishop now has three bishoprics.

### **39. the pabst's pomp with his newly made cardinals, and how god will**

**have blessed.**

Doctor Martin Luther said: "That the Pope would have made thirty cardinals in one day, to whom many thousand horsemen would have gone beyond the Tiber with great pomp, they would have shot with many rifles,' received most gloriously. Then came our Lord

God also with thunder and lightning, so that they were all terrified, so that in one church the child of God's mother had fallen from her arms (as Pasquillus writes) and had gone to heaven, lest [it] also be made a cardinal.

On the same day, a priest had lost the blessed host over the altar where he was celebrating mass, and had spilled the chalice from fright and sorrow, and the pope had cried out loudly that one of the same cardinals would become a pestilence and poison of the Roman See. This happened shortly before the gospel was revealed and brought to light.

(The following Cordatus No. 790.)

When my first theses were presented to the pope, he is said to have said: This was written by a drunken German. He will change his mind about indulgences when he sobers up. In the same way, all others despised me in the beginning with haughty pride.

### **40) How Gerson attacked the papacy.**

In 1542, M. Luther said: "You do not know in what great darkness we are under the papacy. Gerson 2) was the best, who only began to attack the pope, although he was not yet sure where he was in it; however, he came to find the distinction in hac Quaestione: Utrum in omnibus sit obtemperandum potestati Papae. And said: Non esse peccatum mortale, non obtemperare. And still hung on: si non fieret ex contemptu. He was not allowed to consider that he had even made the rupture; however, he was somewhat comforting to the people, that is why they called him Doctorem consolatorum. But he was also condemned by the pope as a heretic and put under ban. That is why Cardinal Cajetan also called me a Gersonist at the Imperial Diet in 1518, 3) since I appealed to the pope for a Christian free concilium.

2) On Gerson, compare the note in Walch. St. Louis edition, vol. X, Col. 1751.

3) Cf. z 154 of this Cap.

1) Cf. Cap. 56, § 4.

And whoever wants to blame me for having yielded too much to the pope at first, let him see what darkness I was still in at that time. Those who have not been in the papacy consider the teaching and warning of the Antichrist completely unnecessary; but those who have been in it consider it necessary that the youth be diligently reminded of it.

#### **The first chapter of Saint Paul to the Romans.**

I believe that St. Paul described a register of great, horrible sins and disgraces Rom. 1, 21. ff. more prophetically than historically. Now it is fulfilled in Rom. The pope does not make so many cardinals in vain. Each one has an annual income of thirty thousand florins, which he gives for the pallium, so that the pope may be confirmed and strengthened by the money and prestige of the cardinals! Therefore Daniel says Cap. 11, 36: "The king shall reign according to all his pleasure and will.

(From here to end of § at Lauterbach, Sept. 26. 1538, S. 135.)

The course of the Evangelii in Denmark and England. On September 26, letters arrived from Denmark and England in which many good things were reported about the course of the Gospel: In Denmark, the king is establishing both the churches and the university in the best godly order; in England, the papists have been overcome in many disputations; everything is united against the private mass and the marriage of priests; these continue to exist only weakly; rather, everyone can go out freely from the monasteries; the pilgrimages to the saints are being eradicated. Oh, St. Thomas with his golden shoe suffers misery. Luther replied: "Since the Cardinal was expelled from England, the foundation of the papacy has been violated, for the Cardinals are the cornerstones of the papacy in every nation, just as we have four Cardinals in Germany, so also France and Spain. So confident is the pope in his holiness and power even today that he despises even the highest God, however much he is debilitated and revealed with his godlessness. How great is the blindness of the

People who conceded everything to the pope, that he could do whatever he wanted! Clement made Hippolytus a cardinal, who had 60,000 ducats in cash every year, even though he was only a private person, holding no office or rule. Wasn't that an appalling tyranny? Finally, they suppressed and usurped everything, and the wretched people believed everything of their prestige, so that they worshipped Pope Clement as the most holy, who was a godless, hypocritical villain, a son of his sister, unbaptized and a man of war.

#### **42. of the pabst's evil wiles.**

New newspapers were written to England in 1539 about how the pope had corrupted the king's most secret and inner councillors and bribed them with money so that they should secretly kill the king as a renegade Mameluke; the kingdom promised them. For one of them was the king's blood friend, who was always at his side. And the pope boasted that he was an heir to the kingdom, because it was his fiefdom, and therefore he was justified in doing so; but when such a secret plot was revealed, they were captured and beheaded.

#### **43. the pabst is a table or belly servant.**

(Cordatus No. 50.)

After the pope ceased to be a teacher, he became a table servant, which all his decrees testify. In these he does not deal with theological matters; having become a belly servant, he is zealous about three things. First, that he does everything to strengthen his rule; second, that he incites kings and princes to each other by the greatest hatred, as often as he wants to harm one of the great ones. In this he is obviously wicked. Thirdly, he plays the devil most secretly with great zeal, since, as if he were benevolent, he dissolves the hatred that he had aroused among them shortly before. And he does not do this until he has achieved what he wanted. Furthermore, that he perverts the truth of the Word of God, he does not do this as a pope, but as the Antichrist and the true opponent of God.

**44. the pope is a devil. 1)** (Cordatus No. 183.)

According to the real devil, the pope is in truth a devil, which is easily proven by this Clement, because he is evil, since he is an Italian; and even more evil he is, because he is a Florentine; the most evil he is, because he is a bastard. Add some more evil if you can.

**The hatred of the Pabst and his followers against the gospel is unceasing.**

The hatred of Pabst and all his followers, the papists, against the gospel does not cease, nor can it be reconciled, which has burned from the beginning of the world and cannot be quenched. For even those at Babel did not cease, but cried out for and for: Away with you always. In the same way, the Jews did not stop raging against Christ and the apostles until they were exterminated. So do the papists today; they strive day and night more to exterminate the Lutherans than to resist and ward off the Turk. Therefore, let us be courageous and pray, said D. Martinus.

**46. from the papist practices.**

(Lauterbach, June 28, 1538, p. 92.)

On June 28, Luther said a lot about the treachery of the papists, who were hoping for the emperor's arrival and were gathering money from the monasteries and bishoprics everywhere and were recruiting soldiers, pretending that it was for the sake of the Turk. They want to attack us secretly on all sides. As the bishop of Mainz said: It is still about a small, and did not want to leave Mainz to be closer to the emperor. But the attack has fallen. God protected with his angels. Ps. 2. the pious pray. The counsels of the wise come to naught.

**47 The Papists' Blindness.**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 26, 1538, p. 136.)

When our Lord God wants to punish someone, He makes him blind to God's

Word completely despised. The papists are of this kind today, who make the confession for us that our teaching is the word of God, but they cannot admit the conclusion, against their conscience: When God speaks, He must be heard; God speaks the teaching of the Gospel; therefore you must hear. They answer: He must not be heard, but the Church must be heard. It is truly a strange conclusion that they allow the two prefixes and yet do not want the conclusion. But so they break through, as it is written in the decree of the Council of Constance: Even if Christ, who is the truth, said it, it would not be contrary to this that custom is to be kept as a law. So one must solvate the arguments if one wants to be right. If this is not the sin of the Antichrist against the Holy Spirit, then I do not know how to define this sin, because they are now sinning knowingly and willingly and are defending the sin against the most tangible truth of the Word of God in the most stubborn way. Who, I pray you, would not resist the devil here, the most impudent liar? I am not surprised that John Huss, even though he stood alone, died so joyfully when he heard such great ungodliness of the papists.

**48 Of the Pabst's Treachery.**

(Contained in Cap. 54, 8 6.)

**49 Pabst's Fall in Our Time.**

It is a very great miracle at this time that the pope's majesty has fallen, that several parts. For this all monarchs, emperors, kings, princes and lords had to fear and tremble: not one of them was allowed to do even the slightest thing nor to make a fuss against the pope, who only frightened them all with a wave and a finger and drove them in. The same God is now fallen that all monks are also hostile to him; although he is their patron, protector, even creator and God, and they his creature. But that they still hold above him, they do so for the sake of their enjoyment, otherwise they would be much more fierce and evil against him than we are. His wickedness and

1) Cf. § 10 of this Cap.

But mischievousness is now even apparent, because it is on the day that he sent out 120,000 crowns 1) to order murder burners.

#### 50. the pabst's crown.

(Cordatus No. 607 and 606.)

I saw in Italy the whole suit of the pope in a monastery, but it was only a bishop's cap [infula]. Therefore, I said to a monk if this was the crown of the pope. He answered: O no, and he said that his crown was triple, which he called "the empire of the world" (that is a fatal name), and the whole of Germany could hardly pay for it. He is said to have pierced the emperor in Bologna with stones and jewels.

All Italians surpass the Germans in pomp, speed or agility and finesse, and by games and gestures they can move the people watching them to do whatever they want.

#### The pope is not the head of the church.

The pope is not the head of the Christian church, otherwise the church would be a beast with two heads, since Christ alone is its head, as St. Paul says. The pope is the head of the false and devilish church.

#### Collation or comparison of the Pabst with the bird cuckoo.

Doctor Martin Luther said: "The cuckoo has the nature and manner to suck the warbler's eggs and lays its eggs in the nest, so that the warbler has to hatch them; then, when the young cuckoos have crawled out of the shell and are big, the warbler cannot cover them, so the cuckoos become leprous, and finally the young cuckoos eat their mother, the warbler. After that, the cuckoo does not like the nightingale, said D. Luther. The pope is the cuckoo, he eats the eggs of the church and shits out vain cardinals. After that he wants to eat his mother, the Christian church, in it.

1) Thus in all editions. It should probably read: "suspended".

If he is born and bred, a pious, Christian, righteous teacher cannot tolerate or suffer the catching, preaching, and teaching.

#### The pope is the cuckoo, and the Christian church is the lark.

Doctor Luther said in 1542: Where the lark is, there the cuckoo also likes to be, because he thinks he could sing a thousand times better than the lark. So also the pope sits down in the church, and there one must hear his singing, so that he overshouts the church. But just as the cuckoo is nevertheless useful, because it indicates that summer is near, so the pope also serves to announce to us that the last day is not far away.

#### 54. the papists' impenitence and obduracy.

(Lauterbach, February 13, 1538, p. 27.)

Afterwards Luther said of the frightening blindness of the papists, who run and rush to hell with earnestness. For they themselves see our just cause and innocence, they also admit that they are wrong, but they deliberately decide and counsel against us. They simply want us dead and do not want to mend their ways at all. But since they despair, they want to drag us down with them. But it will be an unequal course, they to hell, we to heaven. Therefore Paul rightly calls them *ἀπηλγιηχότες* [Eph. 4, 19.] who have ended their pain, 2) who defend the recognized error and want to eradicate the truth. Never did Caiphas and the Pharisees hold the idea of righteousness from the law in such a way. For all heresies have the conviction of truth, but the papists have lost the thought of righteousness and conviction, condemn themselves and sin knowingly and intentionally against the Holy Spirit. They want to defend the public whore [as] a pure virgin. If the last day does not come, it will never come. I consider

2) In the German Bible: "Which are nefarious". From the above speech we see that Luther could very well have translated more literally if he had wanted to. But he gives the sense incomparably more accurate and understandable in his translation.

Often at night in great distress and fear, how one could help them, so that they would repent and remain in good and honor. But it will not be. They themselves do not want to repent and simply thirst for our blood, as the bishop of Mainz is said to have said: What are you arguing about? We know well that we are wrong. And when the bishop of Salzburg negotiated with Philip, he gave a threefold way and manner of unification: First, if you Lutherans do what we want, you cannot do it. Second, if we follow your doctrine, we do not want to. Third, a treaty between the two parts is impossible, because neither gives way to the other. Therefore, one will destroy the other. You are weak and few, we are many and sure. I would never have believed that I should have experienced such words. God help us from troubles and from all evil. 1)

**God is hostile to the papacy.**

(Contained in Cap. 43, § 15.)

**56. the papists' bloodthirstiness.**

Cardinal Campegius said in Augsburg in 1530: "Do you Germans want to withdraw from the Pope's yoke and not be subject to him? Well then, let us make Germany swim in blood. These are my thoughts, said D. Martinus, higher than we can attain, for the pope and Francis certainly have something in mind now.

**57) Who is the pope. 2)**

In the Pabst's and his soup-eater's books it is publicly stated what the Pabst is, namely, not only a man, but also God; that is, the Pabst is an earthly god, a man mixed with the Godhead. Yes, a real earthly god, like the devil, who has nothing heavenly. This argument was once brought up in a public theological disputation by a Doctor Juris, M. K. D. Wenzlaus Link answered and said: Yes, the pope is the god of the jurists, not of the theologians.

1) For the conclusion of this section, cf. the other relation in Walch, old edition, Vol. XVI, Col. 2069, Z16.

2) This § is most likely spurious, a combination of § 23 and § 27 of Chapter 54.

**The pope is the right Antichrist.**

That the Pope is the true anti-Christ, said D. Martinus, appears clear and public from the fact that those who transgress his statutes are punished much more severely than those who do against God's law, commandment and word. Thus the pope sits in the temple of God, yes, of the one who is preached and called God; that is, what concerns the service of God, over which he exalts himself and wants to be God. But he is not God according to the same essence, that is, he is not raised into heaven. That is why he is actually called the antichrist, because he sits in the temple and in the church of God, and exalts himself above everything that is called and is called God and worship. The Turk is not the Antichrist, for he is not and does not sit in the Church of God, but is an evil beast; but the Pope sits in the holy Church and arrogates to himself the service and honors that are due to God alone. For no one is an antichrist except God's Church.

**. The Ordination of Priests in the Papacy.**

In the papacy, priests were not ordained to preach the Word of God, but only to say mass and administer the sacrament. For when the bishop ordained them, he said: "Accept, I give you authority to say mass, to consecrate, and to sacrifice for the living and the dead. We ordain priests according to the command of Christ and St. Paul, namely, to preach the true, pure Gospel and Word of God. But they, the papists, do not think of anything in their ordination to the office of preaching, to teach God's word; therefore, their ordination is wrong and unjust; for all worship that is not ordered by God, nor established from and according to God's word and command, is good for nothing, indeed, it is vain idolatry.

**60. M. Luther's simplicity and lowly person harmed the pope.**

My simplicity and poor little person (I don't want to say just cause, said D. Martinus) did the damage to the pope. For there

I began to preach and write, the pope despised me. For he thought: "It is a single man, a poor monk 2c. I have defended this doctrine before many kings and emperors, princes and lords; what then should a single man do? But if he had paid attention to me, he would have soon been able to exterminate me in the first place.

**61 The pope falsely boasts that he has followed in St. Peter's footsteps; therefore the power is taken from him justly.**

St. Peter's office was not to rule and force the people by force; but, as he himself says 1. Ep. 5, 2. 3.: "Feed Christ's flock, which is commanded you, not for shameful gain, not as those who rule over their people" 2c. And Christ says, "Petre, follow me, feed my lambs," John 21:15, 19; does not say, I give you all authority in heaven and on earth. But now the pope wants to be Christ's governor and follow St. Peter's footsteps; and yet does not want to serve, but to be served, wants to be an earthly god and a god of this world, and to rule and reign over all kings, emperors, princes 2c. with great splendor, glory and power.

Therefore such power is taken away from him, and he is now despised. For in former times, if he so much as breathed with one finger, emperors, kings and princes were terrified and trembled; so they were afraid of him. Now, however, no peasant or citizen is afraid of all the power of the pope or of all papist bishops, and would not give a single stone to them; indeed, almost all people despise the pope with all the smeared: he laughs or cries, is merciful or ungracious to them, all this applies equally to them. And even though before this time many pious hearts had noticed that the pope's teaching was false and that his dignity and dignity were nothing, they were not allowed to say it, nor were they able to make it public, because they were all restrained and hindered; but now it cannot be hindered, because his wickedness and mischievousness in deceiving people is too much revealed.

**The image of Pabst was found underground in the Mansfeld mine.**

In 1538, in the Mansfeld mine, a slate stone was found sixty fathoms under the ground, with the image of the Pope on it, that he was sitting in a choir cap and had a triple crown on his head; as one usually finds slate stones in mines, which have all kinds of images of fish. This slate stone was sent to Wittenberg for inspection by D. M. Luther; there he interpreted it in such a way that it meant the revelation of the Pope as the true Antichrist. This slate was then sent to the King of France, Francisco.

**63. that one should preach harshly against the pope.**

Doctor Luther said: "Many complain about this and think that I am too vehement and quick against the papacy; on the other hand, I complain that I am, unfortunately, much too lenient 1). But I wish that I could speak thunderbolts against the papacy, and that every word would be a thunderbolt.

**The papal bishops do not have the same authority as the apostles.**

(This § is indeed in Lauterbach, Oct. 15, 1538, p. 152, but nevertheless omitted because entirely contained in Cap. 19, § 7, Lauterbach, May 21, 1538, p. 84.)

**65: The fictitious Antichrist of the papists.**

(Lauterbach, Oct. 13, 1538, p. 150. In another redaction again Cap. 27, § 134.)

It is a completely futile delusion of the Antichrist that he should reign as a single man and private person, which the spectacles aimed at with the scattering of money, which would kill the saints, Elijah and Enoch. It happened to the Papists according to the prophecy Weish. 1, (v. 5. ff.): "Which shall be punished with the sins that are pronounced upon them."

1) So Stangwald instead of "geschwinde".



### 66 Of the Junker Pabst.

(Lauterbach, Apr. 19, 1538, p. 64.)

On April 19, a paper was brought on which a pope, a cardinal and a monk were described, whose image columns had been sent from Innsbruck. But Luther added [some] true, hostile plots and spoke with sobs: "Oh, who should be silent and have patience in the face of such great malice and recognized error! Whoever wants to honor the blood of Christ must rage against the pope who desecrates it. One cannot be enough of an enemy to this dragon of hell, especially those who truly love Christ. For now he sins knowingly, not out of error. What happens out of error is error, there is still hope. That is why I have added the seventh verse, which is spiteful enough: "I know and hold this for myself. By these words I strike his conscience. For he praises Christ and his gospel only because of the profit, means nothing sincerely. And this name: Bon christian is a mockery at Rome: Ah, a good fool. Ah, we should stay with the article: I believe in Jesus Christ. This one should be honored, thanked and praised, but through him the pope becomes a proud and glorious tyrant. The blood that Christ shed for our souls, the pope turns against our souls. Therefore Christ rightly cries out against them with terrible and harsh words, Matth. 23. And he read the whole chapter. Such a valediction would also be necessary now.

### The pope has a desire to get, therefore he hinders the concilium.

Since there was talk about the Concilium 1) and how the pope was fleeing it, it would be best for the emperor, France and all of Germany to unanimously cite the pope to the Concilium, so that he would defend his teaching 2c. D. Martinus answered: "The pope does not allow this, and knows a way for it, so that the concilium is not promoted and has a continuation; therefore he does not allow the emperor and Francis to become one and to get along. And since

If a concilium were to be held, no Protestant would come to it. Therefore, it would be a sin if a Christian is not heartily hostile to the prankster, the pope.

### 68 Pabst's regiment is best for the world.

(Cordatus No. 146.)

The pope is without a doubt the best ruler for the world; for he knows so well the rule according to which the world is deceived, that he is also a lord of the fields, of the meadows, of the money, of our houses and of all things; likewise also of the bodies (which can be seen in his measuring monkeys, who ravish one virgin after the other and respectable women), and when he has thus arranged everything according to his lusts, then he gives the world eternal damnation as a reward. So the world wants to have 2).

### 69. Pope Clement the Seventh's attack against the Lutherans.

I, said D. Martinus, "I also saw and noticed before the Diet of Augsburg that Pope Clement, a man of sins, has many plots. For since we know the devil and what he has in mind, how should we not also know his most beautiful member, whom he has on earth, and what he intends? But now this pope's most noble plot has been that he, through his deceitfulness and practices, has been able and driven the emperor to the point that he left Italy, since it was going well enough for him, and moved into Germany, and overtook and exterminated the Lutherans by his power.

### The Pabst's deception, how and from what he strikes coin.

(Cordatus No. 45 and No. 1404.)

The pope virtually beats the abundance out of all things in the world of money, only infant baptism excepted, because the little children are born naked and without money; otherwise he would not have spared them either.

The princes make money out of metal, but the pope makes it out of all things, out of the mass,

2) In the original "the" instead of that.

1) Cf. Cap. 54, §26.

from ceremonies, from fasting, that is, from hunger, from indulgences, that is, from a concocted lie.

#### 71. bon St. John's main.

In Rome, St. John the Baptist's head is rejected, since all teachers write and chronicles indicate that the Saracens have opened his tomb, taken out the body and even burned it to powder. Let the pope with his lies always go to the executioner. He did the same with other saints.

#### 72. the stationirer fraud.

- (Cordatus No. 791 and 792.)

When a nobleman said to an indulgence merchant that if he could redeem his ancestors, he would give him two florins, the latter said, "Who was your father?" The merchant answered: "A pious, honorable man. The merchant answered, "So he is not in hell. Does he also perform miracles at his grave? He answered, No. Then said he, Then he is not in heaven, but in purgatory. And the soldier [the nobleman in war service] bought him with a lump. After that [the merchant] continued to ask in the same way, and the interrogated man bought fourteen souls with fourteen cents. Finally he asked: "Lord, am I sure that they are blessed? He affirmed this with an oath. But the nobleman said, "Sir, you like gold; give me back the coins, and I will give you a florin. When the grocer had counted them, he took the pennies and said: "The souls are now in heaven and will never come out; I need money more than you do.

My father 1) asked Tetzal in Stolpe, since he demanded a penny for the salvation of a soul, what kind of penny he wanted, seven marks or a silver penny? After a long time of hesitation, he answered: "Come back tomorrow and I will tell you.

1) This speech is to be regarded as a narration of the slide. Ant. Lauterbach at Luther's table, which Cordatus nnt heard and distinguished. The father of Ant. Lauterbach was probably Matthäus Lauterbach, mayor of Stolpe. (Seidemann. Lauterbach. S. V.)

#### 73. bon an Antonius lord.

(Cordatus No. 793.)

Once a brother of St. Anthony was wandering in a forest, and having lost his master [a relic merchant] who had the holy relics with him, he persuaded the peasants that the two little bells 2) had as much sanctity as the relics, because they had always lain with the relics. All this could be believed.

#### 74. Bom Pabstthum and his drudgery.

If the papacy had stood for another ten years, all the monasteries in Germany would have become desolate and fallen to Rome; for in Italy, in the richest monasteries, there are only two or three persons, who are sparsely kept and fed, the other income being given to the cardinals. In Rome, at St. Calixt's, more than eight thousand martyrs are buried in a crypt, as they say, and there is great sanctity there; but there are only two Minorites and gray monks inside, who give the pope everything that is liked and desired, leaving them content with sixty ducats.

There is such an abominable idolatry: When one wants to say mass, the people run to him with great crowds who desire to be present, and if one consumes half an hour, he gets a whole handful of pennies, and there is such a crowd with the abomination of the sacrificial mass that two priests stand at the same time over an altar against each other, and say mass: they are mightily finished with their craft, and have forged a mass in a hui. When they leave, two others step over and say mass, but each must bring his own chasuble.

So Pabst went to the Treudelmarkt, got a ten thousand guilders for one forz (with breeding), that is, for his lies. But now we want to give the ungrateful peasants, burghers, noblemen 2c. the highest treasure for free, so they do not want to have it. Ah, what gives, that counts.

2) The Antonian Lords, a mendicant order, had a little bell on their necks when they terminiren (begged). About them, cf. Walch, alte Ausgehe, Vol. XIX, p. 789.

(The following Cordatus No. 1740.)

Oh that everyone who presides over the ministry of the Word had been in Rome and seen the Pabst's fair!

**The Pope's and the Cardinals' court has corrupted their cause and promoted Doctor Luther's doctrine.**

The pope and his people relied on their great power, so they also overthrew themselves; for if they had handled things carefully, they would not have stormed, potz tausend fa mi re; quid non obtinissent? But the papacy was to fall. When I moved against Rome, Rome was called Fontem Justitiae; but I saw that Ronl was a whore or whorehouse. Cardinal Campegius said in Augsburg in 1530: "Cardinal Cajetanus spoiled this thing in 1518, because he wanted to go through with his head. There one should have skilfully, with cunning and artificial grasps with the thing gone around.

And said D. Luther: The pope is now overthrown in the German land, without still having some elders inside: this does not happen for the sake of his authority, but that some princes still protect him. For when Peter Paul Vergerius was the Pope's legate in the German lands in 1533, the ruffians, as the Pope's mother, almost threw him to death with dirt. After the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, Cardinal Campegius went to Vienna with King Ferdinando, where they made a little man from rags as a cardinal, and put him on a dog, which had the pope's letters of indulgence and seal hanging from its neck, and a pig's bladder with peas under its tail, and so the dog had to run through the streets of Vienna as a spectacle. The next day, the cardinal had a whore come to him at night, and she had stolen the cardinal's cross from him. This cardinal, because he was rich, was killed with poison by the son of the pope.

**76. agnus Dei.**

The Agnus Dei, as it was called, was worn before the Sacrament only once, because the pope was alive. In Pope Leo's time

It was consecrated when it was destroyed by fire and burned. This happened only because of a dispensation that Leo consecrated again.

**77 The Sanctuary.**

The bishop of M. boasted that he had a flame burning from the bush that Moses had seen. To the dark star at Compostel in Hispania is pointed the flag for a sanctuary, which Christ had in hell, likewise the crown of thorns, the holy cross, nails 2c.

**78. from the sanctuary of the donkey on which Christ rode on the day of the palm tree.**

(Lauterbach, May 9, 1538, p. 77.)

On May 9, Frederick Mecum said a lot about the excessive pride of the Italians against the Germans and told an example of how a Mass priest in Rome had persuaded some Germans with sweet words in the confession of the ears: I have always known that the German nation is very God-fearing and loves religion, but the Italians are scoffers; he has a very great treasure, but hidden, [a] sanctuary. If he wanted to keep it secretly with him and give something for it, he would let him have it secretly for the great salvation of Germany, but on this condition that he should not reveal it to anyone in Italy, because the lives of both would be in danger. When he had promised with an oath, he gave him a thigh of Christ's donkey wrapped in silk. This is the sanctuary where the Lord Christ sat bodily on and touched the donkey's leg with his leg. He happily brought his secret treasure to Germany. When he reached the borders of Germany, he began to boast to his companions and finally came out with it and showed his treasure. Another was there, then a third, a fourth, who boasted of it, and that the gift was given to them on condition that they keep silent. When a fifth heard this, who also had one leg, he began to curse: Did the donkey have five feet? Luther answered: This was the glory of the Italians, to mock the barbaric Germans like this. But by God's grace, Germany feels and sees the wickedness and one can

The Italians, the hopeful spirits, can do no better than to despise them and consider them worthless people, as they have done to us, and do as that schoolmaster did against an unpolished monk who rejected all study of science in a sermon. [Then he gave all the boys Latin with this distortion: Monachus a devil, diabolus a monk.

#### 79. another fraud.

(This § is transferred to Cap. 27, § 138, where it belongs).

#### 80: The Pabst's robbery.

I believe, said D. Martinus, that the pope, out of special concern, has placed the feasts of St. Sylvester and St. Thomas Cantuariensis on the eighth day after the holy day of Christ and Christmas, because the former brought and won the English kingdom, and the latter the Roman kingdom for the pope.

St. Thomas, the apostle, is nothing respected by the pope against St. Thomas of Cantuarias: 1) because the pope is most concerned that he may keep the goods, and when the empire is finished, he has always snatched the empire. That is why I have shown all his robbery in the Pope's keys, which painting will hurt and displease him, since the deed agrees with the words. It is time for this wickedness to be revealed. I hope now that the last day will not be long, that it will come to ruin.

#### 81. of the Pabst's errors.

The Pabst's errors, although they were very gross before the gospel came to light again, yet we worshipped them, which we are now ashamed to remember, as, with the sanctuary, Joseph's pants, St. Francisci Niederwat, so one has pointed out here in Wittenberg. And said D. Martinus said: "There have been very few preachers who could have counseled the poor consciences; indeed, they imposed fasting on pregnant and nursing women without dispensation.

1) D. i.

#### The papists' outrageous lies.

The papists' lies are so palpable that they are now ashamed of them. As in former times a citizen of Oschatz, a host, ate meat in public during Lent, and H[archduke] Georg persuaded him to do so, he confessed it without all shyness and fear, and proved such his right, that he had it power, with his butter and indulgence letter; with that the duke was satisfied. Item, a citizen of S. had his wife buried without all vigils and masses, invoking his confessional letter, in which all her sins were forgiven during her life, therefore she was not allowed any vigils and masses.

In Orleans, France, there was a woman who, while still alive, ordered that if she died, no vigils or masses should be said for her, and she was buried in a monastery. Then the monks pretended that her spirit was dying, crying and weeping, and asked that masses be said for her, because she was in purgatory because of her sin. Finally, the fraud and deception were revealed by a boy, and [the monks] were expelled from the country by the king. In sum, the pope does not want to let up, but wants to be disgraced, and his lies are not human, but devilish.

#### 83 From Antonites.

At Lichtenberg, D. Martin of the large estate and magnificent building of the Antoniherrn, so that [it] would be hard to end at this time with three tons of gold. In the old days, there was the shameful Treudelwerk, they moved around like knapsacks, lured people to themselves with belts, bags and knives.

Tetzel was bribed with money by the Antonites on St. Anneberg, and praised them in such a way that such an influx of people followed them three miles away. So they were persuaded by his words that if they did not honor the sanctuary, all the shafts and ore mines would fall into ruin and the tunnels would disappear.

Oh dear God, which nobleman, citizen, peasant 2c. thanks our Lord God once for having redeemed us from such drudgery, through which a great treasure and a great blessing have been created?

countless amounts of money have been made by daily chance? Now they become ungrateful, and they dare to deprive the godly not only of the incomes, but also of the substance and goods that are endowed for proper worship.

#### 84 Des Pabsts Geiz und Trendelmarkt.

The pope takes annually in England from each one a petriniche, that is, two pennies, which has made nine times a hundred thousand florins.

Many altarists had barely forty pennies annually, and were nevertheless able to maintain themselves abundantly from the accidentals and Kretzschmerei, vigils, soul and sacrificial masses. The parish of Wittenberg had hardly thirty guilders of money and income, and yet carried over three hundred guilders annually. The snowing in has been great. I know that the bishop of Mainz received two thousand florins annually, which he had from the Consistory, from fines for adultery and fornication. It actually belongs to the princes; if they were wise, they could get hold of such money.

#### 85 Of the Pope's Right.

I also wanted to know the spiritual or ecclesiastical laws, said D. Martinus, and read Summam Angelicam. Then said D. H.: They should not be called angelic, but devilish, for the sake of the great superstition and sophistry, which is in there, so that no one can judge from it. So the pope, said D. M., with his cases, which he reserves for him in the shrine of his heart, has thus left them, that he has nevertheless reserved them for him. So all his rights are uncertain, so even he has vexed us with his devilish lies, under the appearance of key power. That is why St. Paul not unreasonably calls these times horrible times, when out of God's wrath the popes at Rome ruled by so many lying signs, needed their curtisan pieces. England was free, but St. Peter's pence brought the pope nine tons of gold annually. Yes, St. Peter describes the pope with very fierce and serious words 2. ep. 2, 3.: "There are (he says)

sly people in avarice." He is not talking about bad and human avarice.

Just look at what Pope Urban the Sixth, Gregory the Ninth and Boniface the Twelfth did before the Concilio at Costnitz. Although the Romanists were to a certain extent humiliated and frightened in the same Concilio, they regained their composure and became proud, just as they are now frightened again and driven to the chorus. Tetzl made it so crude that it had to be grasped. He wrote: "Indulgences would be a reconciliation between God and man, and that they would be useful, since a man would not repent without all remorse and suffering.

#### Of the keys and pouches of the pope on which he hung.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 17, 1538, p. 30.)

On February 17, a picture was brought to him of the pope hanged with Judas and Judas' bag. He answered: "This will hurt the pope, who has been kissed by the emperor and kings on his knees, and will now be hanged on his keys. It will hurt the papists very much, because, their conscience will be hit and the matter will speak for itself. That is why the bag with the bishop's hat and Cardinalinful is very well armed, because there was such an incomprehensible and inscrutable, unheard-of avarice with the pope that he did not only seize the annates, the pallia 2c. of all countries, but also the sacraments, the indulgences, the brotherhood, the blood of Christ, the marriage. Therefore the bag is full of robbery, and rightly is he contradicted, as Revelation (18:6) says: "Pour ye in twofold." He has banished me and burned me and put me in the devil's butt, so I will hang him by his own key. 1)

1) To this Stangwald makes the following remark: This painting was painted and printed by Doctor Martin Luther himself in Wittenberg in the year 45 with this title: Digna merces Papae Satanissimi et Cardinalium suorum (Well-deserved reward of the demonized pope and his cardinals). And under it set these rhymes:

If the pope and the cardinal on earth are to be punished in time, you would have deserved blasphemy, as their right is painted here.  
Mart. Luther, D. 1545.

**The first of these is a book on the subject of the "Pabst's Abominations in his Decrees.**

It is a great, terrible wrath of God: in so many of the pope's decrees, not a single saying of the Holy Scriptures or an article of the Catechismi is contained. For the pope wanted to arrange his church like an external worldly regime; therefore he blasphemously taught that a lousy monk's cap, 1) if put on a dead person, would bring forgiveness of sins, thus comparing it to the merits of Christ, the only Savior. This abominable idolatry and blasphemy was not only permitted by the pope, but also confirmed.

**88. from the papist idolatry force.**

The idolatry and superstition in the papacy has had great power and effect, because it has penetrated by force. That is why Daniel says of the Antichrist: "And he will succeed until the wrath is out," I hope that the same wrath is now out, that God will resist the pope, if only our own security and contempt of God's word will not promote such evil.

**The first of these is the "Bishop Benno's Idolatry and the Glory of the Papists".**

When it was written by the visitators how Bishop Benno's idolatry in Meissen was destroyed, D. Martin said. Martin: Dear God, how the papists will now cry out and praise imperial foundations! For the bishops want to be princes of the empire: the emperor has even been forced to confirm and strengthen the papacy against himself. After that they took up the sword, like Pabst Julius. For when they had attained power and prestige, they laid aside the habit and the clerical garments and became princes and emperors; like the Cardinal of Salzburg and Mainz, they were the most powerful. But praise be to God, who lays his judgment upon them and against them, as the Scripture says. So the Lord will do to them as they thought to do to us. For I see their stubbornness, that the best people, as soon as they are elected bishops-

1) Cf. cap. 30, § 30.

and have sworn and done the law to the priest, they are hardened like Judas, for Satan leads into them when they have taken the dunked bite.

**90. of an official and his caplan.**

There was an official, said D. Martinus, who had a vicar and priest who said mass for him. The latter, because he had not said mass for a vain time, as he was ordered, his master was so angry with him that he wanted to remove him from office, so that he would give him twenty guilders. The priest was frightened and saddened, for he had no money, and asked him to give him a fortnight's respite, but he would raise the money. When the fourteen days were up and he had found another master, he bought two brooms and brought them to the official's house. What, said the official, do you bring brooms? Do you know that I asked for money? What more, said the priest, I have brought the two brooms, I will give one to you, and the other I will keep for myself, so that each man may turn in at his own door, and my master will not demand any money from me; and so he went away.

**The Papist Tyrants Rage Against Christ and His Word.**

(Except for the last paragraph Cordatus No, 1485, 1486.)

The papists and tyrants may fall into the pit they are preparing for themselves, for we have humbled ourselves enough, suffered, our brothers have been burned 2c. They do not want to be advised, but God will defend His King, to whom He said [Ps. 110, 1.]: "Sit at My right hand." He has built him a high castle: if they shoot up with a rifle, he strikes down with thunder and lightning.

The adversaries have innumerable, inconstant, and daily new advice. Always they cry out: [They] err, err, exterminate them. But it goes out at their neck. They will not be able to stay, but we have this single advice with God: the King Christ must stay. He has overthrown great kings; I would rather stay with him than with the Turk and our emperor.

But our Emperor Carl is peaceful, seeks peace, so let us pray for him. For the pope is undoubtedly following him deceitfully, deals with evil secret practices, would like to make the Frenchman emperor, tries to bring England and the Venetians into such an alliance, because he sees that it is for him, thinks: If I ever fall, then the emperor must also fall. May our dear Lord God prevent, break and destroy his plans, amen.

### The Papists' Hatred of M. Luthern.

(Cordatus No. 1195. 1196.)

I am not surprised that the papists hate me; I deserve it for their sake, and Christ rebuked the Jews more politely than I rebuked the papists, and yet they killed him. But they believed that they killed Christ according to their law. [It does not hurt that they hate me. But I, too, will speak to the pope on the last day and will demand an account of why he challenges the word of God and his sacraments.

The pope kills the priests because they enter the sacrament of marriage, which God has instituted, and likewise he also acts against his canons, which only prescribe to deprive such of the office. Thus, H[erzog] G[eorg] drives people from their residences for the sake of the Word and the Sacraments. In Oschatz he drove out ten fathers of houses with thirty-seven children, whose groans will cry out over him, as Jesus Sirach says [35, 18. 19.]: "The tears of widows flow down their cheeks, but they cry out over themselves against him who forces them out." 1)

### The first time he was a member of the German Parliament, he was a member of the German Parliament.

D. M. Luther said in 1546 at Eisleben over the table: "I have been too soft and too limey for the priests and monks, I have given them the benediction and I am too soft and too limey for them.

1) In the original: The widows' tears fall below them and yet rise above them. - For the last paragraph, see Luther's letter to the Christians driven out of Oschatz, January 20, 1533, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1956.

was their protection. But I fear that another will come after me, who will do it much more roughly than I, who will have a blunt sickle and shear other plates. As Christ also says John 5:43: "I came in my Father's name, but ye would not have me: if another shall come in his name, him will ye receive." And did D. M. Luther make this verse, once of himself:

Pestis eram vivens, moriens ero mors tua Papa.  
And Gregorius Sabinus has thus redirected them;  
Qui dum vixit, erat tua pestis Papa,  
Lutherus,

Hic tibi causa suo funere mortis erit.

" (This paragraph in Cordatus No. 441.)

While I live, I am the pillar of the pope and his defender, but after my death he will suffer a blow, he will not resist. Then they will say: If we had Luther now, who could advise, now is the hour in which to advise, and they will not; when the hour is over, God will not want.

### 94) Papists do not allow themselves to be reformed. 2)

The pope and his people cannot suffer to be reformed, for the word "reforming" is more hostile in Rome than the thunder from heaven or the last day; as a cardinal said: Let them eat, drink 2c. and do what they want, but that they want to reform us, that is not to be suffered by us, there we must dispute. Thus we Lutherans are not satisfied if they permit the sacrament in both forms and priestly marriage, but we also want to have the doctrine of faith and justification, how one becomes righteous and blessed before God, pure and unadulterated, which casts out all idolatry and idolatry; when this is cast out, the foundation on which the papacy is built also falls. The papacy feels and fears this reformation. However, the papists in Germany are fearfully fed up. For when we returned from Schmalkalden, the priests at Erfurt asked what had been decided there, whether it would be to their salvation.

2) Similar thoughts Cap. 27, § 105 and § 96.

or ruin? Philip said to them, "Gentlemen, look at the example of Augsburg. But the priests in the land of Franconia make friends for them with the unrighteous mammon, namely, they unite with some princes.

### 95) Why the dispute is primarily with the papists. 2)

(Cordatus No. 1829.)

Wicklef and Huß have only challenged the life of the pope, therefore they could not raise it, because they were also sinners like the papists; but I have attacked the doctrine, thus I have beaten them, because here it is not about life, but about the doctrine.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, 2 Feb. 15M, p. 20.)

The rule of the papacy began and grew without laws, only through superstition and arbitrariness, as Daniel (12, 1.) says: "And the king will do what he wills", not according to the law; his will is instead of the law, as the Decretals and the Canons Cuncta indicate, and the chapter of the cases that the pope reserves for himself, and the shrine of his heart, which is bound around him, very well testify to his utmost arbitrariness. He then leafed through a book printed under the papacy, in which all the bishoprics, monasteries, and annual expenditures and the simonia were described. He was amazed at the size of this empire and its destruction.

This word, when God says: "Grow and multiply", Gen. 1, 28, God has not said to any monk, priest, pope, bishop; nor can they puff up their statutes, statutes and humanity so high that God's word is nothing compared to their clamor.

### 96. what to quarrel with the papists about, what and how much to yield to them.

(Cordatus No. 422.)

They did not want to allow us three things at Augsburg: Free marriage, free worship, and the Lord's Supper in both forms. But now they would allow it if we wanted.

1) Cf. cap. 78, §1.

It must come to this, that each one is allowed to believe, as he knows it in his conscience to answer for before God. If they allow us to do this, we must also let them follow their consciences if they do not want to follow us. How did the Christians have to do in the time of the Arians? Like Paul in his persecution of the Jews? And the Swiss would not have agreed to this day if they had not scuffled with each other. I was worried that the papists would also be like that. But if they kill the preachers here and there, they will get tired of it.

### 97 The Papists' False Doctrine and Blindness. (Cordatus No. 1427.)

That a man who does as much as is in him deserves eternal life de congruo was also believed in Gerson's time to be true until Luther, and there is no difference between this doctrine and that of the Arians except that the words are changed.

#### The first is the first of the two.

Doctor Martin Luther said in 1541 that Pabst's kingdom had been a terrible blindness and wrath of God, which ruled and reigned in the world in such powerful errors and public lies that no man understood and noticed it; yet the Christian church had been so abundantly warned against it by the Lord Christ and the apostles. So there has never been a lack of people in the papacy who have had beautiful ingenia and great testimony of their art and skill. That is why I am often surprised that there has been so much darkness in the papacy. But I cannot judge myself from this, because by the saying of St. Paul, 2 Thess. 2, 11. 12. where it is written: "Because they did not believe the truth, God gave them strong errors. Therefore, the abomination and darkness of the Pabst could not have been greater.

The pope has two pillars or foundations on which he stands; one is called: "Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," Matth. 16, 19. Item, that the Lord Christ says to Petro: "Feed the people.



He extended these two sayings so that he had free power and authority to do whatever he wanted in the church and in the worldly government. Therefore he taught what he dreamed and changed the doctrine. He condemned and saved whom he willed; then he deposed emperors, kings, princes and rulers according to his will and pleasure. Just as if Christ had given the loosening and binding to such an outward worldly power and authority, which belongs only to the conscience of the afflicted and to the doctrine of faith. Fie on you, that we have not seen nor understood the definition of this power!

After that, the pope's decree came, which was full of lies and tyranny, in which the pope shamelessly roared: *Non est praesumendum, quod tantae celsitudinis apex errare possit*: One should not take it in mind that the great majesty of the pope could err. Have made of him *Deum Mixtum*, half a god. Item, all judges' thrones have had to leave him satisfied, and no church has been allowed to judge the pope. Item, there was another Canon: *Quod autoritas sacrae scripturae pendeat a sede Romana*, that is, that the Holy Scripture is valid, it must have from the See of Rome. After the pope had persuaded the people in this way, he might teach what he wanted, and brought it about that a Christian denied the bloodshed of the Lord Christ, and put on a monk's cap, and sought blessedness in it. This is such an abominable case, which would be enough of heathens.

But this kingdom of the Antichrist should not have been revealed, and yet, truly, there was no lack of fine people who should have grasped it; but the powerful errors did not let one come to the knowledge. As Daniel also says: *Erit tempus, quo prosternetur veritas*. The superstition and superstition of the Jews was not as great as that of the Pabst. For they had the law as their basis and foundation, and wanted to protect and manage their worship from God's law, which they had superstitiously violated: but the pope is without God.

He is a man of the word of God, yes, against the word of God, and presses the word of God under himself, and dares to teach what he pleases, so that he may fulfill the prophet Daniel's prophecy, which speaks of the pope in such a way that he will want to be *exlex*, that is, without law, and do what he only desires; that is his rhyme: *Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*.

Therefore, the canonists have said: If the pope leads innumerable souls into hell, one should not say to him: Why do you do this? Fie on you! That is why no one was allowed to complain against the pope. And I am now called the worst enemy of the pope, yes, the greatest heretic, and it serves me right: for why have I attacked the pope's nature, substance and doctrine? I have not challenged the morals or only the abuses, but I have straightway grabbed the pope's throat, and have now done so honestly for twenty years, so that his authority and power in the church have fallen and perished by the spirit of the Lord's mouth, and the pope has no more protection, nor any hope, but only to the secular sword. For he is despised by his own, and if the concilium is now overthrown, he lies down in the mud. It will not get any better, and nothing will be done with the concilium.

At Schmalkalden, the princes and princes of the Pabst's legates mocked him; and if by God's word the Pabst's authority had not thus fallen, the princes should have been cheated by the devil. But we do not ask much after this liberation, and become ungrateful to God; but severe punishments and a great wrath of God will follow; only that I still comfort myself that the last day will not be long outside. For the prophecy of Daniel has been completely fulfilled, who described the pope so clearly and distinctly, as if the pope had been in his time, and he should have painted and described him.

#### 99. the pabst's tyranny.

Occam writes that Constantine was the first true Christian emperor, for when he gave the empire to the pope, he took it from him.

and has thus become emperor legally and justly, confirmed and confirmed by the pope, refers to the saying where Christ says: "All authority in heaven and earth has been given to me" 2c., Matth. 28, 18. The pope has drawn the same upon himself because he wants to be Christ's governor. 1) Thus, in his decree, he says: "Whoever doubts in a word or work of the Roman Church, and does not believe what it says and does, is a heretic; D. Wimpfeling would almost have been killed because he doubted whether Augustine had been a monk. So we were trapped that we were not allowed to protest against the slightest thing.

### 100: The Rosary in the Papacy.

Doctor Martinus told a story of which St. Bernard writes: How a Carthusian wandered over the field and fell among the murderers. Since he had not prayed the rosary that day, as he used to do every day, he fell down on his knees and prayed. Then the highwaymen saw a very beautiful virgin standing by him, who had a ribbon or hoop in her hand, and always took one rose after the other from Carthusian's mouth, and the tenth rose was always red, which she placed between them, and thus made a beautiful wreath out of it. When the robbers saw this, they left him alone and did nothing to him, letting him go.

Oh, dear Lord God, what have we not been allowed to believe? Everything has been believable, and there has been nothing so untruthful and false that we have not believed. This is where the pope would like to bring us again, pretending and posing as if he wanted to hold a concilium. But let us pray, and let it go as God wills. If he condemns us, let us condemn him again and publicly declare him to be the Antichrist. He will have to be put to shame with all his plots. They have much to do now, especially the Epicurer at M[inz]. 3)

### 101 The Pabst's paucity.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 16, 1538, p. 12.)

Truly, great was the tyranny of the pope, who flashed without laws and shouted with full cheeks: In vain holds the four Evangelia, who does not keep the vows of the Roman church. These are the pompous and proud words, as Peter says. These are the seven thunders in Revelation [St. John], the threats of the pope. The celibacy is the image, Revelation 10, where a strong angel, clothed with a cloud, i.e., with a hidden secret, has a rainbow on his head, i.e., commandments; shining like the sun, i.e., he has a glow; and holds an open book, i.e., he extols the gospel. This must be open. There the figure of the Pabst is very well portrayed, which is a king of appearance and a confluence of impious persons [colluvies]. But God is not something corporeal and personal, as the kingdom of the pope is disguised.

### 102 Blindness in the Papacy.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 22, 1538, p. 36.)

On February 22, he spoke of the exceedingly great and terrible blindness of the papists. For thirty years ago no one read the Bible, and it was unknown to all. The prophets were unnamed and impossible to understand. For I had not seen a Bible when I was twenty years old. I thought that there were no other gospels or epistles than those written in the postils for Sundays. Finally I found a Bible in the library, and as soon as I entered the monastery, I began to read, reread, and overread the Bible, which astonished D. Staupitz very much. In this darkness the pope ruled with the greatest superstition and deception, and I would never have dared to attack his angelic splendor, if Paul had not shown with the most glorious testimonies and refutations that such a great blindness of the pope would be, and if Christ, the Majesty Himself, had not put him down with such great flashes, Matth. 15, 9: "In vain do they serve me, because they teach such doctrines,

1) Cf. § 25 of this Cap. the second paragraph.

2) to bulge or swell is: "to shout with full cheeks". Cf. § 101 of this chapter at the beginning.

3) Thus Bindseil III, 269.

which are nothing but the commandments of men. If a special status without controversy, and yet they are Isaiah (29, 13.) had said it badly and Christ had not the most revengeful people. St. Augustine and quoted this passage, they would have despised it Gregory are of the opinion that our works are completely. In short: the papists are refuted by the propitiatory in satisfaction, not in redemption. St. Paul, most certain refutation of the holy scripture. I know however, clearly teaches that the forgiveness of sins their error by God's grace from the front and from the back in every respect. I still sweat and fear when I takes place through the promise, in vain, which blots out sins and satisfies the conscience. Otherwise, the attack the shining majesty of the pope, since they Church has no consolation. If God had not preserved themselves acknowledge that the entire Scripture His Church under the forgiveness of sins, no one stands against them. 1) For when a certain Cardinal would have been saved. Nevertheless, the text of the Gospel at Rome, a fool is said to have said this: My Gospel, Holy Communion, baptism and absolution lord, follow my advice, remove Paul first from the choir remain.

#### The first is the first of the twelve councils in the Gospel.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 24, 1538, p. 39.)

Johannes Huß was remembered, who did nothing against the papacy that would be worthy of death, because he still taught twelve evangelical counsels and many other things. It is truly an abominable error to divide the Scriptures into commandments and counsels and then to teach them: Every man can and should keep the commandments of God; but the counsels are free, by them one is not bound. From this source came the certainty among the people and the hypocrisy of superfluous good works, that the monks, by keeping the counsels, had a greater righteousness than the people. They flee common poverty and domesticity, but invent a voluntary poverty according to their liking; they despise the conjugal chastity of the laity and everyday chastity, but they exalt the chastity of virginity and widowhood. They say of the common faithful that they live in strife, and they choose for themselves the chastity of the virgins and widows.

104. human statutes have been more and more highly respected in the papacy, than God's Word.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 4, 1538, p. 157.)

Afterwards, he read the written statutes of the nuns, which were composed very coldly, and sighed: "This has to be held high, while in the meantime the word of God has been despised. See what torture there was in the papacy, where they insisted so strictly on the canonical prayers, that Hugo, that great man, wrote the frightening saying: If someone neglected a syllable in his chorus and did not observe a syllable in the other chorus, he would have to give account for it on the last day. I believe that Hugo said this in good faith, for the discipline of children, but that it was subsequently misused to corrupt consciences. For the conscience is not yet in the children, they must be brought up in discipline; later, when the conscience comes, Moses must be stoned.

#### 105. the pabst's threefold churches and tyranny, 3)

(Lauterbach, Nov. 17, 1538, p. 171.)

He then spoke of the most insolent audacity of the pope, who would have made a threefold church: the essential, the assembly of the faithful; the representative, the college of cardinals; the exercising (vir-

1) The same narrative contained in Cap. 1, § 95.'

2) Instead of ünAunt, tuglunt will probably be read here.

3) Cf. to the beginning of this § Cap. 58, § 3.

tualis), the pope's decree. This practicing church is above all others, as [the decree says]: *Cuncta noverit mundus etc.* [The whole world shall know]. [The whole world shall know.] Likewise [the Decret]: *Si Papa infinitas animas in mancipium gehennae duceret etc.* [If a pope led innumerable souls into the bonds of hell]. To them the answer is: Christ says (Matth. 28, 20.): "Teach them to keep all that I have commanded you." The pope's reputation has increased only because Peter and Paul were in Rome. By this excellent pretense, the Antichrist has taken over his empire, so that the emperor and the supreme Elector of the Palatinate have been forced to perform the service of a groom, have had to hold the reins and saddle of this beast. Therefore he was so proud that also a Cardinal at Augsburg said to me: What do you think that a Cardinal asks for Germany? Now he is forced to see that the greater part of Germany has fallen away, as well as England, Denmark, and that he is not respected by his own defenders. He is martyred by the spirit of the mouth (Job 15:30), but he will be destroyed by the coming of the Lord. Duke George, the excellent defender of the pope, wants to reform him. O how intolerable a word is: reformation; as the Cardinal of Piacenza said of the Bohemians at the Council of Florence: "Let the Bohemians, those beasts, eat and drink what they want; but that they want to reform us, that is not to be suffered; for if we give in to them in one article, then it is all over for our church. They will think [so]; and is also true. For they see the conclusion very well: if a single piece is wrong, the whole being, in its whole extension, will become wrong. For he who is once evil is thought to be always evil. That is why they, who are in possession, do not want to give way and defend the most obvious errors. Therefore, it is no wonder that Satan is angry with me, because he does not leave his church, but fights firmly for it, biting the heel of the pious, but Christ will crush his head. He must reign in the midst of his enemies, as the Papists, the Anabaptists and the raging sacramentalists. Therefore let us pray; it is

is not a minor matter, but Satan is angry. If a war should start in Germany, which God wants to prevent, then devastation will follow.

#### The first is a new version of the original.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 17, 1538, p. 171.)

Of all the errors in the papacy, two were the most prominent, namely, one's own satisfaction and the fulfillment of the law, which contradict each other and also the merit of Christ. For when the conscience hears: The law must be fulfilled by perfect obedience; this you have not done; therefore do enough for it: then there has been a constant torture. But that monk in the battle of death did right, who at last broke through all the statutes of men, seized Christ's image, and said, What are my works and merits, and those of the whole world? I take hold of his merit and works [osculator] and trust in them. St. Paul has argued with the righteousness of the law against the people of God, as he also struggles with the strongest arguments in Romans 9, 10 and 11. It must have caused him much grief, so that he also wished to be banished for his brothers, that the joy must have been very strange to him, because he brought forward great, vehement speeches [*instantias*], [such as] (Rom. 9, 14.), where he speaks: "Is God then unjust, that He rejects His people?"

#### The arguments of the papists are full of holes.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 25, 1538, p. 181.)

Because the papists have a bad cause, they try to defend themselves with the most erroneous arguments, which prove nothing. Therefore, their arguments are to be rejected altogether. The nature is this: All praise is an invocation; the saints are to be praised; therefore they must be invoked. I deny the upper proposition, because not every praise is an invocation. Likewise: Every act of concupiscence is illicit; the act of marriage is an act of concupiscence, thus. I ant, words on the sub-sentence: It is not an act of desire, but this sexual

Action is God's order, although it happens to be impure because of original sin, but in itself it is permitted and pure. Likewise: The doctrine of the forgiveness of sins is necessary; the indulgence is the forgiveness of sins, thus. I answer: The indulgence is not the forgiveness of sins, but a satisfaction for the forgiveness of sins, which is a fiction.

**The papists' mischievousness and hypocrisy, who now want to whitewash their idolatry and godlessness.**

Pastors, teachers and preachers should diligently watch and have good regard for the deceitfulness and deceitfulness of the papists, who are neutral and want to cover up and deny their lies and superstition finely, and gloss over them, and not be taken for it, as if they had ever erred, or disturbed a water, and done wrong and taught. They have learned to speak our language to some extent and to follow it; they also need the words we need, like parrots: it is all hypocrisy and deception with them, they think much differently in their heart, and remain in their godless nature, as the work testifies; therefore nothing is to be believed of them, it is all deceit and bluster, which they make to deceive and seduce simple hearts.

And if we could not convince them with their own books and living witnesses, then they must be right and we must be wrong for punishing them and accusing them of many horrible errors and idolatries. Therefore, be careful, and do not believe their glittering good words badly, so that they cover up the mischief, and would like to burn themselves white. But who can tell all gross errors? Scotus, their most distinguished teacher and greatest sophist, writes: That a man by his natural powers and free will can do enough for God and His law, which concerns the substance and essence of the word in himself, without the grace of the Holy Spirit, ex merito congrui, by which he is sent, that God certainly gives him, which cannot be lacking, grace and loves him; then it follows after meritum condigni that he deserves it,

to be worthy. Say further: For if a man, saith he, can love the less good, much more can he love the greater than God is. 1)

**109. from sorbonnists.**

The sophists in Paris at the Sorbonne have written against me about the saying of Matth. 5, namely: If the twelve councils should be commandments there, it would be annoying and even too burdensome. Likewise they say: A Christian must doubt, not about the promise of God, but about what concerns him, and about his person. But now they began to excuse themselves and to burn white, as if there were no difference of doctrine between us and them, but only a dangerously useless quarrel about words: in the main there would be no repugnance, quarrel nor disagreement, but one would be united in the same.

One should answer them and ask them: Why have they killed, murdered, hanged, drowned, burned, banished and driven into misery with wife and children so many fine, excellent, pious people for the sake of quarreling about words? Woe to them, they are given into a perverse mind, do not want to be punished now by God-fearing teachers and preachers. They are coarse, clumsy and godless asses, the papists. Like that parish priest who complained to the bishop that he should not baptize properly, and when he appeared, the bishop gave him an infant 2) to baptize, that he might hear what words he needed. Then he began and said: Ego te Baptiste in nomine Christe. Then the bishop scolded him for being such an unlearned, coarse fellow, and for not being able to speak the words properly. Then the priest threw the cloth to the ground and said, "As the child and the baptism are, so are the words.

**The Pope's hope for the restitution of the papacy.**

(Contained in Cap. 27, § 135.)

**111. of the papist measuring servants plates.**

It is nevertheless a miraculous thing and invention, said D. Martin, that the Pabst's ge-

1) Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 1814. cap. 2, § 181.

2) Tocke or Docke - doll.

smear creatures, monks, priests and religious, commonly all have to wear plates and crosses, since God has forbidden it in Moses. Perhaps our Lord God wanted to indicate with this sign that one could and should beware of them.

#### 112. the papists' ignorance in good arts.

The majority and largest house among the papists, especially in monasteries, have been very unlearned asses, some of whom have hardly been able to read properly. One of them sang elama for clama; and when he was scolded by the others for singing elama, he repeated it in a higher voice and shouted out loud several times: Elama; until he said: I can never shout.

Another read elicere for dicere. Item, an unlearned collegiate at L. who said on a doctorate in the thanksgiving: Inlyti Senati, who afterwards became a bullfinch at M.

#### 113. world fraud of the papists.

At Bamberg, they annually assign for sanctuary a book in which Emperor Henry and his husband, Cunegund, are said to be described, since they both vowed to remain virgins. When Birkheimerus came there and took a fancy to see the book, what kind of contract they had made with each other, since they had contracted sponsalia. When he obtained this through great practices, the canons opened the book for him; it had been the Topica Ciceronis. It was such a cheating with them. Otherwise monks read in a monastery: Mumsimus for sumpsimus. When a young monk from the Grammatica punished them for it, the other fathers said: You young lick, do you want to punish us? so we have read Mumsimus for a long time, it should and must be called Mumsimus and remain so.

#### Violence is the defense of the papists.

The papists have lost the cause, argue only with violence, by which they mean to preserve and win. With them, violence is next to foolishness, but with us, wisdom is the only way.

heit with weakness. But their thing will fall from itself. For where will they take monks and priests? There are many students here, but I don't believe that there is one among them who would let himself be smeared and keep his mouth shut, and let the pope throw his dirt into it; Mathesius and M. Plato would do it. Both of whom were Luther's table companions at that time.

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 429.)

God deals with the papacy as he does in a dry summer, in which he lets the springs dry up, so all scholars in the papacy dry up.

Rom, said D. Martinus, has learned people, but in the holy scripture one finds there big asses. As one interpreted this saying Marci 16, 17. thus: Signa eos, qui crediderint etc.,

that is: Draw me those, so believe there 2c. Took a noun for a verb, draw for sign. Then spoke D. Jonas said: The descendants have the best time to hope. Yes, said D. Martinus, I am worried, the best has now happened, there will now follow sects and groups.

#### 115 The Papists' Abomination.

M. W. Calixt 1) told M. M. Luther a story about a disputation that had been held in Rome, in which he had been next to thirty magisters or more. There they had disputed the authority of the pope, who boasted that with his right hand he commanded the angels in heaven, but with his left hand he pulled souls out of purgatory, and that his person was mixed with the divinity. But he, Calixtus, would have disputed this, namely, that the Pope alone had the power to bind and loose on earth, Matth. 16, 19. And since they, the others, had vehemently disputed this, he would have decided that he had spoken it disputatorily, not that he certainly considered it so. M. Luther said: "That in many hundreds of years there has not been a papist bishop or priest, who has taken care of the poor schools, baptism and

1) Wolfgang Calixtus, in 1529 preacher in Cronswitz. Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 287. De Wette III, 481; V, 301.

They would have accepted the sermon with earnestness, for they were too much burdened with the fact that they were enemies of God.

(Cordatus No. 768.)

Jonas said that he had heard from many teachers [doctoribus] that they wanted a reformation of the church, but no one among them had dared to say anything against the pope. Luther said: "I also knew that it was said about him [the Pabst] that he said: Do not touch me! And Staupitz said to me: "If you write something against the pope, you will have the whole world against you; for the church is founded by blood, watered with blood and propagated. But whoever has a fearful conscience to do something against the pope, just read his canons, think about the abomination of the mass and the like, and he will become stronger.

#### 116. a different.

(The first. paragraph Cordatus No. 804.)

The book of John Cappella on the conformity of Christ and Franciscus is so full of lies that its author seems to have been possessed by the devil, not only spiritually but also physically. Among other things, he also says that Christ ceded judgment to Franciscus, that he himself should judge the brothers according to his Rule. These are lies that require more faith than the articles of faith.

In Lüneburg, in a monastery, there still stands to this day a carved large altar, in which the birth, all works and miracles of Christ, also his entry into Jerusalem, imprisonment, suffering, death, descent into hell, resurrection and ascension into heaven were carved, and also next to it Francis' birth, miracles, suffering, death and ascension into heaven were set and made; so that St. Francis' works of the Lord were counted and considered equal to Christ's miracles and sufferings; which was a great blasphemy.

Item: The pope, as they say, is supposed to have taken all Lutherans and their wives into his grace, if they only preach and teach what he wants, and consider their wives to be whores and cooks. Fie on you, said

D. Martinus, what can the devil do! He lets adultery go unpunished. To disrespect marriage is human, but to condemn it is to despise God. Witzel will do the same with his wife; I would not advise a pious woman to stay with him like that.

(The following Cordatus No. 1272.)

The pope is a mocker of God and of men; for he ridicules religion and the world regiment and all respectability in general. He has proven this very well, since his illegitimate son married the illegitimate daughter of the emperor.

#### 117 Comparison of the Empires, Christ, the Pope and Turks.

(Enthaltm in Cap. 7, § 92.)

#### 118. the fornication of the priests.

One told D. M. Luther that a reformation had been made among the canons of C. and N., and the canons had been forced to leave their cooks and to do away with them. This would have lasted for fourteen days, because they could neither abstain nor refrain from them any longer. Therefore they took her back to them; but they, the cooks, did not want to, so they promised them that they would keep her with them and defend her. Then they had to dress them again, so that they were not known.

And it is said that a small blacksmith or locksmith said: He had to work very hard in fourteen days, day and night, just to make keys. For every woman wanted to have a key to the priest's house, because they had put away the whores 2c.

Then D. Martinus said: "I wish that our Lord God would not be mocked in this way: one should not act so lightly with God's order and commandment. For since the godly can hardly stand, how will the scoffers, the godless and blasphemers fare? But the godless papists have their god, the pope. As a great doctor said, "If I serve the pope faithfully, I will be blessed and have enough left over for salvation; for I am given a monk's

If you show me the cap when I die and tell me the rest of the works of the monks on which I rely, I will be blessed.

So I also thought, since I was a monk, if I had left the cell without a shepherd 1) I would have committed a great mortal sin and would have despaired. Is it not a great, horrible abomination that one should trust and rely on such foolish work? since one should give such honor to the Lord Christ alone. One should be sorry for the papacy for the sake of this one piece and error.

**What the pope held with the Semen of Rome about the immortality of the soul. 2)**

(This first paragraph in Cordatus No. 298.)

Once, when two young people were reciting a comedy (or something like that) in front of Leo the Tenth about the immortality of the soul, and one of them claimed that it was immortal and the other that it was mortal, the holy father answered that the former was right, but the words of the latter made a happy face. This was the saying of this God of the earth, that the truth of the true God makes no one happy, but all sad.

The Christian church should have such evil-doers and epicureans as rulers. Thus it was decided at the Concilio in Basel that the priests should wear long skirts down to the ankles, high shoes, wide plates, and no red or green dress: and one should not dispute whether the soul is mortal or immortal.

The pope is a king without God and marriage. For what is divine he has taken away; then he has changed what God has ordered and established in the world, as, marriage.

**120. pope Gregory has ordered the thirtieth to hold soul monks for the deceased. 3)**

The Trigesimā, thirty masses for the dead, were invented by Pope Gregory,

1) Scapular, shoulder dress. Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, 2427, § 12.

2) Cf. this narration also in the Genesis. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. I, Col. 1243, § 109.

3) Cf. cap. 27, § 14. Cf. also Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 1387 f., U 165. 166.

and stood at eight hundred years. He was so holy, even superstitious, that he condemned a brother who had forgotten three florins, which he had not calculated in his office when he died, over the table and had such money thrown into the grave and thirty masses said to have delivered him from purgatory. O of the great abomination!

**Tetzel's ungodly boldness with his indulgences gave M. Luthern cause to write.**

Tetzel made it so crude, 4) that it had to be grasped, for he wrote and taught that the indulgence of the pope was the reconciliation between God and man. On the other hand, that the indulgence would nevertheless be strong and valid, since man would have neither newness nor sorrow, or would do penance. Yes, if one had impregnated the Virgin Mary, he could forgive him. He could also forgive the sin that one would be willing to commit in the future. Item: that the indulgence cross, which the pope would have erected, would be like the cross of the Lord Christ, and would have the same power 2c. Such and such abominations caused me to sit down and write against them, not for the sake of some man or money.

**The pope is a heretic, exalting himself above God's word.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 24, 1538, p. 40.)

Augustine and others make this distinction between a heretic, a schismatic, and a bad Christian: a heretic is one who deviates from the articles of faith; a schismatic is one who holds the same faith but disagrees because of some customs; a bad Christian is one who holds both but lives evil. They dare not call us heretics, but schismatics. But the pope is a heretic for me and I for him, because he is the opponent of Christ, and I the opponent of the pope (antipope). For he, the pope, unashamedly teaches that the priesthood of Christ is transferred to the governor of Christ, and thus denies the eternal priesthood of Christ.

4) Cf. § 85 of this Cap. at the end.



Just look at the two cuncta 105 of this chapter] in his decree, where he rises with great majesty above the authority of the Scriptures. In the interpretation of Scripture, he admits the Fathers, but when it comes to judging individual cases, he prefers the prestige of the apostolic chair, because he himself wants to be the Lord of Scripture, over whom no one is to judge. That is why he already flashes against me, also against his own canons. For he himself says: Custom shall give way to truth, in the 19th Distinction, and adds the example of King Hezekiah, who destroyed the bronze serpent (2 Kings 18:4). However, he does not follow this canon at all. For he does not want to give way to the truth in his countless, palpable errors. This is the most serious thing, that the youth does not see these errors, nor does he know them, nor does he think differently, as if it had always been so in the course of the Gospel. God led me strangely into the game of attacking the dragon, so that I disturbed monks and nuns and hanged the pope over it. If we had respected the word of God, those errors and idolatries would not have arisen. Let us, I beg you, follow this advice of God: "This is what you shall hear. (Matth. 17, 5.) Let us stay with the dear son and doctor.

#### **The Pabstical denies the power of godliness.**

The papacy has a beautiful, glittering worship, praises God's word, faith, Christ, sacrament, love, hope, etc., but denies the power of all this, teaches that it is radically contrary and alien. That is why St. Paul says in 2 Tim. 3, 5 that they "deny the power of godliness"; does not mean that they do not have godliness after their life, or that they deny godliness, but that they deny their power with false and superstitious teaching.

#### **The Roman church ship.**

D. Martinus showed a tablet on which was painted how the pope with his superstition and idolatry has betrayed the whole world; namely: the church little ship was full of monks and priests, who handed and threw

The pope sat with the patriarchs, cardinals and bishops in the back of the ship, overshadowed and covered with the Holy Spirit, and looked toward heaven. This is a very old painting, conceived and poetized by a Pauline monk in Venice, which we have all believed to be an article of faith, indeed, against the Christian faith.

So it was with the Veronica in Rome, which is only a black board hung with two silk cloths, since only one is taken away and shown. Thus, the people are persuaded with a fictitious picture, as if it were properly painted, and yet it is only a black panel, on which nothing is not written. So are the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome, carved in the courtyard of St. Peter's Cathedral, over which these verses are written against the morning and the exit of the sun:

**Ecclesiam pro mari rego, mihi climata mundi Sunt mare, scripturae retia, piscis homo.**

This is:

The church I rule for the sea, The whole world is for the sea me. The holy scripture is the net of mine, there to fahn people to be the fish.

This is Pabst's glory and triumph.

#### **The blasphemy of Tetzal and the ingratitude of the world.**

When Tetzal's blasphemy was spoken of, and he spoke of his lies with splendid, pompous words, D. Martinus said: "We are in the utmost blindness and blasphemy. Martinus said: "We are stuck in extreme blindness and blasphemy; now, because we have been redeemed from this through the Gospel, by the pure grace of God, we are also ungrateful on our part, even full, provoking God to anger from both parts with horrible blasphemies and ingratitude.

Oh, dear God, do not punish us according to our sins; help us to mend our ways. If then we are scolded and patronized for our ingratitude, let us easily recover from our loss; but our adversaries must be overthrown and fall to the ground, for they overdo it with their blasphemy.

### **The first is the first of the two.**

Satan, the worst enemy of the Lord Christ and His gospel, has suffered all idols to be worshipped, onions, garlic, serpents, priests, farts and such shameful abominations; as St. Paul Rom. 1:21, 23. They have "given to creatures the glory that is due to God alone, and have changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image like that of corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed and creeping animals"; nor has the wicked forgotten the monk's cap, that one puts it on the dead, and thereby eradicates sin.

This superstition and idolatry is such a great abomination that if I had not seen it with my eyes, and if it had been written alone, that it had been so, I would not have believed it. And it has come about that almost all kings have accepted an order: The king in France St. Michael's order; England St. George's order; the emperor the golden coat 2c. Thus such abominable errors have captured and taken over the hearts of all men. This has been the devil's desire, joy and pleasure. The pope knew this well and proved it when he fulfilled the will of his creator, the devil, and despised God and man. And now, the brighter the gospel comes to light, the more brazenly he sins. He has filled all the kingdoms with cardinals, who are weaklings, effeminate and unlearned asses, lying in king's courts, in women's rooms and courting. He has taken over all countries with cardinals and bishops. Our Germany is even filled with bishops, for there are probably forty bishoprics, except for the abbeys and monasteries, which are richer than the bishoprics. Again, only about 28 principalities are found in Germany. Thus, the bishops are much more powerful than the princes in Germany. That is why the papists are so defiant, relying on their money and force; and we do not see that in these twenty years a single bishop has converted and reformed.

The bishop of M., since he had the prophets

read in our Bible, is said to have said: If I find nothing in it, but how we are scolded as priests? And it is true that the writings of the prophets are like thunderbolts against the false prophets and bishops. That is why the papists' great troop supports 1) and maintains the pope's kingdom and captures and imprisons all countries. But the German princes do not pay attention to this and do not want to notice how the pope devours and eats up the whole world, according to the prophecy of Daniel.

### **127 The Pabst's Faith.**

The pope thinks: Should I give way to a single monk who wants to take away my crown and majesty? Oh, that is not for me to advise. Oh! I would give both my hands, which I would not like to lose one of, so that I could believe in Christ as firmly and surely as he, the pope, believes that Christ is nothing.

### **The pope devastates all the order of God.**

The pope, the antichrist of Rome, is subject to destroy everything that is God's and to set up his abominations. Because he condemns church, worldly and house regiment. These three hierarchies and orders of God, without which the world cannot exist, he shits. Because from the household come fruits of the body, children and multiplication of many persons. From the worldly government come laws, order, rights, protection and protection from unrighteous violence. From the church eternal life and blessedness. Therefore, God is not unreasonably angry with the pope; it is no wonder that sometimes a city perishes, becomes theurial, war breaks out, and all kinds of plagues, pestilences and diseases come. But in all these there is more mercy than wrath. For though one or some perish and die, yet many remain alive. If one is a murderer and a slayer, there are many who protect him; if one year there is war because of the wickedness of the land, there are many years of peace.

1) So Stangwald instead of "stötzelt".

**The papists' spiritual state is a godless state, and yet they want to govern and reform the church.**

The papists boast that they are the Church and that the authority of the Council is with them; they want to have the power to assemble it, to recognize and conclude it, and they want to reform everything; since they have neither knowledge nor understanding of the Holy Scriptures, know less about them than a child, and are much worse than the Sadducees, 1) who, to some extent, kept a fine outward discipline and conduct; but these, the Papists, are utterly godless, blasphemers and sodomites, and still want to reform the church with outward ceremonies and customs: But if the doctrine is not reformed, it is in vain that one dares to reform the ceremonies and the life. . For superstition, superstition, and pretended holiness or hypocrisy cannot be known but by word and faith, since there are two kinds of holiness: one essential or internal, which is righteous in itself; the other accidental, or external, or hypocritical. So, St. Francis was righteous, essentially and inwardly holy, through faith in Jesus Christ, but after that he was deceived by outward and hypocritical holiness. It is neither a natural nor a formally accidental thing, but an abominable, unnatural monster.

Oh, dear Lord God, shall we go to heaven with our clothes on, since we have to stay outside with this flesh, skin and hair, as it is now? We must not take on ourselves caps or ropes; we would have caps and orders enough, and enough to do, each in his profession and state: a preacher with his teaching; a magistrate with his governing; a schoolmaster with his teaching and instructing, to keep the boys in good discipline and obedience. Thus the whole world is filled with monks' caps, more than we can bear. My cap, which I now have to wear, has more than a hundred thousand folds; and so every man's profession weighs him down and weighs him down.

1) Cf. § 131 of this Cap.

**130 The fornication of the papists.**

Pope Paul the Third had a sister. Before he became pope, he gave her to the pope as a bridegroom, and thus earned that he was made a cardinal. Then he immediately left his wife and took her from him, for he was in wedlock and had begotten a son, who is now a cardinal. The popes have done such disgraceful deeds that go far beyond human thoughts. The priests had to give him, as a whore landlord, a florin from their cooks when they had a child, which was called a milk penny, and likewise a florin from the mother. And finally, all priests were allowed to have whores with them, without all shame and disgrace, from which they fled like the devil from incense. As it is also forbidden in the spiritual law. .

I know of a city where the priests' cooks were held in great honor at weddings and in bathhouses, and they were called Frau Dechantin, Frau Pröbstin, Frau Sängerin 2c. according to the offices their masters held. Therefore, D. Staupitz jokingly reproached the bishop of M[inz], saying: He would be the greatest whoremaster in Germany, because no whoremaster, even in the richest house of muhmen, would not have more than fifty florins annually for interest, but he would have five hundred florins, and probably more. The bishop laughed and said, "Yes, that's how they pay the clerks in the chancellery.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, Sept. 12, 1538, p. 130.)

A canon at Wuerzburg took away by force from a bridegroom his just married wife and said: "If it pleases you, allow it, then you shall have mercy on me, your Lord; but if not, then you must still suffer it. He replied, "These are sodomitical [sins] that cry out to heaven, as it is said in Genesis 6 (v. 2), "They took as wives whom they pleased," nor did they shun blood relations.

**131. vain glory of the popes.**

What is it that the papists boast that they are the church § since they are the church's enemies?

and know nothing of the Holy Scriptures, much less understand them. Popes, cardinals, bishops have never read the Bible, it is alien to them, indeed, they are lazy, idle, rich guards, who rely on their power, consider and care for nothing less than God's will; as Erasmi's Dialogus by Pope Julio indicates. The Sadducees were much more pious than the Papists, who were outwardly pious; but the Papists are utterly godless, blasphemers and sodomites. Our dear Lord God protect us from their holiness. Let us pray against security, for out of it comes ingratitude, then contempt, soon blasphemy, and finally persecution. Thus the devil leads us to the utmost.

**132) When the article of the resurrection of the dead is to be believed in the papacy. 1)**

In the Lateran Council, which was held in the year after Christ's birth in 1515 during the life of Pope Julii and was completed after his death under Pope Leo, it was first recognized and decided that one should believe in the resurrection of the dead, and that a cardinal should have five boys as paramours and eunuchs; which, however, Pope Leo subsequently changed. There must be something behind it, from which a devastation will follow. Therefore let us pray; they will have to fall who still want to defend this.

**The book of the birth of the desolate abomination of the Antichrist, who is a son.  
of hypocrisy, the son of the devil.**

(As Stangwald notes p. 846, this pasquill is not by Luther, but by another theologian, therefore omitted).

**134) The lies of the Antichrist. 2)**

(Lauterbach, March 27, 1538, p. 49.)

After that, someone said of the Antichrist's imaginings, whose kingdom, as they would have dreamed, would come not long before the Last Day-

with many signs and punishments, so that the people would live so without understanding that they would not become aware that the Antichrist was already reigning. Luther answered: They are fiction, but much agrees with Daniel. For the judgment of the pope is fire. He attacks with fire. The Turk strikes with sabers. The Antichrist punishes with fire and will be punished with fire according to the proverb: You have thirsted for blood, drink blood. The pope is already trembling and in a certain way he is excelling and cloaking the fox, because he himself is being gnawed by his defenders. Henry, the Duke of Brunswick, seizes the bishopric of Hildesheim, the emperor has invaded the two bishoprics of Liège sand] Frankstein, and the pope agrees. The pope has to suffer this and you will see even greater things, although the pope hopes for the end of the sickness attack and that he can flash against the invaders.

**135. of the pope's and his ignorance and blindness in the matters of god.**

(Lauterbach, March 27, 1538, p. 48.)

Then Erasmus of Rotterdam was remembered, a very good and very learned man, who, however, having been corrupted by Venice and Rome, had turned to Epicurism, which he kept hidden. However, he praised the Arians more than the orthodox (Catholicos). For he dared to claim that Christ was called God only once in the whole New Testament, John 20 [v. 28]: "My Lord, and my God"; by concluding: "Behold, Christ is called God only once, more often man and son of man. If Christ were more often called God and Son of God, and not man, the Manichaeans would be given the opportunity. How should our Lord God do it? Well, Erasmus is gone. I have forgiven him all his attacks, but I cannot stand his Catechism, in which he teaches nothing certain, but confuses and casts doubt on everything and wants to make the youth doubtful. This is what the Roman court and Epicurism set up. We also have in Germany a whole society of Epicurians: the Crotus, Mutianus,

1) This § in other relation, Cap. 27, § 21, para. 4.

2) Another redaction of this §, also by Lauterbach, is Cap. 27, § 65.

Justus Menius. 1) In short, the Italians are nefarious and epicurean. No pope nor cardinal has read the Bible in six hundred years. They understand less of the Catechism than my little daughter. God protect us from such blindness and leave us his divine word. The papists realize their shame and fear their own conscience. They do not fear us because they take heart and say: Olim passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem. [Aen. I, 199.] [i.e. We have endured heavier things in the past, God will put an end to this thing too? The seizure will cease one day. Hence the saying arose among the papists: Peter's little ship sways, but it does not sink. But the heart has slipped away from them through their own conscience. They innocently strangled the pious Johannes Huß, who did not deviate from the papacy by the width of a nail. He only taught and plucked at life and morality; he sinned nothing against Pabstism, just as Christ committed nothing against the Pharisees and yet had to die. But now Johannes Huß must be smelled, according to the prophecy of Johannes Hilten in Eisenach, who is also killed in our time; he is said to have said while dying: Another will come and you will see him. That prophecy happened when I was a young man. In short, the perilous times are already here, as Paul laments, "For there will be a time" 2c. [Luther read the whole text and said: "When I read this passage, I thought of Turks and Jews and not of Rome, since he clearly tells us to go away from the pope and paints us the monks honestly. No one believes that these are words of the Holy Spirit who reminds us. Peter in his letter [2 Petr. 2, 13. ff.] describes them excellently as proud in words, since nothing is behind, φιλήδονους [devoted to pleasure], who live there without shyness, without work.

### 136. Daniel's prophecy from the pope.

Daniel, Cap. 12, 1. [11, 36.], has foretold of a tyrant, who "will want to be

against the God of gods, and against everything that is called God", that is, against all divine order, and against all worship, and what is called God, whom we honor, and who is preached in the church. This is the right description of the pope, because he is against the church, the police and the household. He is against the church, the police and the household, against God's word, the authorities and the married state.

### The Papal Church is not the Christian Church.

The Bishop of Mainz said: 2) I know that we have an unjust and evil thing, and that Luther's teaching is right, nevertheless we do not want to accept it. Likewise, the Cardinal of Salzburg, Bishop Lang, said: 3) We know and it is written in our consciences that it is right and just that the priests may become married, and that marriage is better than the abominable and shameful fornication practiced by the priests, but we do not want to change it; for the Emperor will not let Germany be disturbed for the sake of consciences.

What is that different from despising God? They are devilish words. God, in turn, also mocks them; as we see that emperors, kings, princes and all imperial cities fall away from them, and they can neither protect nor excuse themselves any more than with the name of the church, and nevertheless rage and rage against their own conscience. For they know well that the church is subject to God's word, and cannot be anywhere except where Christ is taught and preached. Now they must confess, even against their thanks, that our teaching is Christ's teaching. Why then will they not hear us?

The boys know that the papacy is not. The boys know that the papacy is not God's church, yet they all cry out in unison; and they know that they cannot exist or protect themselves with this title, yet they want to protect themselves with it. The church is where Christ is taught and preached. We teach Christ, as they themselves say, and yet they do not want to hear us; therefore the papacy is not God's church. Nor will we yield nor allow God to be over the church, and not the church over God.

2) Cf. Cap. 9, § 4.

3) Cf. § 54 of this Cap. towards the end.

1) Seidemann: Cf. my references in Burkhardt p. 198 s.

### 138 The Papists' Deception.

(Lauterbach, May 12, 1538, p. 81.)

In these days came from England the servant of D. Johannes Thixtollus, Remigius, who said many praiseworthy and glorious things about the country and the government, how they hoped with great desire for the gospel; even some bishops taught sincerely against the abominable abomination of Pabstism. The name of the Wittenbergers, Luther's and Philip's, was highly famous, and those were already held in honor who had only been in Wittenberg and could tell something about it. He said of the very well cultivated land of their region, and told of the frauds of the monks at Candelbrugk, who had made a Crucifix with changeable countenances, [movable] mouth, lips; it could bend, had features and buttons on the back, and many people would have been moved to the highest veneration; but now in the last few weeks the intrigues had been revealed by the visit of the king, and shown publicly by the bishop in London. And at last, he said, this image had been led through the streets everywhere and destroyed. Luther replied: "The image should be kept in memory, as our Elector has an image of the Holy Virgin, who carries the infant Jesus in her arms, which would also be movable by its features, because it would not have wanted to look at the praying people, but turned towards its mother, so that they would seek mediation there, 1) and then it turned with outstretched arms towards the praying people.

### 139. from the papist mass, as they are now flowering.

(Cordatus No. 531.)

We have very great refuters of our apology. Faber writes against the article of justification. Eck against the power of the pope and human traditions; Cochläus against the marriage of priests and for the invocation of the saints. Now they call the mass a mysterious sacrifice. Let them go here.

I want to coat their stilts. Those boys recant everything; for they have called the mass a justifying, sufficient and propitiatory sacrifice, and which would be above all good for sale. But if it is a secret, that is, a sealed one, then it is not a true sacrifice, and the people will withdraw their hand.

### 140 The papists' murderousness.

(Cordatus No. 250.)

Under Leo the Tenth there were two monks in the Augustinian monastery, 2) who, moved by the infamy of the papacy, had spoken something against the pope in their sermons; and behold, in one night assassins entered, cut off the heads of both of them and stuck their cut-out tongues in their buttocks. Julius treated Egidius, a very learned Roman, more humanly, although he had spoken very sharply against him, as he once did in a sermon to the Roman citizens, which he began: "Go to the castle which is against you, for it is called the Castle of the Holy Angel [Engelsburg], the Pope's trust and confidence, the fortress. This one, who was also an Augustinian monk, Julius made Cardinal. Cordatus was present at this sermon. 3)

### 141 Another of the Papist Murderers.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 6, 1538, p. 110.)

On August 6, a letter arrived from Bucer, in which it was announced that the Council in Vicenza had ended, and that the Cardinals had left, and that in many large cities the Gospel was being preached publicly with great constancy, in Piacenza, Bologna, and that the Pope was very angry. He had called a German, named Corfontius, to Rome with a safe escort 4). When he arrived there and wanted to go to the pope, he was thrown from the bridge into the Tiber. He answered: "This is the faithfulness of the papists. Blessed is he who does not trust the scoundrels in this way.

2) In Rome.

3) For this section, see Cap. 77, 81, third paragraph.

4) In the original: dona üäs. From it refers afterwards: üäs8 Italy, the French loyalty.

1) Instead of quaereret, with Bindseil III, 252, quaerent might be read.

But if those in Italy remain firm in preaching the gospel, it will cost much blood. Behold, they have plotted against us from day to day in Germany with marvelous plots, that we are not safe from them for an hour, since they have decided, only this summer, on various cunning war plots against us in many places. If the Lord had not watched over us, we would have long since slept through it. As in these days, the landgrave has occupied Münster as a lord, with the bishop's permission. The imperial forces tried to capture this city in every possible way.

#### 142: The Pabst's Mouth.

The 37th Psalm was read at the table, in which David speaks of the trouble when the wicked are rich and prosperous, mocking the poor and afflicted saints, as if God knew and respected them nothing. But they and their holy works, what they teach and say, must be a delicious thing, and entirely heavenly, divine wisdom and holiness; their person boasts like a fat belly; they do what they only think of; they destroy everything, and speak evil of it, and speak and blaspheme higher. What they speak must be spoken from heaven; what they say must be valid on earth 2c.

Thus is the teaching of the pope about his power: You are Peter 2c. and about indulgences 2c., so that they challenged Johann Hussen and me, and brought them on the plan; for they stopped, pressed hard on it, closed and said: Because the pope says it, one must believe it. Although Johannes Huß has not yet understood correctly what the papacy is, he has only recognized some abuses, and has argued from the life of the person of the pope. But we go from the person and life to his doctrine, which we dispute, and say: If the pope were St. Peter, he would be a godless knave and devil.

#### The first is the first of a series of new books.

(Cordatus No. 508.)

When someone asked how St. James had come to Compostella, he replied:

How it happened that eighteen apostles were buried in Germany, when Christ had only twelve. For in Tolosa 1) six are buried, one of them is Matthias, who is also buried in Trier, likewise in Rome. And what do they boast of the milk of the Virgin Mary? Of the hay from the manger of Christ? When a priest had stolen this from the box of a stationer 2) and put coals in it for him, and the latter wanted to show it in the pulpit, he found coals instead of the hay; then the stationer lied out of it quite nicely: he had not taken the right box, because in this one the coals were contained, with which Laurentius would have been roasted. Not only did we believe such big lies, but they were also honored with all our money and goods. Now they despise not only the word but also its servants, so much so that poor people are dying of hunger. And in this they do not accept any admonition. The visitors do not do anything, because one waits for God as a visitor of such great ingratitude.

#### The abominations of the papists should not be forgotten.

(Cordatus No. 1469.)

One should not give it to the papists and expose them again, because they want to burn themselves white again. They should be disgraced with facts, examples and their own teachings. Just read Gabriel 3) about the Canon of the Mass, which

1) Here is an error in the Latin manuscript: Nam Tolosae et sepulti sunt, which gives no sense. The assumptions, which Mr. D. Wrampelmeyer makes, do not give any satisfaction. Therefore, we have seen ourselves compelled to leave it in this case with the reading of Aurifaber's table speeches, which at least gives a sense. Tolosa may not mean Toulouse, but the city in Spain. Whether there should be apostle graves there, we do not know of course. That Luther would count Toulouse or Tolosa to Germany does not follow, just as little as that he would have counted Rome, which is mentioned immediately after, to Germany. Luther only wants to say that there are such fictitious sanctuaries in great numbers at all ends of the world: what wonder that in Germany alone eighteen apostles are buried, or St. James in Compostella?

2) Reliquaries. Cf. No. 791 in § 72 of this chapter" where Stutionuriu8 grutlus stands for Ablaßkrämer.

3) Gabriel Viel from Speier, the last important nominalist scholastic, provost at Urach and since 1484 teacher of theology at Tübingen, died 1495.

is the best book of the papists, nor how shameful thing is in it! It was my best book before times.

#### 145 Of the feast of Corporis Christi.

(Cordatus No. 1470.)

The Corpus Christi feast, the most apparent of all, has suppressed the institution of Christ by its pretense and ceremonies. Beware of such services.

#### 146 Pillars of the Pabstium.

The pabst is the true antichrist, 1 Tim. 4, 1. His castle and fortress is Maosim, that is, the mass; as Daniel says when he calls him a destroyer of religion and the household, worship and women, Dan. 12, 1. 2. 3. [11, 36. 37. 38.] What? The papacy has abolished the grace of religion and faith.

#### 147 The Papist Prayer.

The papists pray these words daily: God is love 2c. And no one is further from love than they themselves.

#### 148 Of the Jubilee Year.

(Cordatus No. 612.)

The jubilee year in the old confederation was a very common service, namely every fifty years. The pope followed this with the golden gate, which is rightly called so because it brought the pope innumerable gold. Since this very large profit had always increased, it pleased the pope more and more. That is why he postponed the jubilee years from one hundred years to the fiftieth, then to the twenty-fifth, and also to the fifteenth, yes, even to the seventh year, so that he would always have fresh money, so that the years were also too long for him. This he did, and all praised it 2c.

#### 149. the pope's stubbornness, fierceness and persecution.

(Cordatus No. 1500.)

The fire in Neudruck 1) is the sign of a great wrath of God; because the citizens

1) Perhaps Neumarkt, now part of Halle, is meant. (Wrampelmeyer.)

say that within two hours everything stood and was consumed by fire and collapsed, and the fire was no different than if there had been three soldiers in each house who had set it on fire with powder, and even in that way such a conflagration could not have happened. And yet the papists do not go into themselves, but erect a church again at the greatest expense to the disgrace of the gospel, as if their worship were eternal and the gospel would perish, just as those at Erfurt do, who restore two towers of an eternal building. But they will see that their audacity will come to an end through the gospel.

(Here 9 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 4, § 3.)

#### 150: The Papist Tyranny.

On April 3, letters arrived from an honest citizen, 2) in which it was stated how Duke George 3) was cruelly tyrannizing, and wanted to force all his subjects under the papist statutes, to obey the same, but especially to the Sacrament under one figure. And whoever did not want to do it, and died because of it, should be dragged by the gravedigger on a cart or a bow out to the unconsecrated early in the morning, buried without ringing and singing, chanting and chanting; as recently happened to D. Specht, who was nevertheless Christianly different. For one.

Secondly: Eighty persons were examined and interrogated by the council on account of the Lutheran doctrine, and sought and urged among them that they wanted to renounce it; but by the grace of God, they had almost all constantly made their confession. But he, the same citizen, would have answered: I have confessed, and confess gladly, for it is my greatest consolation, but I have not yet received the sacrament in both forms, but I will do so, and I appended it to the same letter: My date is out to the gate, God strengthen me. Then Doctor Martinus said, "May God grant this," and read a note in which a very frightful

2) Gengelbach in Leipzig. Bindseil 1, 137.

3) Thus Bindseil 1, 138.



The bishop of Merseburg had driven him to recant the Gospel and to condemn the Sacrament, taken in both forms, as the highest heresy, along with the entire Lutheran doctrine, and he thanked God that he had repented, and had again come to terms, offered to suffer everything about it. This I swear by God and His holy Gospel. 1)

Thirdly, he read a printed document, issued by the bishop of Meissen, in which he announced that he wanted to confirm children at Easter; therefore they should come to Meissen at the same time and have the children confirmed, praised and praised the confirmation very much, but childishly enough, not to mention unchristian. Martinus said: "This will not end well, they will go to ruin with it, because they are doing against their conscience, because they have confessed that we are not heretics; they say that our doctrine is God's word, but they do not want to suffer it, much less accept it; they are going straight against the peace that is given by the imperial majesty, but they will not achieve anything with it. God's power is wondrous; the more they rage, the more Christ rules, as Psalm 110, v. 2, says: "Rule among your enemies. As if he wanted to say: You must have me, you will or you will not. This they will learn within a few years, if the world stands otherwise, as the gospel will take revenge against the godless nature of the pope, the bishops and the cathedral pontiffs, who persecute the recognized truth, as they themselves say it is true, and speak: Because we do not like it, we do not want to accept it, nor allow others to accept it. So they do not want to give way at all; they are worried that they will lose their power and goods. For the sacrificial measure and the celibate state are the two pillars of the priesthood, on which it is founded and built; which Christ our Samson made strong, and shall fall with great hurt to the world.

1) This is the oath formula imposed by Duke George on his subjects. Cf. Walch, old edition, Vol. XIX,

#### 151. oath of those who are to recant and renounce their error.

(This § is Walch, old edition, Vol. XIX, 2277, No. XXVII.)

#### 152. form of the oath of revocation.

(Here a paragraph is omitted because contained in Walch, old edition, Vol. XIX, 2276, No. XXVI.)

Then D. S. asked: 2) Whether D. Martinus was crying that Duke George was seriously pursuing the gospel? Said the doctor: Yes, he is so blinded that he cannot stand the truth. In the first he publicly resisted the truth out of a hatred which he himself knew to be the right truth; but because he knowingly strove against it, out of pure malice, God has struck him with blindness and madness, so that now in broad daylight, like a blind man groping toward the wall, he can no longer see or recognize the truth, must accept lies for truth, darkness for light.

But there are two cases. 3) The first happens out of weakness, as St. Peter fell, which God can well credit and forgive. For he says: "Well then, because you know me for a Lord, believe my word and give me honor, go away, be forgiven, do it no more. The other case is done out of stubbornness and willfulness, as when one confesses and says, "Yes, this is God's word; nevertheless fight and strive against it. That is the devil, there is no more counsel nor help.

One of them said: Duke George 4) nevertheless keeps a good regiment, is a fine, wise prince who governs well? Answered D. Martinus: Let it be that he is a fine prince of the world, what does our Lord God care about that? For with such an appearance and such a masquerade he is wont to deceive the world and to make it a nose that looks only at such worldly virtues, which also many godless kings, princes and lords, even among the Gentiles, have had; as, Saul, Ahab, Aristides, Augustus, and such like rulers, have been fine skilful worldly men, who governed well.

2) D. Sebalduus of Nuremberg. Bindseil 1, 140.

3) Cf. Cap. 13, §51, third paragraph; Cap. 9, 856.

4) Thus Bindseil 1, 140.

and had great fortune, as our Lord God casts such outward temporal gifts into the Rapuse. 1) But David, the pious, God-fearing king, though he was fortunate enough, for he had conquered the Philistines, the Moabites, the Edomites, the Syrians 2c.; yet he was miserable at home in his house, a miserable, sorrowful man, all was full of trouble, because of adultery and murder: there the brother slept with the sister, one murdered the other: Absalom stirred up rebellion against his own father, whom he drove out of the kingdom. And even though his reign was not as happy and respectable as that of the other godless kings, as far as the outward appearance was concerned, he still had God's word pure, which he honored and promoted with faithful diligence, thus breaking the heart of our Lord God, which the others did not do, therefore they also had to go to ruin and perish miserably.

### 153 The Malice of the Papists.

(Cordatus No. 1363. 1364.)

If I had not been a doctor, the devil would have given me a lot of trouble; for it is not so easy to attack things and to accuse the whole papacy, and nevertheless I would have gladly obeyed the pope and all the bishops, but since they do not want my obedience unless I deny Christ and his gospel, I would rather challenge them than make God a liar.

In baptism and in the first commandment, we all vow to hold fast to God, and in all the temptations we overcome, this vow of ours is renewed. Otherwise I would have died long ago.

### Whether the pope is about a concilium.

Doctor Luther said that Gerson was the first one whom our Lord God started to enlighten in this last time of the world, and he has been comforting to many people and consciences. But the pope condemned him, because he started to dispute,

whether the pope was about a concilium; and wrote a Dialogum about it, which pleased me exceedingly. He introduces two persons, as the Detrectatorem and Adulatorem, the disputed ones of the pope. He would have liked to have found a medium that one should not give the pope too much, nor too little.

At Augsburg, Anno 1518, when I appealed to a concilium from the pope, the Cardinal called me a Gersonist; then I answered: I do it by command and order of the Concilii at Costrnitz, because the same has first opposed the pope, and the pope has deposed three. Then the Cardinal said: O est reprobatum illud Concilium, it is no longer valid; for the pope wanted to be above the Concilia and above God's word. But because now the bright light of the Gospel shines, there is a great contempt for the divine word. And this is what the Lord Christ says John 3:19: "This is the judgment, that the light came into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light." However, in the same place he also says: "Believe in the light, because you have it, so that you may be children of the light", Joh. 12, 35. But we do not listen and do not let ourselves be told, we also do like the Jews. Luther once said this to Hieronymo Besoldo of Nuremberg.

D. Martinus also said at another time to M. Veit Dietrich: that Panormitanus Canonista pretended that *privati hominis sententia praeferenda sit toti Concilio, si sit rationalis, aut melior, testimoniis Scripturae confirmata*; and introduced the example of Paphnutii. But for the sake of his opinion he was excommunicated by the pope. cirt.

### 155 M. Veit Ammerbach's pretense that the pope should be the external head of the church.

There was a professor artium at Wittenberg, named M. Vitus Ammerbachius, who pretended that in the Christian church there should nevertheless be an external head, and that one should recognize and accept the pope for such a head. M. Luther said: "Graecia has never been under the pope, India, nor Scythia, like St. Hierony.

1) Cf. cap. 2, § 129.

mus writes, since yet many more devout Christians have been. How do they come with the lazy argument, quod Ecclesia debet habere externum caput, videlicet Romanum Pontificem? But the whole Historia Ecclesiastica is against it, the whole Occidens has not been sub Papa, Totus Oriens also not. It is only a Superbia with Ammerbach. O Lord God, who thus falls, that is a case above all cases. I am sorry for him, he will fall into other errors more. They are poor people, they do not think of the hour that will come to them.

Luther further said: "Wittenberg nevertheless gives quite a lot of swarms. But how to do it? It is said, as St. John says in his first epistle, Cap. 2, 19: "They went out from us, but were not of us." The false apostles and brothers had to come from the apostles. Where does the devil come from? From angels. Where do the harlots come from? From virgins. Where do the jacks come from? From pious people. The evil thing must come from the good. Where did Cain come from? From Adam and Eve.

#### **The papists' lies are public.**

(Lauterbach, May 21, 1538, p. 84.)

The papists boast much against us of this example: Arius also ruled for a long time, more than four years, 1) and then he was ruined; the same will happen to the Lutherans. To them I answer: Arius ruled with his sect for about three hundred years, but because it was a heresy, it fell. Our opponents, however, are forced to approve our [doctrine] against their will; both the cause itself and the truth are there, but their lies come to light.

#### **The pope is a lion and a dragon.**

It is impossible that the pope can rest, if he already tolerates and bites the inflicted damage; however, he intends to avenge such dishonor with clandestine stratagems and tricks,

1) This time refers to the person of Arius, the other, three hundred years, to his followers, the Arians.

how and when he can. But it is easier to overcome a lion than a dragon. Thus St. Augustine says of the devil that he was a lion in the time of the martyrs and a dragon in the time of the heretics. Therefore let us watch and pray; for though we have martyred him in body, yet his soul still lives. Let us pray without ceasing and with confidence, for it is of great need, "for we have to contend, not with flesh and blood, but with the evil spirits in the air," Eph. 6:12.

The king of England despises the pope's body, has rejected his ban and canonization, and has thrown off his yoke; but he still keeps his doctrine, still holds it dear and valuable. But the pope will not give it to him, he will bewitch him and sneak behind him with deceit and secret tricks and practices. For this king's apostasy is a bad example for Pabst's kingdom. After that, the other kings should do the same.

#### **158 The Malice of the Papists.**

It is unspeakable how great and insolent the wickedness and godlessness of the papists is. For, although they must confess that our doctrine is the right, true word of God, they dispute it and persecute it. If they taught it, it would and should be right; but because we say and teach it, it must be wrong. This is the regnum mundi, the kingdom of the world, and the devil's office, where the consequence is denied, and what goes before is admitted. This is a sin that comes not from error but from hardened malice. For even natural reason must say and conclude: If God has commanded it, then one should keep it justly. Neither would N. N. or any other prince and lord suffer that a magistrate should despise his commandment.

#### **The papists' tyranny and despotism.**

In 1539, February 21, D. C[aspar] Z[euener] 2) came to D. Martino, whom he comforted.

2) Aurifaber does have "Cellarius" as a marginal gloss, but because Rebenstock I, 78d. and Bindseil I, 143 agree: ^ttno 1539. 21 Januarii Oasxar 2in6rus vocatus in xastoreni ^riderZensern, we think the latter is more correct.

and courageously made him his appointment: because it would be God's work, he should be called upon to promote and bless the work he had begun, and to give capable servants and to raise them in pure doctrine. He also promised him that by order of the Elector, the visitators would come there in the most beneficial way and do the execution, so that he would resist the little snappers who wanted to seize the spiritual and church properties.

The devil gets in the way everywhere, so that he hinders the course of God's word. With us he does it through ingratitude and security and false brethren; thus he makes people hostile to us, thus he ropes them away from us. With foreigners and in foreign nations he does it through tyranny and murder. For in France so many people have been killed and strangled for the sake of the teaching of the Gospel that the king has finally had to forbid it to the theologians in the Sorbonne and the lords of parliament in Paris. Likewise the heretics in Hispania, if they seized one, the emperor was unable to exorcise him.

In Paris, 1) for the sake of a few words, which were in accordance with God's word, they pulled a pious, honest citizen up to a high place in front of his house, tied him to a gallows with a chain around the middle of his body, put a fire under him, let him roast for a while, and after that, when he was well tortured and martyred, let him fall into the fire, so that he completely burned to powder; his wife, who was pregnant, and his little children had to see such horrible spectacles, and after that all their goods were confiscated and taken away from them, so that he should have said once: It would be too much to give the Mother of God the honor that is due only to her Son, who alone is our only mediator and intercessor.

#### 169. exhortation to patience in such tyranny.

It is better, said D. Martinus, that we overcome it with patience, rather than that Germany

1) Stangwald: Anno 1535.

should cause a commotion and make a noise. For Germany is a large body, and if it becomes quite active, it cannot go without great harm. As we saw and experienced in the Peasants' Revolt (1525), for the sake of a cold cause, how in such a short time such a great outrage got out of hand and increased, be silent, if the princes and estates would do together, since we were silent about it. Oh, the papists have not done with it. Even if they were to extinguish us Wittenbergs or Saxons, they would still prepare and arouse a great fire from a small spark. Therefore let us pray for peace and that they may be converted. But they would rather perish and perish with us, they are so hostile to us.

#### 161. belly servants, who do it the way you want it, hang the coat to the wind.

It was said of D. Peter G., 2) pastor of D[resder], who was a great persecutor of the gospel, that he had improved; for he claimed that he had had to do much against his will, forced to do so; but now he wanted to follow the gospel and preach the same, so that he would remain in office. Such companions, said D. Martinus, are the papist ventriloquists, hanging their coats after the wind blows, following the time and the weather, seeking only their own, not God's glory, nor man's salvation. Nothing can be built on them.

#### The bitter hatred of the papists.

Doctor Martino was sent a printed booklet from the Imperial Diet, in which a gruesome agenda, and next to it writings, were full of blood. When he had read it, he said with great astonishment: "This is a miracle of God, who has allowed such letters to come to light, in which the bloody plot and atrocious tyranny of the papists is revealed, and that such great lies, invented against the wholesome teachings of Christ, are made known.

2) Bindseil 1, 144: D. Peter Eisenberg.

Praise be to God, who watches for His own who sleep, but stops and prevents the enemies' bloody plots, runs and practices.

**163. persecution and rampage of the papists.**

Two cities in France over which Sadoletus had been placed were burned to the ground for the sake of the Gospel, so that even the infants were not spared. That is why Calvinus would have fled to Switzerland, admonishing them that they would not consent to such atrocious tyranny and that they would renounce the alliance before the king. Then said D. Martinus said: "These are terrible and cruel deeds; Calvinus is a learned man, but very suspicious of the error of the Sacrament. Oh dear God, keep us by your word.

**164. beginning of Luther's teaching with indulgences.**

When Johann Tetzel proclaimed his indulgence in the castle of Wittenberg in 1517, Andreas Carlstadt sent out propositions in which he argued that no one could be granted an indulgence if he first confessed in the castle church. Against this D. Luther had opposed it, disputing that it was a privilege and not a mandate; Carlstadt had become quite angry and said to Luther: "If he knew that he was speaking in earnest, I would accuse you of being a heretic before the pope.

**Doctor Luther has been fearless against the pope.**

(Contained in Cap. 24, z 114.)

**166. That D. M. Luther is silly, and yet leads a fine cause against the devil.**

On the Sunday after Michaelmas, Anno 1541, D. Martinus was very cheerful, and joked with

his good friends over tables, respected his art and skill very little, and said to one over tables: I am silly, but you are a prankster and much more learned in rebus oeconomicis et politicis than I am. I do not take care of things, but have to deal with the Ecclesia and must look at the devil's entrenchment. I believe that, if I were to give myself to the world, I would also notice it. I believe everyone, therefore I can be cheated; but as soon as I present myself before someone, he takes nothing from me. And he said to those who were sitting at the table: Do not blame me, I am happy and in good spirits, for today I have heard many evil newspapers and now I have also read an evil letter. Now it is right that the devil should befall us in this way.

We have a good won cause, and God is with us in the game, who will soon lead it out gloriously; for they, the papists, are overdoing it and are desperate boys. The pope wants to be judge over us, since he is part, and we have accused. Bishop Albrecht of Mainz wants to burn his own cities, and has now taken by force a prisoner in one city who was a Protestant. So other people attach themselves to the Turk and give him tribute. God will make up and judge the earth, and you will soon know. Just keep GOD quiet, they all have to go down. Thus, D. Staupitz used to say to me, even if he was sad and distressed: God grant patience, yet nothing remains unpunished, and all history testifies that God comes and finally punishes. It is already from this that one wants to consider Luther a prophet and apostle, because he prophesied that there is nothing good in a papist. This is now found in the murder-burning. Let us wait a little. Although they are now burning themselves white because of it, but it does not help, Abel's blood cries out against them.

## The 28th chapter.

# Of the adversaries who have written against Luther

1. from Cochläo, Duke Georgs zu Sachsen theologo.
  2. from the seven kopsen Cochläi Wider Lutherum.
  3. from the Emser.
  4. emperor Carl's verdict by D. Eck and Faber.
- The Epicurer and Miser's Speech and Song.
6. the papists' letter against D. Martin.
  7. from your assassin to Dresden.
  8. 9. by D. Eck.
  10. by Carln von Miltitz.
  11. from Sadoleto.

12. from the Faber.
13. 14. D. Luther's admonition from the Lemnio.
15. from Faber.
16. from the joke.
17. of the joke's blasphemies.
18. godless promotion.
19. a different one from Witzel.
20. from the Latomo.
21. from a converted papist.

### 1. Bon Cochläo, Duke Georgens zu Sachsen Theologo.

(Cordatus No. 1738.)

Cochläus is called miH a changeling and a[r] bathmaid [son], 1) which cannot take place in one and the same being at the same time, because the latter is a natural man, but the latter a man exchanged by Satan. He is called *sus*, sow, grobianus, pig. I am surprised that you like to be so coarse. H[archduke] G[eorg] will gain as much from him as from Friesland. There he carried in a fool in his wamm and led out a fool, pastor 2) by name.

(Here 7 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 22, § 142.)

### 2. from the seven heads Cochläi, Wider Lutherum.

(Cordatus No. 348.)

Regarding the book "about the seven heads", which he [Cochläus] wrote against me, I said: All things please me well with the seven heads. But this is their sin and shame, that seven heads cannot bring about one neck, or be worth one neck. But the son of the margrave 3) is said to have said: Oho!

Now Luther will remain undefeated, having seven heads because they could not defeat his One Head before.

### 3. from Emser.

(Cordatus No. 346.)

I would never have believed that Emser was such a bad man as I now see in his New Testament. He knew better than he wrote. For he uses our translation, but in order to keep G[eorg] in favor, he has at times changed a word against his conscience and added his useless gibberish. But whom he has served, he will also reward now.

### 4. emperor Carl's verdict by D. Eck and Faber.

(Cordatus No. 851.)

The emperor said: Ferdinand holds up Faber and Eck. Should they defend [the] Christian faith, since one is a drunkard, the other a fornicator and a fool?

### The Epicurer and Miser's Speech and Song.

(Cordatus No. 898.)

Caesar Pflug, as a child of this world, once answered, since the gospel had been revealed: There must be idle people who deal with the gospel. As for stallions, buying houses, he would know what to do.

1) Cf. Lauterbach, April 16, 1538, p. 63: einer Bademagd Sohn.

2) His one-eyed court jester, who had previously been a swineherd. (Wrampelmeyer.)

3) The margrave's son is the later Joachim II, Elector of Brandenburg.

of, but of the Scriptures none shall ask him. Otherwise he shall have great wisdom, as befits the children of this world. 1)

#### 6. the papists' letter against Doctor Martin.

(Contained in Cap. 37, § 134.)

#### 7. bom assassin at Dresden.

The booklet against H[erzog] G[eorg] has not caused as much anger as two booklets: one against the imperial edict; the other: Warning to my dear Germans. H[archduke] G[eorg] could not stand that and wrote to the Elector about it; after that he executed the assassin. He is now doing the same with Rotzlöffel, the Cochläo; but I want to meet the master well. In this booklet, I am very lenient, I am very clean. But at last I will answer him, I will have the unconsecrated priests out, and beat down their sacrificial mass, so that they shall not know whether they have a sacrament on the altar or not.

#### 8. from Doctor Eck.

D. Martinus praised D. Eck, saying that he had many excellent, fine, natural gifts, and that he was not serious about standing on the pope's side, but would keep it with both parts; only that he would pretend more to the pope for the sake of his stomach. For he is such a swine that he would take money and keep company with the Turk and the Tartern. For in Augsburg at the Imperial Diet (1530), when he had not been able to get or receive a cathedral (which had been sold to another for four hundred guilders), he is said to have said: I know the papacy well; if Luther had not done too much to him, I wanted to fall to him soon and keep it with him. He is almost neutral, and carries on both armpits; but he hangs more on that, the Pabst's side. But such people are the very worst who do the greatest harm. Those of Athens, as wise, understanding people in Greece, punish such fellows as those on both sides honor and

1) Cf. cap. 29, § 1.

He is embarrassing to life and limb. Eck is eloquent and cheerful in disputes and collations, everything about him is alive; but in preaching and writing he is quite cold.

#### 9. a different one from Eck.

(Cordatus No. 1596.)

D. Eck said to Philip that he did not want a nun in the monasteries, and yet he wanted to kill her because of the marriage; so lyingly do they defend the devil.

#### 10th Bon Carl von Miltitz.

Carl von Miltitz, a proud, splendid man, sold his paternal inheritance for six thousand florins, aspired to high things, moved to Italy, got there fat benefices and cathedrals, supported himself to take me away and to present me to the pope, brought with him a golden rose from Rome, which the pope had given to Elector Frederick; finally, since he was legate of the bishop of Mainz, he drowned miserably in the Rhine.

#### 11th Bon Sadoletus.

Sadoletus, who had been the pope's secretary for fifteen years, a sensible and learned man, wrote to M. Phil. M. in the most friendly way, but very cunning and treacherous, in the Italian way, perhaps that they would bring him to their side by a cardinalate, no doubt by order of the Pope; for the Junkers are afraid, do not know how to attack it.

The same Sadoletus was made a cardinal by the pope because of his skill and quick head, so that he should write against us. But there is no understanding in the holy scripture, as one clearly sees in his commentary on the 51st Psalm, 2) how strange and unrhymed things he brings into it. Oh dear Lord God, help us, your good spirit lead us on the right path.

The papists are hopeless and unlearned people in the Scriptures, cannot govern a church, nor administer any office.

2) Cf. cap. 7, § 76.

For they understand nothing, nor read nor write anything correctly, but sit stiffly and proudly in the regiment and shout: The fathers' decree and decision, they say, are not to be doubted: what they have recognized and finally decided is not to be disputed, otherwise one would have to jump up at every bachante and village priest. Therefore, the pope, being full of devils, defends his tyranny, and keeps it as hard as one can see in his decree c. si Papa, dist. 40. 40, where it is clearly stated: "If the pope were to lead the whole world into hell, no one should persuade him or ask why?"

It is terrible and horrible that we should lose our soul for the sake of his authority and tyranny, which Christ has so richly redeemed with his rose-colored blood. He says John 6:37: "Him that cometh to me I will not cast out." Against this the priest says: "Thus I command, and so I will have it in a nutshell: you shall perish and be lost before you resist me. Therefore the pope is full of devils, to whom our rulers still fall at the feet and worship; therefore one must resist him and strike with God's word and prayer.

#### 12. from the Faber.

(Cordatus No. 345.)

That Faber of Constan 1) said in a sermon at the Diet of Speyer that he would rather accept the faith of the Turk than that of Luther. But I [Luther] answered: I fear that you have prophesied like Caiaphas.

#### 13. from Lemnio D. Martin Luther's admonition.

Against Lemnii, 2) who was a poet at Wittenberg, manuscript and poem said D. Martinus: Behold, how the devil has made us

We are the target at which all arrows are aimed and shot; we must get used to this. He now has such boys, especially among the papists, through whom he attacks and assaults us. He does not do this to the Turk, he leaves them alone; but because we preach Christ pure and unadulterated, he persecutes us as he can, as fast and as hard as a roaring lion 2c. Wherefore be not grieved, be not dismayed, be not troubled: but because Christ saith John 15:19, 20: "If ye were of the world, the world would have loved their own; but remember ye shall not have it better than the father of the house hath had it."

You see that this lickspittles us, says and writes all evil of us, and praises our adversaries, the bishops, and calls them holy: but we do not want to allow them to be praised henceforth in this school, because they seek our blood and are bitter enemies of us. The bishops could all be very useful and serve Germany, but they do not want to; for they have sworn to the pope and taken an oath. And even though they confess that our doctrine is right and condemn theirs, they cannot and will not suffer it, because we did not begin it with their advice and by their command. So such people, as St. Paul calls them Titus 3:11, become autoca- tacriti, "those who have condemned themselves. And even though they are the most wicked of boys, they do not want to follow those who teach them better things. And have no other cause than that we are poor, weak and miserable people, but they are great, rich and powerful.

You know that Solomon says, Proverbs 17:15: "He that judgeth the wicked, and condemneth the righteous, are both abomination unto our Lord." We are here, therefore, to resist the papists and the wicked, and not to be silent for and for. The pope is to be called an antichrist; but he who does not want to do so, let him go from there to N. and go with him to the executioner. The sovereign princes and lords are not so deceived as the bishops, who are related to the pope with oaths and duties. We are supposed to say: You are desperate, godless boys and God's

1) of Constance, because he had been vicar of the bishop of Constance for some time; he was born at Fribourg in Switzerland. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) Cf. Luther's writing against Sim. Lemnii Epigrammata 1538. Walch, old edition, vol. XIV, 1334 ff.



Enemies. Since we teach and say these things, and yet suffer here those who praise them with their verses and writings, what is the result but that they say, "Now they praise us, and soon they rebuke and reproach us again? So they mock us all.

I believe there are many scouts here, but we ask nothing of them. Hear us, do you like it, and behold, we are well satisfied. But we will not suffer that they should throw us into their mouths, and praise and extol our enemies. It is enough that thou art here among us as a knave and a traitor: but thou shalt not praise the bishops with public writings and books, which seek our lives with the sword, and seek to murder our souls with lies. But he that praiseth them, let him have that for a reward, whereof Solomon saith, The wicked perish, and go to destruction.

I say this so that you may know that we are called to this, to the light, as St. Peter says in 1 Ep 2:9, in which we are to confess Christ. Because we have so many great and powerful enemies, we must indeed be vigilant and watchful, especially against the devil, who pursues us without ceasing and persecutes us inwardly and outwardly. Truly, he does not celebrate. But have patience, be confident and joyful, it is certainly good and useful for you, even if you do not think it so now, when you are challenged, but do not let yourself be challenged, do not judge and judge according to your feelings, but according to God's word. Christ is the goal to look to and strive for; but not all meet and attain it, some fall short and perish, fall to the ground over it. We should be pious, and let such little incense be consumed, and let the sharp wind blow by: if something more happens, we should also trample it under our feet and bite it, and see that we have and keep our bridegroom, Jesus Christ, in our hearts, and, as the bride says in the Song of Solomon, Cap. 8, 6, "like a seal in our arms. Martin did this exhortation publicly in church on the day of the Holy Trinity and read out his printed mandate against Simonis Lemnii's book of shame and blasphemy.

#### 14. a different one from Lemnio.

When Lemnii's book of shame D. Martino was brought, in which he did not spare even the poor female sex; then he said, "Well, they act against us with lies and sham; therefore Christ says Matt. 5:11, 12: "Blessed are you when men revile and persecute you for my sake, and speak all kinds of evil against you, if they lie about it. Be glad and of good cheer, for you will be well rewarded in heaven" 2c. Such books do not make me stupid or fainthearted, who write jokes, dolts, Lemnius and the like.

#### 15. from Faber.

Since Johannis Fabri, the evil and poisonous slanderer, was remembered, D. Martinus said: "Such poisonous people are the most annoying and harmful, with whom one should neither trade nor dispute: for they do not appear freely in public, and do not go right under one's eyes, but only blaspheme and revile everything, out of poisonous hatred, in the most bitter and atrocious way; just as Emser, Cochläus, Eck 2c. were.

#### 16. by Witzel.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 11, 1538, p. 147.)

On October 11, one said of the horribly bitter hatred of Witzel and Cochlaeus, who had written against the articles of Luther's confession 1) and much praised by the fathers. He answered: I do not want to read them. After all, you may praise the fathers much, which I have also read. But we have a Father in heaven, who is above all fathers. Their patches and rags count for nothing. It shall be nothing, since 2) they write from a malicious and blasphemous heart, rather those writings are publicly considered lies.

#### 17. of the joke's blasphemy.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 11, 1538, p. 147 f.)

When Witzel was remembered, the poisonous man who attacked all of Luther's articles and

1) This is what the Augsburg Confession is called here.

2) Instead of Huam, perhaps Huurn will be read.

with whimsical gibes, he replied, "That is why I do not read them, because they write with such great bitterness and blasphemy against the Word and against their own consciences, and do not build consciences in the least. As Cochlaeus concludes: "The article of the Trinity is not expressed in the Holy Scriptures, but it is nevertheless believed; therefore one must believe human traditions without the Word. The joke is full of errors and blasphemies without end, nor does one let the boy live. He also praises IJ. S(chenk) and J. A(gricola) to our shame, that they taught rightly that whoever was once converted could no longer sin, but that whatever they did was good. But how should one do to him? After all, St. Paul did the same [Rom. 3:8.j: "Let us do evil, that good may come of it." Let us pray against their blasphemies.

### 18. godless promotion.

(The first paragraph contained in Cap. 37, § 70.) (Lauterbach, Nov. 10, 1538, p. 161.)

One spoke of Witzel's reception in Leipzig. Luther replied: I am glad that he is there. He is caught in a mousetrap, as it were, because he is full of the worst opinions. When he comes out, he may well get his reward. He has sucked the poison from the Campanus, who in a very ungodly way wrote a book under this title: "Against the whole world after the apostles' time." It is much taken in one bite. But he has lost his previous advantages. Witzel keeps behind the times, that is why his sermons are so cold. He teaches coldly because he does not dare to come out, walks like a tense hare, fears the judgment of the listeners. His prayer is not free, but bound in a prison. The words of a speaker, however, which are to move others, must be completely free. He teaches nothing sincerely, as the very presumptuous all do, like Carlstadt with his that, for

In short: the spirit teaches, not the language. But the languages help the spirit, without which they are void. The words serve the things, not the things the words. What happened to the emperor Sigismund at the con

cilium at Constance, who said: We do not want a σχίσμαμ. The orator answered: Not

σχίσμαμ but σχίσμα. Against he said:

If I am the master of all rights, i.e. of things, I am much more a master of grammar, i.e. of words. But the papists imprisoned him. He had to put on a diaconal skirt and read the Gospel at the Christmas Mass. And so every emperor is a diaconus of the Roman Church. The Roman king is subdiaconus. After that he was soon very unhappy against the Turks and against the Germans. The kingdom of Bohemia disintegrated and was completely devastated, which was once the best; so that they killed Ladislaus, a very good king, and chose as king a furrier, the grandfather of Duke George, a brave soldier. When at last King Matthias died, the Kingdom of Bohemia ceased to exist.

### 19. a different one from Witzel.

When Witzel's book, called Tesseratheca, was brought, in which he wanted to reconcile and make up with the pope and Luther, out of pure hopefulness and presumption, Doctor Martinus said: "If Witzel can accomplish this with the pope, then I will yield to them on our part more than they desire. These propositions and proposals are forged and made more out of fear than out of devotion and good will. For those of N. may want to court N. N. with these proposals, as they are otherwise hostile to the gospel. For the gospel is not a doctrine for usurers.

### 20. from the Latomo.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 17, 1538, p. 170.)

After that, the Frenchman Latomus was mentioned, who would have written against Luther. Luther said: He is excellent among all my opponents. His main reason was: Whatever may have arrived from the church, one should not reject it. This is a plausible argument. As the Jews cried out: GO God's people! so the papists: The church cannot err! This is the highest

Argument, so that the prophets and apostles have beaten themselves, as Moses says, 5 Mos. 32, (v. 21.): "They have provoked me against that which is not God; against a foolish people will I provoke them to anger." Likewise Paul, Rom. 2, 29.: "But this is a Jew" (belonging to GOD's people), "who is hidden within." Likewise Isaiah (11, 10.): "After the [root of Jesse] shall the Gentiles inquire." That is why the papists argue thus: It is impossible for GOD to leave His Church, because Christ says: I will be with you until the end of days (Matth. 28, 20.); thus. I answer: The "with you" must be distinguished, namely, which is the true church, whether it is the afflicted hearts or the Roman Sodomites.

### 21. from a converted papist.

There was talk about a very good man, a papist, who had accepted the gospel. Then said D. Martinus said: "These are the best, who do not suddenly burst out, but do it thoughtfully, hold against each other scriptures and arguments of both parts, put them on the gold scale, and search in the fear of God for the right truth. From this come fine men, capable of argument, who can hold the sting. Such a man was St. Paul, who in the first place was a strict Pharisee and a work saint, who held the law with seriousness and stiffness; but afterwards he taught and preached Christ in the very best and purest way, against all Judaism.

## The 29th chapter.

### Of the downfall of the enemies of the divine word.

1. from some papists quick and' frightening death.
2. punishment of presumption.
3. punishment of a desecrator of God's word.

#### 1. from some papists quick and frightening death.

(Cordatus No. 538. No. 1014. No. 1494.)

No one considers the miracles of God that are happening now, many of which are happening against the papists. For the bishop of Trier died of drunkenness after Ferdinand's coronation. Count Ernst of Mansfeld cried out fiercely that the emperor was the savior, and died without lux et crux [light and cross], without confession and sacrament. Count von Werdenwerck died a sudden death at Augsburg, crying out that he wanted to die in the war against Luther. Doctor Matthias, who celebrated his first mass at Erfurt, died before this Imperial Day. For the people of Erfurt dragged him and his three whores into the whorehouse, defiled them before his eyes, and he was consumed with grief and died in that same year.

This would certainly have to be taken seriously into account, that in the recent past years all those died miserably who mockingly spoke of the gospel. Count von Werdenwerck, Count of Mansfeld, the chancellor of Trier, Caesar Pflug. To all of them the gospel was a fable, a vain joke. Duke Georg, however, is not mortal, he is serious and does not joke. 1)

When a nobleman from the lineage of the Ziegler despaired a few paws before his death, he said at the hour of his death: Devil, there you have the soul. A frightening example, although I have also heard similar things in the past. For when a captain of the Venetians had conquered a certain city and he had to die before the victory, he blasphemed.

1) The last sentence is probably said ironically.

He blasphemed the Holy Virgin and St. Peter in the Venetian manner, 1) and another Italian said dying: "To the world I give my goods, to the worms my body, and to the devil my soul. For among the Italians there is very great blasphemy. Erasmus knows these customs very well, and therefore they do not dare to do anything against him, because he would know how to tell them such things.

## 2. presumption.

(Cordatus No. 1109.)

When someone wants to be able to do a thing and can't, it's a real pain. There is nothing more miserable than a presumptuous person. The papists are like that when they preach my words against me. That is what that Leipzig preacher did with my postilion, who was struck by a blow on the Sunday after Christmas, when he preached the history of Anna for the works. Place, time, person and words indicate that the man must have been hit.

## 3. punishment of a desecrator of God's word.

(Except for the last paragraph, Lauterbach, July 7, 1538, p. 96.)

After that, Mag. Cellarius told a story that had happened in Bautzen in a village where a godless apostate pastor, 2) who had become a poisonous slanderer of the gospel, died struck by a terrible lightning and thunderclap. So also a certain pastor in Friedberg near Frankfurt nine years ago made a mockery of the gospel, since the sweating sickness reigned, namely, God was punishing the world with new plagues, because they had new faith and false doctrine, but they should remain in the Ge-

The pastor was obedient to the mother, the church, and he appointed the next day on which he would hold processions with prayers and litanies against this disease. Early on that very day, the pastor himself died, and so the procession became a funeral. Luther said: "Such examples are worthy of attention, for we see God's power present in them.

Here also belongs the example that a monk in the year '26 in a public sermon called Paul a parasite and a liar, and one should not believe him because it would be against Christ that he said (Rom. . 12, 15.): "Rejoice with the joyful." And soon after he had chattered these words, he died.

A doctor at K[önigsberg], 3) who was a true Papist, at the University of K. once disputed there in the school, and brought forward this argument: A man's testament, if it is confirmed, may not be changed, much less God's: but now the Lord's Supper of Christ under both forms is God's testament; therefore one may not change it, nor should one. After the disputation he went out with a noble rich citizen, to whom he said: "How do you like my disputation? He said, "Very well," and slapped him neatly on the armpit, saying, "The servant who knows the Lord's will and does not do it will be beaten with two hands," Luc. 12:47. The next day the doctor died a quick death. So it goes. God does not joke with him in the play, he wants to keep above his word, or does not want to be God. Such examples should be well remembered and considered, for they are both terrible and comforting: terrible for the godless despisers of God's word; comforting for the God-fearing, who love and value the teaching of the Gospel.

1) In the original, these blasphemies are indicated, but they are not suitable for communication.

2) Urban in Kunewalde, on Trinity Sunday.

3) Thus Bindseil 1, 161.

## Chapter 30.

# About the monks, their life and good days.

1. of the papists fasting.
2. monasticism strives hard against God's creation.
3. what monks do.
4. about a monk who ran away from the monastery and deceived the pope.
5. the great quantity of monasteries.
6. the freedom of the monks.
7. of gray monks and Francisco.
8. from where the papist clergy and monks have had their access most.
9. pillars of the papacy.
10. from the mendicants.
11. All sorts of speeches by D. Luther about the monks.
12. the monks' ignorance in good arts.
- The monks' deceit and avarice.
14. monasticism is held equal to baptism.
- 15) How two monks, a Barefoot and a preacher, preached against each other.
16. of some nuns and convents.
- 17 The Discipline of the Monasteries.
18. from gray monks.
19. a different from monks.
20. the origin of monasticism.
21. from widows.
22. from St. Bernard.
23. from monasticism.
24. from where the monks became so proud.
- 25 Monasticism will not be restituted as long as the article of justification remains pure.
- The monks' reputation in the papacy.
27. of Paul and other unlearned monks.
- The monks' and nuns' sins and vices in monasteries.
- 29 Wealth of the monasteries.
30. the monk's cap compared and preferred to the blood of Christ.
- The monks trust in their own works and rule.
32. the monks have gone to the devil with their rules, caps and works.
- Monasticism is a denial of Christ.
- The nuns' crowns, and the dishonorable monastic life.
- 35 Encomium Monachorum.
36. of the barefoot monks slippers.
- 37: How a landgrave in Thuringia had himself buried in a monk's cap.
- 38) How a prince of Anhalt also became a monk.

### 1. the papists fast.

(Cordatus No. 1107.)

Whatever was laid upon the people under the pope was very pleasant, and made no complaint; yea, though it had been burdensome, yet the complaint itself was an air, as fasting and hunger in fasting, waking by night, and being troubled by sleep. To a fast day [original: festag] belonged three eating days. To the collation one gave two pots of good beer, a pot of wine, gingerbread or salted bread, that one could drink well. The poor brothers paled like fiery angels.

### 2. monasticism strives hard against God's creation.

(Cordatus No. 806.)

God first created man, who was very intelligent and of great wisdom, but when He created woman, misfortune arose. Therefore, the monks leave it at the first advice of God and live

without a wife, because they are wiser than God. If the emperor were to eradicate this entire order 1) and have their books preserved for eternal memory, he would be doing a work worthy of an emperor. Emperor worthy work. The Benedictines and Augustinians are nothing compared to these people.

### 3. what monks do.

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 960.)

Two causes make a monk: impatience and despair; for they see an error in the world which they believe 2) can be borne, but they despair of bearing the utter wickedness of the world, therefore they flee the world and speak: The world is too evil.

1) This refers to the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Cf. § 11 of this chapter, Cordatus No. 805, whereupon this § is excluded. - The last words of this § in the original ring: "have been nothing to these people alike."

2) Instead of toNi in the original, with the Latin table speeches, tolerari will probably be read.

<sup>1)</sup> Martinus told a story about a disobedient servant of Lucas Maler who had left Leipzig and had his master follow him on foot the next day with Christian Goldschmiede. That he, said the doctor, would not do me such a trick, I also wanted to have prayed to him. That is why Augustine said: "When rulers and lords humble themselves too highly, their reputation is weakened and they are despised. A servant should be a servant, a lord a lord.

#### 4. about a monk who ran away from the monastery and deceived the pope.

The whales are very cunning, mischievous people; but since they learn to recognize the Germans, they can be easily deceived by them. Like a Carthusian, a desperate boy, who secretly had a woman with him in his cell, he finally ran away from the monastery and became a memeluk. After that, he regretted it and came to Rome to the pope. But first he went into the kitchen. And when they all fled from him, as from an apostate and a renegade, not thinking otherwise than that the pope would have him slain and put to death, he said, Give me a good soup and drink of wine, and after that I will do well in my cause; and went well fed to the pope, and fell down before him, and said, Misericordia, Misericordia, Misericordia, grace, grace, grace; and the pope thrust him under his feet, and said, What wilt thou? He said: I want to mend my ways, most holy father. Then the pope absolved him, and he went out again into the kitchen, struck him a little stone, and said, Didn't I tell you that I wanted to do my thing well, and that you should not be troubled?

#### 5. the great quantity of monasteries.

The Electorate of Saxony had twelve monasteries of the Barefoot and Minorites, five monasteries of the Preachers or Paulites and Carmelites, and four monasteries of the Augustinians; these were only beggars' monasteries, which are now being destroyed by themselves. Then the Englishman, who was at the table with D. Martino, said

went: In England, if not many German miles of road were long and wide, there would have been 32 mendicant monasteries.

(The following is contained in Cap. 27, § 36, and Cap. 56, § 4.)

#### 6. the freedom of the monks.

The monks had great privileges from the pope, even over the bishops, they would not have considered a bishop: they were without means under the pope, and subject to no one else. The bishop of Merseburg had a quarrel with the Benedictine monks, but the pope, when it came before him, did not want to get involved in it, nor to tolerate the matter, wrote to the bishop: The Roman see could not suffer such clamor of the monks; it should humble itself and be satisfied with them.

#### 7. of gray monks and Francisco.

Franciscus, a whale from the city of Assis, no doubt a pious man, did not think that such a superstition and superstitious being should come out of his life. There were so many gray monks that they offered to send forty thousand monks against the Turk, and the monasteries should nevertheless remain occupied.

The Franciscan and Grey Monastic Order first arose under Emperor Frederick the Other, during whose reign St. Elizabeth was canonized and brought into the number of saints. Anno Domini 1207. Franciscus played his game for eighteen years, two years under Emperor Philip, four years under Emperor Otto, and twelve years under Emperor Frederick the Other. After that, when he died, he appeared to the pope in his sleep, holding a cup in his hand, and let it run out of his side full of blood.

Is it not a regiment that starts with dreams and lies? Therefore, the pope is not God's image, but his monkey. In sum, he wants to be God and emperor. As Pope Innocentius the Third said: Either I want to take the crown from K[aiser] Philippo, or he from me. Oh, such histories should be described with diligence. If I were younger, I would write a chronicle of the popes.

1) This paragraph is later addition.

### 8. from where the papist clergy and monks have had their access most.

The papists have had their greatest enjoyment and access from the offerings, and thirtieths, vigils and masses. A monastery granted each of the nobility, one to help the other, thirty florins annually; a rich farmer, a horseman, who had to harness and horses, four florins. Now one would unwillingly give four sacrificial pennies.

### 9. pillars of the papacy.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 14, 1538, p. 9.)

On January 14, he said a lot about the realm of the pope, how it had not existed by laws, but by superstition, but that the preacher monks and the Minorites had been the best helpers of the pope, because those Dominicans [Dominicasters] and the order of the preachers were such glorious pugilists that they sought to glorify their fame by the disgrace of others and could not stand learned people. I mean, they honestly burned themselves on Reuchlin. And they have also set many things in motion against me, but have thereby done themselves evil. In the future Concilium they will take a lot of liberties with the rest of the papists by their shouting. Their highest cry is and was: What is the Bible and the Scriptures? The church and the concilium must be obeyed. With this they will want to shout over us, because they arrogate to themselves the right and the supervision over all people, even the judgment over the godly they will arrogate to themselves. As once happened to the prophets, who were forced to succumb. Jer. cap. 29 (vv. 26 ff.), where he speaks against Zephaniah the priest: "The Lord has made you overseer in his house over all madmen and prophets; so why do you not punish Jeremiah of Anathoth? From this passage it is clear that even priests who are placed in the highest office have abused their prestige against the pious prophets. Therefore he continues in such a way that the godless in the world will mock the godly under the appearance of piety. Blessed is he who is not mocked here.

### 19. of mendicant monks.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 2, 1538, p. 20, and p. 21.)

If the pope should take the liberty of rejecting the monks and monastics, he will set a fine fire. Admittedly, in Germany they are almost expelled, but in other nations they are still in bloom, and the pope has strengthened them earlier. He has made them feisty, where he has taken them into his fold, and given them the highest cardinals as protectors. If he now wants to expel them, it will be a fine game. All would conspire against him and the princes against the pope. Princes against the pope. For kings, princes and even the emperor have monks as confessors, by whom they let themselves be persuaded.

Pope Julius, a very defiant man and an inveterate devil, made up his mind that he wanted to reform the Franciscans so that he could bring the different sects into a uniform rule. The monks, however, instigated kings and princes who resisted the pope in letters. But Julius would not turn to the letters and go forward. At last a Cardinal, moved by a very urgent request dev Franciscans [accompanied by] eighty thousand crowns, said: Who can resist so many armed men? and persuaded the pope. What will one do now in the abolition of so many monastic brothers? If only the common monasteries were overthrown, then the royal and princely convents, the princely monasteries, would soon also perish through the revolt of the people, for if one lets the dog chew on the rag, he soon eats the meat as well. In short, the monks are rightly hated by the priests of the churches, because they draw all enjoyment to themselves and have left only baptism to the priests. They have arrogated to themselves all other advantages without work and have suppressed the offices of the church with their superstitious customs. That is why before our time so many mocking and ridiculous things were said by the monks, and they burned among themselves with irreconcilable hatred, the Dominicans and Franciscans, for the sake of the first inheritance, where one kept the skin, the other the flesh of the calf.

**11. All sorts of speeches by D. Luther about the monks.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1087.)

Rightly the pope and the monastic orders kiss each other, which he confirms by his bulls, and they confirm him with their lives and their preaching. They are the rats and the pope their king, they have to carry it.

Luther said: "I am the mercury of our Lord God, which he threw into the pond, that is, among the monks.

(The following paragraph Cordatus No. 805.)

The Franciscans are our Lord's lice, which the devil Adam put in his fur. Preaching monks are the fleas that bite each other forever, like sparrows and swallows.

On another occasion, D. Mart. Luther said: "A monk would be evil, and there would be nothing good about him, whether in the monastery or outside of it. For as Aristotle gives an example of fire burning, whether in Aethiopia or in Germania, so it is with monks also. Significans, naturam non mutari circumstantiis loci aut temporis.

**12. the monks' ignorance in good arts.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 7, 1538, p. 25.)

After that Luther said of the brothers of ignorance in Italy, who boasted of a certain order under that name, and almost everywhere the monasteries could boast of that name, since they only looked at the lection, but not at the understanding, by speaking: Even if you do not understand the words of Scripture and prayer, the Holy Spirit understands them, and the devil also understands them and flees. This was the main principle of all monks, that one should hate good arts and students, because they concluded that way: If that brother studies, he will rule over us, thus Saccum per Nackum. Euripides very wisely said that nobility comes from wisdom, but wisdom comes from godliness, as if he wanted to say: Even if many have nobility, which is sustained by heroic behavior, it is directed by God.

**The monks' deceit and avarice.**

(Lauterbach, April 8, 1538, Monday, p. 59.)

On April 8, an excellent old lady [optima matrona], Hohndorf, complained about the fraud of the Minorite monks, who had worried her father and mother, when they were in their last days, about the will, and since she had entrusted four hundred florins to the Guardian in the name of her father, she was soon forced to swear that she should not tell anyone. When the father had died, he had withheld the money against the right of the sons and the small children, but at last she had confessed it at the behest of the authorities, and the theft of the monks had come to light. Luther answered: Such very bad examples of fraud and deceit of the monks were many, but nobody dared to accuse them. And then he told a story about a certain monk who had shouted at a dying nobleman: "Squire, will you give this and that to the convent? But since he could not speak when he was dying and only gave signs by waving, the monk said to the son: "See, you hear that your father agrees to give this. The son said to his dying father: Father, is it not your will that I throw this monk down the stairs? When the father had given the same sign, he gave the monk his reward down the stairs. The robbery of the monks was tremendous.

**14. monasticism is held equal to baptism.**

Doctor Martinus said of the great miserable abomination of the monks, that when they professed and were accepted into orders, they must change their names; for they pretended that they were then by such profession and vows, as if they were newly baptized. In this way they publicly testified that they considered such profession and vows to be equal to the holy baptism of Christ. Fie on you, shall we hold human deeds equal to God's sacraments, even prefer them, and trample the blood of Christ underfoot? For Augustine Heaven, 1) who here is an Augustinian...

1) Pastor in Colditz since 1529. cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1178 f.



Heinricus, 1) who was martyred and burned by Ditmar peasants, is called Johannes. As Joachim Schnabel also Johannes is baptized again in the monastery.

(The following paragraph in Lauterbach, Aug. 23, 1538, p. 119.)

Luther: "I believe that the opulence of the court and the wickedness of the world have driven some good people into the monasteries, and yet they have accomplished nothing but hypocrisy. The monastic state is godless, for it disputes God in doctrine and life. For monasticism is not a study of the Scriptures, but an annihilation and obscuration of them. For no one studies there unless he has a special gift for reading the Scriptures, as I have had. Chrysostom says: A king shines by his crown, but a monk inwardly by virtues. He should have said: by hypocrisy. As if God looked at the persons and chose the monk's cap and threw away the king's golden chain. A king and authorities are driven daily to advance in the highest heroic virtues, and the most righteous monks practice only private virtues according to time and arbitrariness. In short: Christianity and baptism must be above all monks, be they ever so pious. On the other hand, our enthusiasts reject the Scriptures completely, as Muenzer judged everything according to his spirit and called the Wittenbergers thieves of the Scriptures, and also our J. A(ricola) says: I also have a head. 2) Yes, if God would be satisfied with that, I would have one too. So hardened they continue and do not notice their wickedness. Oh, dear Lord God, deliver us from this evil. "You are pleased with those who fear You, who hope in Your goodness" (Ps. 147:11). If I were dead, I would not see all this, but our Lord God wants to torture me even longer, in defiance of the papists, who after my death acknowledge my good deeds.

and the saying will be fulfilled in me, that "whoever has died is justified from sin. (Rom. 6, 7.)

**15) How two monks, a barefoot and a preacher, had preached against each other.**

One brought D. M. Luthern a sparrow over the table, there he sang these following words to speak: You barefoot monk with your gray cap, you are the most harmful bird. I wanted someone to write a declamation of this fable, namely, that a preacher monk and a barefoot monk had wandered together, begging for their brothers and wanting to collect alms. Now one poked at the other with useless words, and the barefoot monk first preached and said: Dear peasants, good friends, beware of the bird, the swallow, because it is white inside, but on the back it is black, it is a bad bird, wash-like, nowhere to be used; and if you anger this bird, it becomes quite mad, and stings the cows; and if this bird horses, the people become blind from it; as you read in the Book of Toby. I wanted to depict the preacher monk, who wears black caps on the outside and white skirts on the inside.

When the preacher monk came to the pulpit after noon and preached, he stabbed the barefoot monk again and said: I cannot defend or protect the bird, the swallow, so great; but the gray sparrow, he is a much more annoying and harmful bird than the swallow, because he robs, steals and eats everything he can get, as oats, barley, wheat, rye, apples, pears, peas and cherries 2c. So he is also an unchaste and lecherous bird, and his greatest art is that he always cries Scirp, Scirp. With this, one beggar wanted to hinder the other, and said D. Luther: "A rhetorician would have to come over it, who could finely amplify and paint this fable; but the barefoot monk would have to paint the swallow, the preacher monk, with even better colors, because the preacher monks have been the very proudest levelers and right epicureans and fattening pigs, who have a

1) Heinrich Müller von Zütphen. Die Geschichte seines Märtyrertodes, mit Zuschrift an die Christen in Bremen, Walch, alte Ausg., Bd. XXI, 94 ff.

2) This is immediately followed by Cap. 37, § 44, therefore we place it here.

On the other hand, the beggars, the barefooted, under the great pretense of sanctity and humility, were more proud than all emperors, and most often invented lies.

From this, D. Severus said: "Dear Doctor, once King Ferdinand came to a monastery of the Barefoot monks; now one of the king's secretaries found these letters beautifully and wonderfully inscribed on the wall, As:

M. N. M. G. M. M. M. M.,

When the secretary looked at the letters and wondered what they meant, King Ferdinand came to the same place, looked at the letters and asked what they meant. The secretary answered: "If Your Majesty would not be displeased by this, I would like to know what the letters mean. The king says: he should tell it, it should be without danger for him; then the secretary says:

Mentitur Nausea (who was bishop of Vienna), Mentitur Gallus (who was the king's court preacher), Mentiuntur Majores, Minores, that is, the barefoot monks, Minorarii, that is, special monks who live in the Iplbus. The king Ferdinand heard this, and, forgetting it, went away. And was quite politely interpreted and interpreted by the secretary.

#### 16. of some nuns and convents.

(Lauterbach, Sept. 30, 1538, p. 138.)

On that day, the nuns of Hervord 1) [now Herford] in the Low Countries [Westphalia] wrote to him, entrusted themselves to his intercession, and were very pious virgins, who always lived in harmony from the work of their hands. He pitied them and said: "Such nuns should be left to their liking, just as the field monasteries are princely foundations for noble persons. But the mendicant orders were nets and harpies [birds of prey], which

everything to themselves, worthy of destruction. I very much wished that the field monasteries and convents remained, in order to feed noble persons and poor church servants. I have not written anything else about it from the beginning. For from these monasteries suitable persons can be chosen for the church, for the world regiment and for the household.

#### 17 The Discipline of the Monasteries.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 9, 1538, p. 159.)

On November 9, he spoke about the monastic discipline against the youth, that they made the young people conscience, if they steal one penny, they would have to go to hell. But, alas, so nonsensical is the world, if one steals a hundred thousand, they take no conscience about it. The monasteries have a fine arrival. But the superstition and the trust in the works have caused all the misfortune, it is the devil's way.

#### 18. from gray monks.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 23, 1538, p. 178.)

Then they spoke of the Franciscan Rule, which at the beginning boasted of this title: "According to the Gospel of Christ," since it teaches nothing of faith, hope, love, and true good works, but only of cold, fictitious, outward works, of poverty, of a fictitious chastity, all of which we have in truth already sworn in baptism.

#### 19. a different from monks.

A provincial monk, by order of the emperor, commanded the council at N. that the monks there should be allowed to keep their papist customs and ceremonies. The council gave him this answer: that he should grab himself and not be found. But the monastery was closed to the other monks, so that no one could come in and bring anything to them. That is how the papists want it.

#### 20 Of the origin of monasticism.

At Heidelberg in the Quodlibet it was discussed and asked: Where do the monks come from? To this was answered: The devil would be the

1) The original probably erroneously reads: "Erfurd". Compare Luther's Breffe an den Rath zu Hervord, Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 338 and 375.  
"uthrrS Werk. Vol. XXH.

Monks founder and creator: because since God had made the priests, the devil wanted to imitate him, had made the plate too large, there would have been a monk daräus. It is quite a fine poem. For a monk is neither suitable for church nor secular or domestic rule. That is why the devil must make monks who obscure God's word: they were not fit for the church, they blasphemed the secular authorities, they kept and taught coldly of the marriage state; for because it exists and remains in honor and dignity, monasticism is nothing. That is why the devil, under a beautiful mantle, has darkened the most beautiful order of God, namely marriage. If marriage had been taught in the church in a right, Christian and pure way, there would have been fewer monks and nuns.

#### 21. from widows.

Saint Paul condemns the widows who break the first faith, 1 Tim. 5, 12, which saying the fathers, also Augustine, have drawn and interpreted on the vows of the monks, since the text clearly says about widows who receive and are fed by common alms. Oh, dear Lord God, how easily do those fall who, enchanted with superstition and superstition, follow the great heap, just as when one rolls wood and straw into the water, it carries away earth and muck. It is the same in the church.

#### 22. from St. Bernard.

Saint Bernard was the most pious monk, I love him above all other monks; but he was allowed to say: It would be a sure sign of condemnation if one did not remain in the monastery. He had three hundred monks, and not one of them was condemned. After his death, one of them wrote many ungodly things, as if no soul should have been saved before St. Bernard's death, since monasticism is against nature and the Church. St. Bernard lived in dangerous times, under Emperor Henry the Fourth and Fifth, Emperor Conrad and Lothar. He may have been an experienced and skilled monk, but he set a bad example.

Summa: The world wants to have superstition and idolatry, the gray skirt and, as Paul says, such people who do not spare their bodies. I think that Adam's and Eve's furs must have been monks' caps. Oh, if only the monastic life had not been forced, but free, it would still be to suffer. For what good has the impossible celibate state brought? Rivers in the sleep, which also the married couples are not even left, as Moses writes; since the marriage was commanded to the Jews and free to the Gentiles. Thus, in many regiments, it is customary that no single man who is not a husband is elected to the council, nor is he used in the regiment. Would to God that it also remained free and honest.

#### 23. from monasticism.

The monks, but especially the Minorites and Franciscans, have had the best days, and lived in the greatest pleasures, through hypocrisy: they did not touch money, and yet were the richest with great tranquility. The shameful monasticism began when the people, under the pretense of godliness, fled from the worldly trades, which are hostile and cause much grief. But these are the most Christian ranks that God has established and ordered, of which there are three hierarchies, as the domestic, the secular and the ecclesiastical.

#### From where the monks have become so proud.

The mendicant kings with the caps are so puffed up and proud that they have also worshipped emperors and kings. As one writes of the emperor Constantino, he is said to have written to St. Anthony, the hermit, and asked him to pray for him and his children 2c. This should still make a monk and Bachanten puffed up and hopeful.

In France there was such a superstition and spirituality that all servants and serfs, the majority, wanted to become monks; therefore the king had to forbid monasticism. For France is otherwise superstitious and drowned in superstition. Similarly, the whales are either superstitious or epicurious; for the fewest part of the whales believe in a resurrection of the dead.

And it is a common speech in Italy, when they want to go to church, that they say: Let us go to the common error: for it is a sensible and clever people, and the churches are desolate and deserted by priests. They see that the pope's court and character are very annoying, and that the monks are unlearned and coarse asses; therefore they consider all religion to be a fair fable, and mock it.

**25 Monasticism will not be restituted as long as the article of justification remains pure.**

The monks have taken such a snap and fall that they will not arise again. For as long as the article of justification, how one becomes pious, righteous and blessed before God, remains pure and unadulterated, no one will easily become a monk. And because this annoying and false doctrine of works, as if one should become righteous and blessed by them, is once revealed and condemned, monasticism is at a low ebb: the mendicant kings in caps, who were allowed to rebel against emperors and kings and resist them, must dry up; that is why the monks are now so angry, mad and foolish that they are not respected.

**The monks' reputation in the papacy.**

In ancient times, the monks were held in very high esteem, and the pope feared them more than kings and bishops. For the monks had the common man in their hands, whom they could easily conciliate or avert from the pope; therefore the monasteries were the pope's best flocks of birds. The king of England, while still holding sway over the monks, even though he does not consider the pope to be the supreme head of Christendom, does nothing but vex and afflict the pope's body, but he strengthens his soul.

**27. of Paul and other unlearned monks.**

The preacher monks were good brothers and very learned, pompous and hopeful enough; but the gray and barefoot monks were

superstitious and unlearned, should not and would not be learned, even despised those who were learned. Like my brothers in the monastery, they resented me because I studied; they said: Sic tibi, sic mihi, Sackum per Nackum:

It goes to you, like me. There was no difference. An unlearned man was as important to them as a learned man. They did not ask whether he was skilful or unskilful, weak or strong, they did not look at that. It had to go stiffly according to their rule and be held.

That is where the German Lords and Fratres ignorantiae, the ignorant brothers, came from: they were horrible wonder-beasts of people, against nature. For all men are naturally disposed to want to know something and to be used, as Aristotle says: only the monks are monstrous beasts, coarse, unlearned asses' heads, who neither want to learn nor know anything, contrary to all nature; do not know how to keep each one according to his skill and opportunity; know nothing of the divine ranks, which are ordered and established by God. The household increases and feeds, the secular protects and shields, the spiritual or church state teaches and instructs. The hooded stallions know nothing of this.

**The monks' and nuns' sins and vices in monasteries.**

The monks are a lazy, idle people who, as Peter describes in 2 Ep. 2, 13, respect temporal life for pleasure. There the seven deadly sins rule with force. Nowhere is there greater hope than in the monasteries, against the first table of God's ten commandments: great, insatiable avarice, fornication, night rivers and pollution, hatred and envy, which cannot be helped, nor can be put down and reconciled, so that they may bite and devour one another; gluttony and drunkenness, sloth and unwillingness, and overindulgence in the service of God are known and evident. They are belly servants and sourpusses.

**29 Wealth of the monasteries.**

In Lombardy on the Po is a very rich monastery, St. Benedicti Order, which every year

The monastery has an income of six and thirty thousand ducats: there is such a pleasure and feasting that they spend twelve thousand ducats on the guest house, twelve thousand on the buildings, the third part on the convent and the brothers. In the same monastery I have been, said D. Martinus, and honestly tractirt and kept.

Ah, God's service does not stand in wealth, according to the saying: Mater Religio peperit divitias, postea Filia devoravit Matrem; religion, as the mother, has given birth to wealth, after that it has eaten the daughter, namely, through superstition and superstition. Ah, what shall the darkened monks be angelic monks? After all, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, walked in a bad and simple human form, so that he was "found to be a man in appearance," as St. Paul says in Phil. 2:7, and we poor, miserable people, on the other hand, become monstrous and devilish angels.

### 36. the monk cap of Christ blood compared and preferred.

It was an ungodly, horrible delusion that people believed that if someone put on a monk's cap, he would be redeemed from sins and death. So one compared the lousy cap to the holy blood of Christ, yes, preferred it. This is called an "abomination of desolation that stands in the holy place," Matth. 24, 15. And as Paul says Ebr. 6, 6. Cap. 10, 29.: "Who crucify Him, Christ, again, and defile God's blood." And as St. Peter says 2 Ep. 2, 1: "Who deny the Lord that bought them." These are the right fruits of original sin in the first table of the Ten Commandments of God, which the hardened impenitent people receive in their wickedness, without all conscience.

### The monks' reliance on their own works and rule.

The philosophers, so called Stoicos, wanted to be without all desire and affect, who did not let themselves be challenged by anything, neither good nor evil, wanted to be like the sticks and blocks; as the poor man, Thomas Münzer, pretended to be with his pack and enthusiasts. The

The same fools were then followed by the monks, and they were much worse, because they sought the highest good and happiness in their religious rules and human statutes and works. For they said: If you live and keep this rule, I promise you eternal life.

### The monks have gone to the devil with their rules, caps and works. 1)

(Cordatus No. 1567.)

I think that in the papacy many have been saved, who in the battle of death had the image of the crucified held up to them, and they have heard from those around them [2 Cor. 1, 10.]: Hope in him who has redeemed you. But after the monks came with their robes, it was over, and those who were hanged had a better fate than those who wore the robes rc. 2)

### Monasticism is a denial of Christ.

He who vows to lead a monastic life thinks he is leading a better life than another Christian man, and that he is helping not only himself but also other people with his life. The latter does nothing but deny Christ and tramples Christ's merit underfoot. This is blasphemy. Fie on you, you wretched devil!

### The nuns' coronets and the dishonorable monastic life.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 1, 1538, p. 140.)

Great is the hypocrisy of the celibate life, so that even the most holy fathers have fallen into this seeming sanctity. Augustine, who still lived in pleasant times, was deceived by the veil of virgins, with the little crowns, and, although he allowed them to marry, he added: Marriage

1) Cf. cap. 27, A 106; 48, § 25. - Cf. also Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XIII, 2575, § 32. vol. XI, 528, § 6.

2) This seems to us to be the sense of the words of the original: stus^nsi molius Nnduorunt, yuani auauillis inäuti, namely, that one can expect a hanged man to be blessed rather than a monk who relies on his monastic works.

want was sin to them. But afterwards, when the time of wrath and blindness came, the lie grew and the truth was driven out, so that they completely despised the gender because of all the holiness and pretense. But the only solution of Christ dissolves all arguments: "He created them male and female" (Gen. 1, 27.). Although the holy fathers write inconsistently enough about marriage, as St. Jerome 1) writes about the marriage where a man married a woman who had nine husbands before, in the time of Pope Damasus; finally he outlived her and followed with a crown at the funeral funeral, as at a victory procession.

### 35 Encomium Monachorum.

One once said to D. M. Luther over the table this verse from the monks:

O Monachi, ventres pigri estis, amphora  
Bacchi,  
Vos estis, Deus est testis, turpissima  
pestis.

This is:

The monks are lazy and drink very much, are evil worms, testifies God the Lord.

Item, D. M. Luther once said: That is called Säu geschwemmet, said the devil, and drowned a wagon full of monks.

### 36. of the barefoot monks slippers.

Doctor Martin Luther once said that the slippers of the barefoot monks were made of the wood of the cursed fig tree, of which Christ says in the Gospel Matth. 21, 19: "Damned be you, that from now on and never again you bear no fruit.

### How a landgrave in Thuringia had himself buried in a monk's cap.

Doctor Martin Luther said that in the papacy there had been great superstition and superstition, since now the young fellows knew nothing at all about it, and about ten years would be

No one would believe that the people had themselves buried in monk's caps; and he said, "Three hundred years ago a landgrave in Thuringia 2) had himself buried in a cap; and when he had been laid in a coffin and was still unburied, the court servants went around the coffin and looked at their lord, saying, "Behold, how our lord is now so pious, and how he now keeps silence. For he had been a wild man all his life.

Otherwise, there was a woman of high rank in a country, who otherwise committed great fornication. When she died, she ordered in her will that the Jntestina should be removed from her body and put in balsam and spices, so that she would not soon die or rot; also that the dead body should be put in a nun's cap and carried to a convent. In her death she became an abbess and wanted to atone for her fornication in the cap and do enough for it. Now she was brought to the convent and put behind a table, and this abbess was presented with princely food and drink, as if she were still alive. But it was not done for two weeks: when the authorities of that country found out, they had the dead corpse buried, and abolished this unnecessary folly and fool's work, and were ashamed of this jugglery.

### 38. like a prince of Anhalt also had become a monk.

Item, M. Luther said that a prince of Anhalt had become a barefoot beggar monk and had gone around the city of Magdeburg begging for bread, even carrying the sack himself: although a long, tall monk went before him, who could have carried the sack ten times better than he, he nevertheless carried it at all times; thus he wanted to be humble. Thus we have been tribulated in the papacy. Let this example be remembered, quia est notabile.

D. M. said: That Carolus Magnus would have founded as many bishoprics and cathedral churches as there are letters in the ABC.

1) This narrative in other relation Cap. 43, § 31.

2) Louis the Knight. Cf. cap. 45, § 6.

## The 31st chapter. Of cardinals and bishops.

1. from the Cardinal of Salzburg.
2. from another Cardinal in Germany.
3. from other bishops.
4. how far one may tolerate the bishops.

- 5 The little word bishop, where it comes from and what it means.
6. the bishops' negligence.
7. from the bishop of Brandenburg.
8. ordination of bishops in the papacy.

### 1. from the Cardinal of Salzburg.

Magister Philippe praised against Doctor Martin Luthern the high intellect and quick head of the Cardinal and Bishop of Salzburg, Matthieu Langen, and said: He had been with him in Augsburg for six hours in 1530, had talked with him about religion; then he had finally said to him: My Domine Philippe, we clergy have never been good. Item, he would also have said: We know well that your teaching is right; 1) but do you not know, on the other hand, that no one has ever been able to gain anything from the priests? you will not be the first either. This Cardinal had been the son of an outreuter from Augsburg, and his father had been of a good, old, noble family there, but. Poverty half became a servant. He was the first Cardinal in Germany, and was known through the promotion of his sisters to the Emperor Maximiliani Court, and then sent to the Pope in Rome in a legation, which then happened; he was made Coadjutor of the Bishopric of Salzburg.

### 2. from another bishop in the German country.

M. Luthern was told that the same bishop had dismissed a schoolmaster and cantor who had been called from Wittenberg in his towns to serve as a schoolmaster: now he had given them ten guilders and let them jump. There spoke D. M. Luther: "The bishops do as their kind does: they are bloodhounds, and their feet hasten to shed blood. He has a mind like Cain, he

1) Cf. cap. 27, § 54. § 137.

will not rest until he has slain Abel. If they start a war, they will lose. We have told and preached it to them enough; now we must prepare and arm ourselves with prayer against them.

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 1337.)

Oh dear God, how you are so patient and let yourself be trampled underfoot, but he has suffered such things from his creature from the beginning. But you can pay them in your time.

This bishop once saw that in his town one of the people had run in a crowd to the preaching of the Gospel, and with weeping eyes he said: "Oh, we shepherds should do that, how our sheep go astray! Well, I cannot do it differently. When this was reported to M. M. L., he said: "Will Christ be satisfied with this? He will see. He prefers the cardinal's and bishop's hats to divine truth. He fears that he might lose it and be deposed from the bishopric, he does not believe that God can depose the mighty and exalt the lowly, as they sing every day in the Magnificat. But they do not believe, they are the most pusillanimous people: length cannot stand with them, they have too evil a conscience, they are not at one with themselves, they are mad in their ways: for in the Augsburg Act of Anno 1530 they did not think with a single word of the noblest article of the primacy of the Pope and Vicariate of St. Peter, which was the main article of the whole papacy.

D. M. Luther once said about tables: It would be a German proverb: At a fox one does not break a game; that is, one would like to

You may pursue a fox as far and as wide as you can. This is not allowed with hares, deer and other wild animals. So," he said, "one may also harm an evil godless and wicked man, preach against him, teach him and write against him. And he remembered a great spiritual lord, a bishop, 1) and said: "If God grants me life for only half a year, then I will dance with the same bride over hill and dale. If God wanted the lawyers to come into my play, I would also ruffle them up honestly and teach them what Subjectum Juris is called. The law is a beautiful bride when she stays in her bed; but when she crosses over to another bed and wants to rule the theologians in the church, she is a great whore. That is why the law should take off its bere before theology.

Of this and other bishops, M. Luther said at another time: "I have not read such a frightening and thorough example of hardening as in them. They far surpass the Jews, Pharaohs, and others; indeed, they are the closest to the devil: my heart in my body often trembles and shakes when I think of them.

At Worms, at the Imperial Diet, I prophesied to them that they would one day like to accept the truth they had recognized, but they would not be able to do so because they now condemned it out of great malice. Unfortunately, I have experienced this prophecy: they themselves confess that our doctrine is the truth and want it to be so. But the obdurate people fear the belly and cannot give a good example to other nations, nor let their monasticism and regiment be separated and dissolved. But now I prophesy to them that they shall perish and be destroyed; but I will not see it, and I pray God to take me away with grace first.

And said further, This bishop is not a frater ignorantiae, sed frater malitiae: what he doeth, he doeth not through ignorance, but through malice. He is a great

Epicurer, docile, ductilis, he lets himself be led, listens well to what is said, acts kindly and meekly, but does what he desires; can send himself /a kindly and judge in the people, as the Italians can all give good words from a false heart.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, July 1, 1538, p. 95.)

In these days Luther was very distressed about the great malice of the bishop [of Mainz] and said with a sigh: Dear Lord JEsu Christe, save my life, and strengthen me, that I may cut a plate for the priests. For it is not a bad one, but the most mocking one. All other princes are, with respect to him and judging by him, simple peasants. This is a right one who dares to boast that not many attacks have been returned to him, as if he himself were in league with Satan. In the Hans Schantzen case, he so won over the lawyers that no one wanted to take up the case against him. These fearful people are afraid to exercise their profession and do not want to imitate the example of Papinianus. Therefore, it must be told to the Junker all the same, because he can very well overhear. When I wrote him a very sharp letter, he was able to overhear everything with a good pretense, except for this argument, which I reproached him with, that he had deprived the poor puke Elsa of her penny and stopped at 80,000 florins, and granted the 300 florins annual interest by grace, not by right. That has hit him badly that this is published. But that whore died very godly by reproach of the Gospel, according to Christ's saying: "The tax collectors and whores may rather enter the kingdom of heaven than you" (Matth. 21, 31.).

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, 18 Dec. 1538, p. 193.)

The Bishop of Mainz is a very fearful man, but cruel and tyrannical he is vicious. Brave heroes do everything openly. David, Julius Caesar and others have not had anyone stabbed, but have gone honestly under eyes. But the tyrants are mostly very feminine.

After M. Luther had cried out to this bishop quite harshly and swiftly in a matter of

1) Of the Bishop of Mainz. Cf. the letter of Nov. 6. 1542, Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 2401, no. XXXV. I



He attacked him with scornful, peevish, flowery, hard, pointed words; then he confessed that he was wrong in matters of religion, in which he also wanted to give himself to D. Luther. Luther, but in other worldly matters he would not yield to him. Then D. Luther said: I must better wake him up. Oh dear Lord God, one should not joke with you, nor abuse your name! It is enough that we have sinned, we should repent of it and be sorry. These people do not need to have a conscience. They act like that country servant who once came to me, and I admonished him that he would renounce his evil life and evil ways. Then he answered me: "Yes, dear doctor, if I thought that way, I would never go to war again. So do the cardinals and bishops. And he said: "For this bishop I have prayed until now, categorically, affirmatively, positively, from the bottom of my heart, that God would convert him. I have also tried by writing whether I could call and bring him to repentance; but I would have kept such words inside. Now I pray for him hypothetically et desperabunde, differently than I have despaired of him. For he gives the best words from an evil heart. He is a wicked, evil man and a hypocrite: he deceives and cheats everyone: he scents all money like a thief: he will frighten and sadden many people when he dies, to whom he is guilty.

A princess said to D. M. Luther: "Is there also hope for this bishop, that he might be converted? And she said, "She wanted to bring this new newspaper to Mr. Luther soon, so that he would recognize himself. Then said D. Luther said, "I do not believe it, although it would give me great joy if he were won over and repented. But there is no hope. I believe it of Pilato, Herod, Diocletiano, who have sinned publicly. Then the princess said: God be almighty and merciful, who would have also accepted Judas back into grace, if he had repented. M. Luther answered: Yes, he would also accept Satan again, if he could say from his heart: God, be merciful to me, a sinner. But to him, unfortunately, there is no hope, because he fights...

against the known truth. A few days ago, he had thirteen Christians, who had taken the sacrament under both forms, miserably killed by hunger.

It is true that God is almighty and merciful, he can do more than we can think of, but he does not want to do more than he has decided. As St. Paul says to Romans 8, v. 30: "Those whom he has ordained he has also chosen and called." When he says, "I will do nothing; let it be done, and be content. As in the books of Samuel, God said to Samuel, "Why do you complain of Saul, whom I have rejected?" 1 Sam. 16, 1. Therefore, I can have no hope in this bishop. I command it to God, whom I will let rule it.

And said D. M. Luther: This bishop has often written to me in a friendly manner, and has smeared his mouth in such a way that I have advised him in writing to take a wife. 1) In the meantime, however, he deceived us with good words and only mocked us until the Diet of Augsburg, where I first got to know him. But he still wanted to be our friend, except for the N. N. matter, in which he wanted to choose me as negotiator and arbitrator.

(A paragraph in Lauterbach, March 4, 1538, p. 46, is torn out of the middle of the relevant section and is therefore not included by us, but in Appendix No. I under No. 103).

About this bishop Luther said on another occasion: "I want to leave the testimony behind me that he is the greatest rogue who ever came on earth, except for Neronem and Caligulam; otherwise he is above them all. He only lacks luck, otherwise he is cunning enough. He has sought me out in such a strange way that if our Lord God had not protected me in a special way, he would have caught me. In 1525 he sent me twenty gold florins through a doctor and had them given to my daughter, but I did not want it. For I have kept the name, praise God, that I do not take money. And with money this bishop has taken all the lawyers, so that they say, "This is a gentleman who means well. There he sits, laughing in his fist. There was a priest in one place,

1) Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 678 ff.

who preached the gospel. Now he gave him a damask and sent him money so that he would keep quiet and revoke. After that he said, "The Lutherans are such bad boys, they do everything for the sake of money. But because I have stayed with God's word, he could not win me over. For besides, he vexes everyone else.

### 3. from other bishops.

In the year two and forty, M. Luther said: "The bishop of Wuerzburg lets himself be seen as if he were almost with us, because he suffers that the choir students take nuns in marriage. 2c. He also advised a canon who secretly had a married wife that the secret marriage was also to be approved, even if they had not been held publicly nor gone to church and street with each other, if only pious God-fearing witnesses had been present.

The bishop of Cameris confuted and refuted the Pope's primacy, saying: the holy, Christian, universal Church does not stand on a single person or the Roman Church. So he proved it: for the Church could remain on a single person, as in the time of Christ on Mary and the thief on the cross. The apostles would have fallen, therefore their successors, and those who take their place, could also fall; therefore the church does not stand on a certain place, and proper succession. If anyone said this to our tyrants, he would have to die," said D. M. Luther.

The bishops of Rome are the poorest of all, are only lords by name and title, and must walk; but if they have a horse, they must obtain it from another office. For the pope has innumerable table companions, who must buy the privilege with many thousand ducats, so that they may then have expectations on bishoprics and cathedrals in German and other countries, so that a table companion must buy an expectancy for three thousand ducats. Thus the pope's kingdom is only a devastation and tearing apart of the domestic, secular and church government or religion, and much more harmful than any tyranny, which alone leads and breaks in by force, but the pope tears apart all divine ordinances with a loud voice.

Deceit and lies. The bishops in Italy, France, England, Hispania are usually the court advisors of the kings, for the reason that they are poor. But in Germany, because the bishops are rich and powerful and have a great prestige besides, they rule alone.

M. Antonius Lauterbach showed M. M. Luther a letter from the Bishop of Meissen to the preacher in N., in which he accused him and complained that he was only making the people more wanton with his sermons, did not frighten them, they went there in safety, and were not afraid, only sweeping works of the flesh, not of the spirit. Then said D. M. Luther said: "That misfortune should befall the boys! What can they blame us for, as if we preached works of the flesh, since we always teach against them most vehemently and constantly? Only that they cannot see this because of great hatred and envy: they have innumerable plots and practices against us; they make great efforts, like Martha, and cause them much trouble without need, in vain; but we have mentioned the best part, and always insist on one opinion, namely, that God is Wonderful and Counsel, and that Christ lives and reigns. But they, because they have wicked causes, make endless plans and counsels, and never get on the right path.

The papal bishops do nothing that their office requires," said D. M. Luther. This is our consolation, that they are not the righteous church, which needs them for the sake of the ministry of preaching, baptism and sacrament. Therefore they are not true bishops, because they are not such bishops as St. Paul defines and describes a bishop, Titus 1:9, namely, "he that holdeth fast the word which is sure, and is able to teach, that he may be mighty to exhort by sound doctrine, and to punish them that speak evil. For the church is in need of the teaching, first, of the law, of what we owe and ought to do. Secondly, of justification and sanctification, how we are justified and sanctified before God, namely, as much as the Holy Spirit works in us,

1) Probably not to Joh. Cellarius at Bautzen (Bindseil III, 296), but to Caspar Zeuner, as also Seidemann (at De Wette VI, 704) assumes. Cf. Cap. 27, § 159.

for he alone must always be the master. Third, prayer and thanksgiving, so that we may grow and increase daily in right faith, confession and good works. The antinomians and lawbreakers despise all this and have only a pretense of it. That is why Satan, as God's monkey, has invented much outward sanctification: because he sees that God does such things, he imitates them; but for the sake of an evil end, namely, either to make people mislead and dismayed, or to prefer and exalt lies and what is false to truth and what is righteous, and to accept and hold above them what is true, or to despise what is true for what is false.

D. M. Luther remembered the Bishop of Brandenburg, with whom he had stood in prayer at Dessau on an Easter day, who had gone to the Gospel of his own accord, and had spoken vehemently against the papacy, the Mass, the Canon, and the offering *ex opere operato*, doing works of his own self-chosen devotion, since the priest, when he picks up the host, says: God, I offer you haec Dona, haec Munera, et haec Sacrosancta, these gifts, presents, and holiest things: since he eats a piece of bread. For he says such words before the consecration, before he consecrates. Ah, God give us such bishops more, as he has given us several universities, as Wittenberg, Leipzig, Rostock, Copenhagen, Königsberg, Erfurt. 1) We hope, Mainz shall also come. There is no hope from Cologne.

After that he wished happiness and God's blessing to M. Cellario and M. Antonio Lauterbach to their bishoprics, and called them bishops; they would be right bishops and would have a greater regiment and superattendance than St. Augustine. For Hippo would not have been so great as Dresden. For if St. Augustine had been burdened with other things, as now the bishops of Shrovetide, he would not have been able to write such great books nor to preach. Unfortunately, we learn that the bishops are now so negligent and unfaithful that they do not only leave their office and do not go out of the church.

1) Stangwald also mentions Tübingen and Greifswald.

but secretly follow up and would like to prevent, even kill, those who do so.

The bishop of N. N., although he has taken a wife, is a godless pope, does not promote the gospel, seeks only his own benefit. Summa, the bishops find only poison and pestilence of the churches and police, disturbers of both regiments.

In 1539, on January 25, M. Luther had previously admonished D. Caspar Zeuner 2) that he would gladly accept the office of superintendent and the office of preacher at Freiberg, in honor of God. For although we are too weak and far too few for such a high office, God wants us to be fellow heirs and helpers, and He wants to work through us, he said. And he granted that he would write to the Bishop of Meissen, if he wanted to help in such holy work. We must nevertheless, said D. We do not want them to lose their authority and power if they only accept God's word, or at least let it have its free course.

I will work diligently to help that the monasteries and small dioceses may remain, that preachers and pastors may be chosen and taken into the cities from them and educated, and that the small schools may become common pastors, while the large dioceses will become secular. If one now wanted to let everything fall, where would one take preachers and ministers? For the common rabble and the common man will not and will not feed us, so we cannot do it ourselves and feed ourselves; therefore let us keep this means. As I now intend and intend to ask the princes, in my book of the church.

If we had one or two bishops on our side and brought them to us, as the bishop of Eichstadt was, who freely said to the emperor: "One should not hinder the course of the Gospel. We also have this hope for the bishop of Meissen, who advised at Leipzig on the day that priestly marriages should be allowed to continue, and that the sacra-

2) Compare Hiezu im Appendix No. I No. 364 den Brief des Ll. Nie. Hausmann to the Bishop of Meissen.

ment under both figures. If that were to happen, we would have enough right away. For the celibacy and the celibate life of the priests is not over five hundred years that [it] has begun. At the time of Bishop Ulrich it was only introduced and started. And they probably circumvented it for a hundred years before they brought it into pregnancy. And they had soon slain the bishop of Mainz in Erfurt, because he had wanted to carry out the execution.

#### 4. how far one may tolerate the bishops.

In 1543, on the 15th of May, on the day of our Lord's Ascension, 1) Luther had lunch with the Elector of Saxony. There it was also discussed that the bishops be allowed to remain in their authority, only that they swear to the pope and be godly persons who promote the gospel and are subject and obedient to him, as Speratus is. Then let us give and appropriate to them the righteousness and power to ordain ecclesiastics. Although Philip M. recanted: for there would be danger if they were to examine. Then said D. M. Luther said: "Our people must take the exam and then ordain them with the laying on of hands, as I am now a bishop.

#### 5. the word bishop, where it comes from and what it means.

(The first paragraph Lauterbach, April 10, 1538, p. 59.)

On April 10 there was much and careful disputit about the name bishop, what a great office it would be, to whom an army not of goats or pigs, not a heap of gold or silver, but the army of Christ would be commanded. And he said he could not render this name Ἐπισκοπος clearly enough in German, and the word ἐπισκοπεῖν, whereon to think, to heed, to care. Therefore the pastors would best be called curators [caretakers]. And some derive it not unskillfully: bishop by sheep, who is to be with the sheep, always and diligently looking after them

remember. A househusband 2) is a name of status. But it should actually be a name of activity. But, unfortunately, the glorious name has completely passed away with the papists and has been only a name of dignity, but the devil's image of a tyrant, as the word spiritual has also become nothing else. Spiritual goods were called interest. Fie on you! At the time of Jerome there were only bishops, i.e. elders and deacons, as his epistle to Evagrius indicates; I will publish it. At that time there was neither cardinal, nor primate, nor patriarch, nor metropolitan, nor archbishop, but a bishop, i.e. an elder, and a priest and a deacon. But now such a fuss has been made, so that the Church, the Bride of Christ, is completely changed and has become a Papist whore, which has only the outward appearance, without the inward Word of God.

(The following paragraph in Lauterbach, Apr. 30, 1538, p. 75.)

After that he asked Jonas, who was leaving for Zerbst, to explain the passage 1 Peter 5 to him: The elders are to pay attention voluntarily, not forced, but gladly from the heart, not as if they had to do it. Who does this? Then that he does not seek shameful gain, that he only seeks to benefit souls and consciences. By this tremendous thunderclap he puts down the whole papacy, which seeks shameful gain, seeks honor and avarice, but also all hopefuls and belly servants. These words of Peter are not merely δῶρατιχα [teaching], but also prophetic. Peter saw in his mind the ungodliness of his followers, who would do everything by force and for the sake of gain. In short, whichever elder has this testimony in his conscience, according to this passage of Peter, may well be glad and look forward with joy to the archpastor Christ, and certainly boast and say: Here I stand and preach, called with extended divine vocation. On the other hand, the listeners should believe: Here I sit and hear God speak, not

1) This date is incorrect because in 1543 May 15 fell on a Tuesday.

2) A househusband is a man who is supposed to be in the house and take care of it diligently. The name, however, expresses only the former, although the performance of the activity is the main thing.

a human being. So the church would stand righteously. In short: St. Peter exhorts diligently. He was also serious, as the first letter concludes, "GOD who called you, the same will complete you, strengthen you, fortify you, establish you. Amen."

Once upon a time there was a bishop on the Rhine who put many poor people who came to him asking for alms into a house and locked it; then he set fire to it, and when the poor people cried out in a pitiful, loud voice, he said, "Dear, listen to the mice chirping and screaming. This same bishop and tyrant was then eaten by large mice. Since he could not fight off the mice, he had a stone house built for him in the middle of the Rhine, where he lived, as happened. But the mice followed him, swam through the Rhine, and ate him.

#### 6. the bishops' negligence.

No bishop or papist priest in a hundred years has taken with seriousness to care for the poor as the schools and

churches with baptism and the preaching ministry, because they are burdened with God's hatred.

#### 7. from the bishop of Brandenburg.

D. M. Luther said that when he had just begun to write against indulgences in 1517, he had sent a letter to the bishop of Brandenburg, asking him to defend Tetzel. He replied: "I should not start with these things; but if I did, I would gain trouble, because I would be attacking the cause of the church. Then the devil incarnate spoke out of this bishop.

#### 8. ordination of bishops in the papacy.

If a bishop is made in the papacy, the devil soon leads into him; for he must vow to the pope at Rome to strive, rage and rage against the Lutheran doctrine, and to serve and be obedient to the pope. He swears to serve the devil, and the devil leads into him from the beginning.

## The 32nd chapter.

# Of the papal or ecclesiastical right.

1. what the pope's decree contains.
2. from the decree of the pope.
3. the Pabst's impiety and his tyranny.
4. decretals and decrees.
5. the spiritual right, what it is.
6. figure and contereifei of Pabst's Decretals.
7. What Gratianus sought in the decree.
8. of the pope's decree and chancellery.
9. against the canonists.

10. of the spiritual right.
- 11) There is nothing about Christ in Pabst's books.
- 12 Comparison of the Papists and Anabaptists. The pope serves for the world.
14. the monks, papists, and enthusiasts regiment and comparison.
- 15 For such a long time, no one paid any attention to the Pope's ungodly decrees.
16. the donkey's will.

#### 1. what the pope's decree contains.

(Cordatus No. 592. 593.)

The pope with his canons is vain beggary from the laws of the emperor.

The author of the decrees was an ass, who did not explain what is the right, what is the law, what is custom, of which he speaks at once. Through the Decretals

they govern the world, for they contain judicial and secular matters; of the church they contain nothing.

#### 2. from the decree.

The decree is not confirmed and approved by the pope, and nevertheless the pope follows it in what is for him. And is therefore by

long custom torn down and taken. For Gratianus, who forged it, when he saw the pope's power and splendid status, he decided and put it all in the pope's favor and will; but this is against the concilia. Therefore one should be obedient to the pope!

Thomas Aquinas does the same. The same one, although he has the most beautiful sayings in the Scriptures, concludes with the opinion of Aristotle. Gratianus, in Canone of Consecration and Consecration, makes it very Bachantian. There were also Fratres ignorantiae, unlearned brothers. I wanted you to read the decree, so that they would see the great impiety, impiousness and wickedness of the pope and his church. In the first, and sometimes, there are fine, good, healthy, righteous canons in it; but after that follows a very ungodly thing. There are two cuncta in it; there the pope has well let himself be noticed, and proved himself to be an anti-Christian. So it goes, when Christ is not there, and hides himself. I read Dinum about the decree, which confirmed me and gave me cause to write against the pope.

(Here § lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 22, z 132.)

The pope wanted his decretal to be held equal to the writings of the evangelists and apostles, and to be a purpose to which all canons and distinctions were directed. Summa, the pope wants to be a lord over goods and churches, and a lord over all lords. Fie on you!

### 3. the Pabst's decree Jmpietät and his tyranny.

To M. Holstein, the new jurist, D. M. said: Pabst's decrees have a lot of ugly devilish canons in them. When you read them, remember them. The church is especially plagued and besmirched with them. For the pope may impudently say: If a man kept and believed all four evangelists, and did not keep his decree, he would be maledicted, and it would be in vain and for nothing that he believed in Christ. Item, in another canon it is written: "If the pope sends countless souls to the infernal hell, then he will be destroyed.

But one should not ask: why do you do this? Is this not the devil, and the extreme ruin and poison of the churches? I should follow the pope, even if he leads me to hell; since his office is to comfort the poor consciences and to feed them to Christ. Fie on you, should you teach the consciences to doubt?

Item: You will often find in decrees that an article from Scripture is proved with fine, beautiful sayings. Now when he (the master) has led all Scripture, he argues against it, and says: The Roman church has decided otherwise; and may impudently subjugate the holy Scripture to men. So also does Thomas Aquinas, who in his writings and books argues pro and *contra*, and when he has led a saying from Scripture, he finally concludes thus: Aristotle in the sixth book *Ethicorum* holds it differently. There the holy scripture must give way to the pagan master Aristotle.

The world does not want to recognize such darkness and abominations, but despises the truth and falls into horrible errors. Therefore, let us make good use of the time, for things will not always remain as they are now.

### 4. decretals and decrees.

In decrees, the pope rules and triumphs like a victor and conqueror: there he is in possession and on his mast, roaring 1) and thundering, along with these words: "We recognize, judge and judge by divine command: We have power to command and to conclude; the others shall and must be obedient to us." Item: "Let all the world know that no one has power to judge the pope, but he alone has power to judge the whole world."

In the decree he only argues alone, but in the decree he triumphs. I believe that it is written more than a thousand times in the spiritual law that the pope may not be judged by anyone. And there is a special proof of this: for one pope introduces another. Thus proves a thing with himself. Gratia-

1) So Stangwald instead of "billt".

nus, who has compiled the decree, begins in the first fine, as said above, at the saying of St. Paul about the office of a bishop, and divides it finely into main sayings; but in the end he decides nothing but about prebends, consecrations, tithes, oils, smearings, and such gimmicks and abominations. All jurists were silent about this, except for Peter of Ferrara.

#### **5. the spiritual right, what it is.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 4, 1538, p. 158.)

Canon law, according to the judgment of all jurists, is a very unflattering book that reeks of money. Take away the arrogance and avarice from it, and nothing essential remains, and yet it has a shine under the best of appearances; for all misfortune must be raised in the name of God, as only in the name of God is righteousness and salvation. Thus also under the pretense of this name all idolatry and superstition arises; therefore not without reason after the first commandment follows the second: "Thou shalt not uselessly use the name of the LORD thy God."

#### **6. figure and conterfei of Pabst's Decretals.**

In the decretals of the pope, the consciences and bodies are tormented and martyred, therefore they are rightly compared to this image, which is a virgin at the head, because the beginning is pretty and lovely to look at; the body is a lion that breaks through by force; the tail is a snake, that is, all lies and deceit. So goes the whole pabstacy with its superstitions, superstitions and abominations.

#### **7 What Gratianus sought in the decree.**

Gratianus, the jurist who compiled the decree, was most concerned about it; and the ultimate reason why he did it was that he might concord and harmonize and unify the canons, and find a means between the good and the evil. He meant well, the good man, but it turned out badly, because he rejected what is good and what is evil.

approved. For since he has submitted that this is impossible, he is deterred by the gloss that says: This is not to be held, for it is against the pope. For the histories testify that the pope has always wanted to be a lord and master even over the Holy Scriptures and the Word of God. And even though many bishops have resisted him, they have not been able to achieve or maintain anything against him, out of God's great anger to punish the world's ingratitude and contempt for his word. Thus, out of good zeal, Gratianus undertook to concord the sayings of the Conciliar, and to purgate and purify the good Christian canons from the ungodly and evil ones.

#### **8. of the pope's decree and chancellery.**

Anno 1539, the 21st of April, D. M. read in the decree, and said: It surprises me that in such a large book nothing of the faith is dealt with. So also the fathers, ecclesiastici Scriptorum, could have written thing enough of the doctrine of faith. And when he read in the decree how Emperor Louis, the great Caroli's nephew, had given the pope authority over all kingdoms and lands, he said: "I consider that the pope's chancellery is a cloaca full of lies, as he has drawn all privileges on custom.

#### **9. against the canonists.**

On the way to Schmideberg, M. was highly moved and very angry with the canonists, and said: He wanted to use Amsdorf as a mediator between him and D. H[ieronimus] 1) S[churf]. Since he could not achieve anything by this, he wanted to teach publicly against him. For the canonists' faculty would be the most insolent and ugly, foreign of all arts, and not founded in Roman emperor's rights, but would only be a little trade and enjoyment of the Rabuls and tongue threshers. And they should govern the gospel and God's word?

#### **10. spiritual law.**

Emperor's law is nothing else than what human reason teaches; but the spiritual law is nothing else.

What the pope sets, paints and dreams is right. I wanted to give my left hand so that the papists would have to keep their canons. I mean, they would scream more than about Luther.

#### **11) There is nothing about Christ in Pabst's books.**

In all of the pope's legal books and laws, there is not a single word that teaches what and who Christ is. This is not called the shepherd of the church, but the devil. And comfort me also, as often as I think of it. He speaks of baptism shamefully enough; he has even torn apart the sacrament of the altar.

(Here 29 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 27, § 43.)

(Cordatus No. 69.)

The papacy is the proper kingdom for all godless and despisers of God, who are worthy of such a ruler that they must obey a godless man even against their will, who voluntarily did not want to obey God.

#### **12 Comparison of the Papists and Anabaptists.**

(Cordatus No. 79.)

The whole order of the papists consists in doing, but of the Anabaptists in suffering, and is one as good [as] the other.

#### **The pope serves for the world.**

(Contained in Cap. 27, § 68.)

#### **14. the monks, papists, and enthusiasts regiment and comparison.**

(Lauterbach, Dec. 18, 1538, p. 193.)

On December 18, he said of the Church of the Papists, in which the monks plagued the consciences with their statutes. They were worse than the papist epicureans, the cardinals, who ruled physically, thus became vain jurists, but to the highest ruin.

of conscience. Ah, dear Lord! The name of the church was the pretext for the most shameful heresies. For the papists arrogated this name to themselves, since they are the real enemies of the church, partly epicureans, partly idolatrous hypocrites. Therefore, their opinion is to be regarded as nothing without the Word. On the other hand, the courage of the zealots is also not to be suffered, because they completely reject the reputation of the church and hate the sayings of the best and most proven people and only decorate their opinions with passages of Scripture. Both of them sin. Therefore, the name of the church must be carefully taken care of.

#### **15 For such a long time, no one paid attention to the Pope's ungodly decrees.**

Let it be known that the righteous church has never had a name or title in the world, but has always been without a name; therefore it is believed and not seen. As we confess in infantile faith, and say, I believe a holy Christian church, because it is commonly weighted and covered with the holy cross. Just look at how it went with the pope, aren't these ungodly cruel decrees, the chapter Cuncta 9. q. 3; C. si Papa, dist. 40, item, the Cap: ad. Apostolicae, de appellat. in. 6? No emperor, king, nor theologian has noticed it; that I marvel at the great blindness that they have not noticed so great gross lies of the pope, who has brazenly boasted that the Holy Scripture has its authority and power from the Roman Church, and testifies to its foundation and reason the saying from the Scripture: You are Peter.

#### **16. the donkey's will.**

(Cordatus No. 746.)

The donkey's testament: I give my head to the papists, my ears to the cardinals, my voice to the singers, my dung to the fertilizers, my bones to the players, my skin to the sharrhans, that they may make a kettledrum out of it.



## The 33rd chapter. Of human traditions.

1. where the statutes in the papacy come from.
2. finite cause of human statutes in the papacy. Ceremonies are the tinder of superstition.
4. of the papists fasting.
5. hypocrisy and fictitious holiness deceive people.
6. from St. Bernard's Foundation.
7. where the word Easter comes from.

8. the feast of the Holy Trinity.
9. avoid new and superstitious ceremonies.
10. why and by whom the Sabbath was changed to Sunday.
11. to whom the statutes of men are to be compared.
12. work saints devise many new ceremonies.
13. of righteous Christian fasting.

### 1. where the statutes in the papacy come from find.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 31, 1538, p. 126.)

The human statutes in the papacy were created by the most unbearable tyrannical pride according to the words of Christ (Matth. 23, 4.): "They will not lift a finger." For the pope insisted with all his prestige on that which he himself despised, as those two Frenchmen who came from Rome said: they had eaten meat dishes publicly in Rome even on Char Friday. If they did that in France, they would be burned with fire. This is how great the impiety of the Roman See is.

### 2. finite cause of human statutes in the papacy.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 14, 1538, p. 151.)

The final purpose of the ordinances of men, namely, that they are the services of God, necessary to salvation, is the devil and all misfortune, even though they have the most godly works. If a preacher, a ruler, a householder fulfills his profession quite diligently, but adds this as a final purpose: I do it for this reason, so that I may do good enough, then all is ruined. Such was the exceedingly godless superstition of superfluous good works, as the ship well indicates, in which only monks and priests and nuns sat, who held out their hands and threw ropes to the other people who were in the sea, as if the holy church were nothing but the heap of the shorn. For even today Witzel blasphemes me for praising and exalting civil works.

### 3. ceremonies find tinder of superstition. 1)

(Lauterbach, April 3, 1538, p. 53.)

If we could preserve the Catechismum and establish the schools for the churches coming after us, we would have lived well. 2) The ceremonies may fall, for they are tinder and cause of superstition. Let the ceremonies fall, for they are a tinder and cause of superstition. If I could only bring it about that one, as a worldly thing, ordained that one should not eat meat for two days a week, that would be enough. We do not want the superstitious papist fast, since the collations [snack] were better than the meals. And he told a story that had happened in Italy, where a stranger was asked whether he wanted to go to the table for the meal or for the snack. When he chose the meal, he was served herring and a few bad things; but at the other table the best delicacies, fish and confectionery, were served, since they were fasting, with the best drinks. It is a play of the devil.

### 4. from the papist fast.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 14, 1538, p. 151.)

After that he said about the strict fasting of the papists, from which very miserable murder and corruption of the youth took place, where the people, according to arithmetic proportion, were forced to observe the same time, the same food, and so the natural forces are ver-

1) In the original, this section follows immediately after Cap. 5, z 26.

2) For "pastores" in the original would probably like to read postsrus, as Aurifaber also read.

derbt. Therefore, Gerson was forced to write a consolation for those who were challenged, so that they would not despair, because in fasting they sinned less through abundance than through lack, because lack ruins nature. Such darkness was in Pabstism, where neither the Ten Commandments, nor the Christian faith, nor the Lord's Prayer was taught, nor was it considered necessary to know it.

On that day Luther was quite ill and spoke of breaking down his tent, because he could no longer, he had done his part. God would raise others after him. It would be over with him. He still wanted to do what he could, but under the forgiveness of sins.

#### **5. hypocrisy and fictitious holiness deceive people.**

People are miserably deceived by the self-invented and chosen holiness of the hypocrites and superstitious. But it is only the Holy Scripture and the Holy Spirit's office to reveal such things. No dialectics can teach the difference between essential and accidental holiness. St. Francis was essentially holy only by the word of faith, and then he was accidentally sanctified by the holiness that was supposed to be in the cap, which the people could see and grasp, and thus assumed as if it were precious holiness; since the cap was a foreign and not an accidental thing of holiness, since it did nothing to it. It is not a natural and accidental thing that belongs to the being, as the form and powers in a young man are a natural and proper thing, although the being can well be without them for itself: but the monk's cap and the rope of St. Francis is a strange, monstrous and accidental thing; as if one put on a fool's cap or a carnival larva, without which a man can well be.

#### **6. from St. Bernard's Foundation.**

St. Bernard was an abbot for thirty-six years, during which time he built one hundred and sixty monasteries and provided them with abundant income. Think what

to it has belonged, said D. Martinus, to preserve one hundred and sixty monasteries. Thus superstition and superstition increase and rise to the highest in a short time, since the gospel must beg and go for bread.

#### **7. where the word Easter comes from.**

About the word Easter, from where it is called, there have been many questions and opinions. Some have said in the first: It comes from the fact that one asked those who used the holy: edistis Easter? Do you eat it? Others say that it is because Christ, having risen from the dead, was seen towards the east. I, said D. Martinus, said, it is a corruptum vocabulum, a word in which the letters are displaced and reversed; as Easter for Urständ. Thus, in ancient times, they called the feast of Epiphany (which is called the feast of the three kings) Ueberschein.

#### **8. from the feast of the Holy Trinity.**

Doctor Martinus said that the Gospel Luc. 9, about the transfiguration of the Lord Christ, rhymed very well with the feast of the Holy Trinity.

The chant: Come, Holy Spirit 2c., was made by the Holy Spirit Himself, both words and melody. Also for Easter: Stetit Angelus, der Engel stund bei dem Grabe 2c., is a very good song.

But the musicians and singers are unequal. Like a German, when he went to St. Jacob, and on the way, when he came to France, the people there asked him to sing German, because he had a good voice; so he sang: The shepherd in the Niedermühl would like to have my little daughter; and he bowed. Then the French also bent their knees, as if he called God.

#### **9. avoid new and superstitious ceremonies.**

Since M. Antonius D. Martino of the Consistorii order at Merseburg told that it was met with new and superstitious ceremonies.

1) I. e. of the Holy Communion. Binding rope III, 20.

ret, since neither the prince nor those in the Consistory knew anything about it, nor had they consented to it; said D. M. Luth. M. Luth. said: M. is a strange man, has a pious bishop, who is easily persuaded to perform ceremonies, has sent me a book, in which many ceremonies are listed, that I wanted to approve and sanction it. But I wrote on the margin next to it: "This cannot be: it is unpleasant and unchristian: superstitious, useless and not necessary: this could be tolerated to some extent" 2c. So I rejected the bishop's devotion.

I am heartily hostile to such orders, even if they could be kept free. For Satan seeks new snares of the consciences to ensnare people with human statutes, against which I have now fought for longer than twenty-five years from God's Word to preserve our Christian freedom. After that came M. Daniel of D., 1) who often talked with us about it, and asked us not to agree to such an order and decree, even if the prince or the angel Gabriel pressed for it, but that we would continue in the pure Word of God, righteous sacrament, and walk in a Christian and honorable life. We would have enough ceremonies and good discipline and discipline, if we only followed them. And D. Martinus said to him and M. Antonio: "If the three of you agree, I will exclude you from the number of our churches and put you under ban.

#### 10. why, and by whom the Sabbath is set on Sunday.

I believe, said D. Martinus, that the apostles changed the Sabbath to Sunday, otherwise no one would have been so bold as to be allowed to do it: and I believe that they did it primarily to tear out of the hearts of the people this delusion, as if they were righteous and pious for the sake of the law, if they kept it, and so that it would be considered certain and constant that the law was not necessary for salvation.

But the apostles were moved to do this by the resurrection of the Lord Christ and the fact that the Holy Spirit was the one who had come to life.

The Holy Spirit was sent on the day of Pentecost. But before that they were under the carnal delusion that they thought and believed that he would restore the kingdom of Israel, imagining and dreaming only a worldly and political kingdom.

#### 11. statutes of men, to whom they are to be compared.

I know, said D. Martinus, no better example and likeness, to which human statutes are equal and even, than (to speak with breeders) the ars, which does not let itself be bound, wants to be straight master and have the upper hand and the regiment; therefore the pope has left nothing else unbidden to man's body and soul, but the same.

Ceremonies, such as: Eating meat, fasting, clothing, place, time 2c. are free and proper in themselves, for such violate neither God nor the natural law.

Superstition and superstition, abuse in ceremonies, is when they are made necessary and regarded as worship and merit. But this can be postponed, because they are only means, which are used for the sake of a political end, namely, that order is kept and everything is done properly and honestly in the church. Just as the natural law teaches, which is planted in the heart of all men by God, and as we also see in the creation of all creatures, how finely ordered they are made by God. On the other hand, Christ says Matth. 15, 9: "They serve me in vain, because they teach such doctrines, which are nothing but the commandments of men." And St. Paul Gal. 1:8: "If we also, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." For the gospel teaches that it is for Christ's sake alone that we become righteous, just and blessed in the sight of God.

#### 12. work saints devise many new ceremonies.

The worship in the New Testament and the Christian Church is based on truth and simplicity: there is no colored and painted superstition, nor idolatry. Therefore, St. John describes in his canons and epistles that three things.

1. the Spirit, which is the ministry of preaching; 2. the water, which is baptism; 3. the blood, which is the Lord's Supper, 1 John 5:8.

But the pope and the sectarians despise these testimonies and have invented and arranged innumerable services, ceremonies and sacrifices by their own choice without God's word; thus the church has been forced out of her bridegroom's institution and order by error.

### 13. of righteous Christian fasting.

When one said that the King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein had instituted a fast and commanded it to be kept three days in succession, exhorting the people to prayer and peace, D. Martin Luther said. Martin Luther: "It is right, I would like them (the lords) to set it up again; it is the utmost humiliation and humility, and if the inward also comes to it, then it is good.

## The 34th chapter.

### Of ceremonies.

1. that ceremonies shall be free.
2. whether to eat meat on Friday and at other forbidden times.
3. to M. Nicolaum Hausmann report and concerns of ceremonies.

4. concerns to the church servants at Nordhausen.

5. the feast of St. John the Baptist.

*Omnis spiritus laudat Dominum, ergo omni lingua et sermone est laudandus.*

#### 1. that ceremonies shall be free.

(Cordatus No. 44.)

As a householder says to his servants, "Eat, drink, and let me take care of you, but do my will," so God does not care what you eat or drink or how you dress, but only requires that you do his will.

#### 2. whether meat may be eaten on Fridays and other forbidden times.

To this Doctor Martin Luther answered and said, "Yes, which is thus proved, for Christ saith Matt. 15:11, What cometh into the mouth defileth not a man. Item: "To the pure all things are pure," Titus 1:15. Against this one said, "The rulers of the church and the bishops have forbidden to eat meat on Friday, 2c. Meat to eat, therefore one should keep such prohibition. Answer: Human statutes and traditions may and should be kept in the church for the sake of outward discipline and respectability, for that is their end,

They are to be used for this purpose, but not in the opinion that they make one righteous, pious and blessed in the sight of God.

#### 3. to M. Nicolaum Hausmann report and concerns of D. M. Luther about ceremonies.

(This § is Walch, old ed., vol. XVIII, 2501, § 2.)

#### 4. Doctor Martin Luther's concerns to the church servants at Nordhausen.

(This § is Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 1346 f., No. 887.)

#### 5. from the feast of St. John the Baptist.

The feast of St. John the Baptist, on which the New Testament began, should be left, for it says: "The law and the prophets have prophesied until John," Matth. 11, 13. This should also be done for the sake of the beautiful hymns, which we still have, read in the papacy, but not understood.

Then one said: The song of Zachariah is fine. Yes, said D. Martin Luther, it is fine; for

The preface and foreword of Lucas indicates this when he says: "And Zacharias was filled with the Holy Spirit" 2c., Luc. 1, 67.

We preachers and pastors are to watch and see to it that ceremonies are made and held in such a way that the people do not become so wild, nor too holy. Whoever wants to challenge a ceremony 1), let it be as small as it wants, must grasp the sword with both hands, not do as Erasmus, who only ridicules them, because they are foolish and ridiculous. But if one says against them, "God is also a fool, and gives foolish things, such as circumcision, sacrifices, the slaughter of Isaac 2c.

How then, if such a foolish thing, which you ridicule, pleases God? Erasmus will never solve the argument, nor will he be embarrassed, because otherwise reason, when it comes and gets into divine things, despises them. He does not know the principium, the firm reason, namely, that one must insist on God's word and follow it. Only the article of justification by Christ must do it, otherwise the thought will always remain in the mind: "Perhaps...".

1) Thus it is correctly stated in the Duplicate Cap. 37, § 125 instead of "anrichten".

why did you want to challenge it? Has not our Lord God commanded more foolish things?

No one can withstand these arguments who cannot do more than Erasmus. The argument: "The church says it and admits it", repels them all. It is impossible that a believer could write as many books as Erasmus and not intersperse and mix in a few verses and testimonies of Christ.

### **Omnis Spiritus laudat Dominum, ergo omni Lingua et Sermone est laudandus.**

(Cordatus No. 507. 497.)

Let everything that has breath praise the Lord [Ps. 150:6], so let God be preached and praised in every language and speech.

The emperor has decided that he wants to order that in all countries only Latin is to be prayed, read and mass is to be celebrated. He wants to forbid the dear Christ to speak, and although he understands all languages, he shall speak only in Latin. And in the Psalms it is said [Ps. 19, 4.]: "There is no language nor speech, where one does not hear their voice." The emperor says: You shall speak in Latin. Christ: let me speak as I will. So they are against each other. Which of the two will keep the victory?

## **The 35. Chapter. Of the Mass.**

The mass is the foundation of the papacy.

2. abomination of the fair.

3. great abuse and desecration of the Mass.

4. 5. from the angle fair.

6. from the canon.

7. where the jewelry and clothing 2c., which is needed in the papacy at mass, come from.

The mass is the greatest service and good work in the papacy.

9. from the first fair.

10. what belongs to a papist measurement.

11. ignorance of the measuring monkeys.

12. whether the mass is a sacrifice.

13. the mass is the biggest service in the whales.

14. where the fair got its name.

15. abomination of the fair.

### **1. the foundation of the Pabstium.**

(Cordatus No. 620.)

The papacy is founded in two ways: Through the service of God, whom they invoke and preach; secondly, through the mass, which all the

Treasures of the world together and gives your pope. The mass is the rock of the papists in spirit and in flesh. In spirit it has already fallen. God will destroy it also in the flesh and will destroy the rock of the flesh.

destroy. If our Lord God lets me die of breath [i.e. of a natural death], he does the papists a great mischievousness that they have not burned him who thus brought them to nothing.

## 2. abomination of the fair.

(Cordatus No. 619.)

No tongue can express the abomination of the Mass, no heart can properly sit it, and it would not have been surprising if God had corrupted the whole world for its sake, as [the devil] has certainly corrupted a great part of it through the trade of the Mass; but when he shall come with that fire [of Judgment Day], he will give him the due reward.

## 3. great abuse and desecration of the Mass.

Doctor Martin Luther told of a horrible profanation and desecration of the mass, which happened in Jtalia, where two mass ministers stand at the same time over an altar against each other and say mass: One turns towards the exit, the other towards the descent of the sun; the one reads the Gospel on this side, the other on the other side; they are finished in their craft, seek only their enjoyment and the dear penny, consider the Mass neither a sacrifice nor a sacrament, only they impudently look at its benefit; consider it a handling and a trade. The pope has seen and heard all these monstrous monstrosities, but has paid no attention to them, has let them happen; he must be either a gross ass or a devil in the flesh: an ass that he has not understood such errors; a devil that he has caused and defended such abominations.

## 4th angle fair.

The angular mass has deceived and seduced many saints, from the time of Gregory, over eight hundred years, and John Huss has also been caught with the make-up. I am surprised, said M. D., how God has delivered me from this idolatry and pulled me out of it. Then Phil. Mel.: Three years ago

If a Moor 1) had been here for years, he would have indicated for certain and said that no private and special mass was held in Asia. And I believe, said D. M. Luther, that in Armenia, Ethiopia, Moorland, India and the countries towards the east there are still many Christians, but in Asia Minor they are all under the Turk.

## 5. a different from the angle fair.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 13, 1538, p. 149 f.)

Afterwards, he spoke of the private mass and its superstitions, which were held in such high esteem that I would not have believed that only something of it would come to an end when I first wrote of the abdication of the mass. The Mass is the greatest acquisition and foundation of the pope. There was such a hearing of the Mass that if, for example, lords and mighty men had not heard the Mass in the morning, they had to have a dry Mass, all the prayers, the Epistle, the Gospel, the Canon and the consecrated host from the ciborium with the chalice, D. Basil replied: In France the prestige of the pope was not so great as it had been among the Germans, only the mass was still in bloom there, but in such a way that everyone daily devoutly heard one mass, after which they despised all other masses and passed by without reverence, and the king of France always gave a crown to the one who said it. Luther replied, "It is nevertheless very pleasing. For it seemed impossible to me in the beginning that the Mass should fall, which was founded in so many places and hearts. If the sacrament is done under both forms, the mass will not stand for long. Therefore, I would like to know if it is true that the bishop of Cologne allowed both forms. He is otherwise a good epicure; he believes as much as the See of Rome.

## 6. from the Canon.

The Canon in the Mass is cobbled together from many lies and is broken. The Greeks do not have it. I, said D. M. Luther, since

1) Franciscus. Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 406, no. 454.

I was in Jtalia, 1) saw that those in Milan had no such Canonem. And when I wanted to say mass in that place, they said to me: Nos sumus Ambrosiani: We are Am.

brosian; which also thus happened and is true.

It is said that the Milanese disagreed with each other and quarreled whether they should accept Ambrosii's or Gregory's book in their church; they asked God to show them by a miracle. When they had placed both books in the church at night, they found Ambrosii's book on the high altar completely unbroken, but Gregory's book was torn into pieces and scattered from time to time. They interpreted this to mean that Ambrose should remain on the altar in Milan and Gregory should be scattered throughout the world. So the people of Milan hold it differently than the Roman church.

#### 7) Where the jewelry and clothing 2c. that are used in the monastery come from.

The vestments, ornaments and clothing used at mass and other ceremonies in the priesthood are taken partly from Moses and partly from the pagans. For since the priests saw that the people were drawn to the market or playhouses by public spectacles and had a desire to do so, and that the churches remained desolate and empty as a result, they were moved and induced to set up and use such spectacles and jugglery in the church as well, so that the children and unlearned people would be moved and provoked to go to church all the better and watch such jugglery and folly. Just look at what they did on Easter evening for children's play and bragging. That pleased everyone, and would have been fine in part, if superstition had not been added to it.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, July 27, 1538, p. 103.)

He told a story about when he was a young monk in Erfurt and went terminiren [begging] in a village,

1) In 1510, when Luther was on his way back from Rome to Germany. Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XX, 2227, § 71, where Luther reports the same.

and when he was ready to celebrate Mass, the sexton began to sing to the lute: Kyrie eleison, and the Patrem. Then I had to sing the mass, although I could hardly contain myself from laughing, because I was not used to such organs. I had to direct my Gloria in excelsis after his Kyrie.

#### 8. the mass in the papacy the greatest service and good work.

(Lauterbach, Dec. 5, 1538, p. 186.)

On December 5, he said much about the exceedingly pernicious error of one's own righteousness, which has drawn even the best people away from the truth of God. The Jews performed their sacrifices *ex opere operato*, that they should be a propitiation and satisfaction, and that they should, as it were, throw a morsel to the enraged Cerberus [hound of hell]; since Christ alone is the right morsel, and all their sacrifices are ευχαριστι [thank-offerings] and a

Thanksgiving should have been. The papists' error of the sacrifice of the Mass *ex opere operato*, where an ignorant priest who does not understand Latin makes atonement for sins on behalf of others, is of this kind. Then Luther began to say many things about the abomination of the Mass, which imprisoned all people, both those who said it and those who were present. If a priest was put away from saying mass, it was his highest punishment, because saying mass was their one and only thing [fac totum]. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Mass is not abolished so quickly in England, because it has a great appearance.

#### 9. from the first meffe.

(Lauterbach, Dec. 5, 1538, p. 186.)

The first mass carried a lot of money, it was the right money network with sacrifices and gift. Then they put the Horas Canonicas with torches to the bridegroom. There the young lord had to have the first dance with his mother, if she was still alive, with great weeping of the spectators, as [when] Christ danced with his mother. When I held my first mass in Erfurt, I almost died because there was no faith, but I only looked at the worthiness of my person, so that I would not miss something and thereby sin.

**10. what belongs to a papist mass.**

To the papist mass must belong the character, the mark that one was smeared and consecrated, and an altar stone. If one was only a priest and could say mass for the dead, that could feed him, because it was a rich fair that carried much profit. But if one had a mass for the Virgin Mary, he was well off.

**11. ignorance of the measuring monkeys.**

(Lauterbach, Dec. 18, 1538, p. 193.)

There was talk about the mass priests of the Italians and France, who were completely clumsy and unlearned, because they were completely uneducated, did not understand Latin and lived only from the continuation of the masses. They far surpass our German priests in ignorance. How many sacraments are there? Three. Which ones? The sprinkler, the censer and the crucifix. The one can be enough for you. If someone was ordained and could say three Masses, it was enough: 1) The Requiem [for the dead], 2) of the Blessed Virgin, for all Sundays, 3) of the Trinity or of the Holy Cross 2c. Great was the blindness, unfortunately, and if the days had not been shortened, we would all have become senseless. But I fear it will be worse after us, because of the great contempt of the Word. For princes and cities take little notice of the holy religion, let everything go, punish no evil. Very dangerous times will follow. In short, the world is a strange lot. May our Lord God put an end to it.

**12. whether the mass is a sacrifice.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 537.)

At the Diet of Augsburg, the papists insisted that we should agree that the Mass was a sacrifice of praise, so that they might make do with the word sacrifice, and they were disgraced. But I would have gladly conceded this, if they also wanted to allow each communicant to sacrifice.

The mass must be aborted, primarily for two reasons: The first, so also

reason can judge that it is shameful handling and dishonest enjoyment to sell a mass for a penny or eight pennies. The other is judged by the spirit, namely, that it is an abominable idolatry, that with it the whole Christ is destroyed and buried, because they want to do enough for sin with it, just for the sake of the work, if only that was done.

These two abuses cannot excuse them at all, that is certain; although all universities have conspired, consented and sworn together to defend and preserve this abomination. For this reason, we cannot easily come to terms with the papists, nor can we agree with them; for if they were to drop and abolish the private and anglican mass, they would have to retribute and restore everything that they have lied about, stolen, and snatched away from princes, lords, and the people with the mass.

There has not been a prince in the papacy who said, "My endowment is to be made for the sake of poor virgins, to endow them honestly, but only for the forgiveness of sins; for thus read and testify all the letters and seals of princes. I would rather let no peasant give anything to the priests, monks, and the spiritless; indeed, I would much rather suffer Turks and Tartars than that the mass should remain. But the world is blind, it looks askance, 1) when one takes a monastery; since it, the world, eats nothing more, 2) than the drunkenness given to the sows.

The Mass is a twofold impiety and abomination: first, it is a theological blasphemy; second, it is a political sin, namely, a fraud and theft.

**13. the mass is the biggest service among the whales.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 2, 1538, p. 19.)

Doctor Schneidewein said: That the Italians were Lutherans in many ways and that they easily assaulted him. If you had not attacked the mass, there would be a great coincidence in Italy. But to reject the mass is in their ears the greatest abomination, because they are so attached to

1) So Stangwald instead of: "stale".

2) So Stangwald instead of: "is".



The people are attached to this service, that whoever has heard a mass on one day is without danger and cannot sin. Therefore, the greatest sins and murders happen after they have heard the mass. That is why, after hearing the mass, they let out their long-cherished hatred and resentment in murder. For someone who, after two years of hatred and resentment, could not meet his enemy with [all] reenactments, seized him in the church under the Mass, killed him, and fled. After that, Luther said: "The book of the abbatial Mass is quite harsh, written against the blasphemous adversaries. It is not for the beginners, they are annoyed by it. For whoever should have taken the mass from me twenty years ago should also have come [together] with me in great numbers, for I revered it with all my heart.

hearts. And yet, the foundation of the Mass and the entire papacy is nothing other than acquisition and profit.

#### 14. where the fair got its name.

Missa, the Mass, comes from the Ebraic word Maosim, which means gathered alms, donation or tax, for the sake of the priests or poor people.

#### 15. abomination of the fair.

(Cordatus No. 37.)

Just as no one can say how ungodly a desecration of the sanctuary the mass is, so no one can say how much money it has lost and how much money has been lost through it.

### The 36th chapter.

## Of Purgatory.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 10, 1538, p. 6 f.)

A Hungarian asks Luthern for advice. On this day a student came to him to ask him for advice because of some doubts, and quoted from the Loci communes of Johann Eck, first: Of Purgatory, since he had proven it from the Fathers. Luther answered: Neither Ambrose, nor Augustine, nor Jerome give an opinion about Purgatory, but Gregory was deceived by visions and taught something about Purgatory, since God forbade to inquire about spirits, but one should ask Moses and the prophets; therefore, in this respect, nothing is to be believed in St. Gregory. Eck and others understand this passage of St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians [3, 13]: "The day will make it clear" 2c., of Purgatory, since this passage says nothing about Purgatory, but about the doctrine and the good and evil life of the pious and the heretics. For Arius has had his day. All heretics have had their day and their judgment. But the fire of faith has revealed it, just as the last day will reveal everything. In short: God has revealed to us in his word

He presents two ways: salvation through faith and damnation through unbelief. He says nothing of purgatory, and one must not admit purgatory because it obscures the benefits and grace of Christ. That there is a purgatory in this world could be admitted in a certain sense.

The second question was whether the departed saints intercede and pray for us. Luther answered: We may allow them to pray. But both their life and their prayer are unknown to us; nor can we know how their death is a life. It may be objected that St. Ambrose prayed for the Emperor Theodosius after his death, but this is attributed to him. Augustine may have asked for his mother Monica, but he does not claim anything about it, and he does not want his writings to be kept if they do not agree with the holy scripture, as he says: "I do not want my writings to be kept" 2c. In short, we must cling to God's bright word, not to human opinions. 1)

1) The third question, which immediately follows, has already been reported in Cap. X, § 8.

## The 37th chapter.

### Of fanatics, gangs and sects who have rebelled against D. M. Luther..

1. by Marco N. of Zwickau, and a turner.
2. reds are proud and presumptuous.
3. the sacramentaries.
4. from Carlstadt.
5. about Campanus and his enthusiasms.
6. another one from Campanus, that red spirits keep stiff about her rapture, and that she also goes away.
7. from the Rottengeister ambition.
8. you have to condemn the spirits of the rotten, who otherwise proclaim their masters to be saints.
9. red spirits are ambitious.
10. The peacock is an image of all heretics.
11. the flies are the devil and the heretic image.
12. wolves and foxes are the heretic image.
13. How God Saved D. Luthern from the Rotten.
14. zealots and hordes do not look at God's word.
15. From Witzel.
- 16) Why Georg Witzel fell away from the Gospel again.
17. gushers do not answer correctly.
18. God punishes the despisers and blasphemers of the Word.
19. gushers are presumptuous and foolhardy.
20. D. Zochen's Conversion and Opinion of the Sacramentaries.
21. of several gushers.
22. sacramentirans are godless.
- (23) Which are the best preachers among the enthusiasts.
24. swarmers do not want to have erred, but to have done right.
25. D. Luther's complaint about the enthusiasts.
- The trouble caused by the swarms does great harm.
- The gushers' presumption and presumption of hope.
28. by M. Eisleben.
29. by D. Jakob Schenk.
30. from arch-heretics.
- Ambition spoils everything.
32. comparison of the papilion, moths or summer birds, with the hawkmoths.
- Of antinomians and lawbreakers:
33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. by M. Eisleben.
40. 41. By D. Jakob Schenk.
42. 43. 44. The sins are to be distinguished.
45. from false brothers.
46. d. j. false glory.
47. Of D. Jeckel's hopeful stubbornness.
- Fortune beguiles the people.
- The devil can suffer that one preaches Christ with the mouth, but does not punish with what is to be punished.
- For whom the preaching of the Law and the Gospel belongs.
- The proud and presumptuous cannot teach Christ.
52. gushers are proud fools.
53. 54. Red spirits can stay behind the mountain for a while, so it is good to make a fuss.
55. of M. Eisleben's propositions.
- The antinomian doctrine is a very harmful doctrine.
57. 58. The antinomian doctrine of different repentance.
59. false brothers, the sweet-mouthed teachers, are more harmful than the public enemies and papists.
60. a different one from M. Eisleben.
61. False brothers and heretics are to be despised only.
62. by Thomas Münzer.
63. from Carlstadt.
64. by M. Eisleben.
- 65: The Waldensian Brethren in Bohemia.
- The Waldensians do not know how to distinguish between faith and works.
67. what they think of the Sacrament of the Altar.
- 68 The Waldensian Fallacy.
- (69) Of some fancied unity, who pretend to teach the very things we teach.
70. by Witzel. One should not write against blasphemers, but despise them.
71. gushers are presumptuous and great people.
72. of Thomas Münzer and his rapture.
73. of sacramentaries.
74. Bucer's Argument from the Sacrament.
- Abuse of the sacraments is punished by God.
- The Sacramentarian Delusion of the Supper, and Luther's Concerns. Luther's Concerns.
- From Sadoletus, the Cardinal.
78. the heretic war.
79. by Thomas Münzer.
- 80) The most serious damage to the gospel is done by the fanatics and the mobs.
- D. Luther's Opinion of Pauli Ricii Pretending.
82. a different one from Paulo Ricio.
- That all false religion and worship is of opere operato origin.
- How all heretics could be fed.
- Of future sects that would miserably vex, afflict and devastate the true church of God.
- The first is the first of the two.
- 87 A different from Arii heresy.
- D. Luther's Prophecy of the Sects to Come.
89. of heretics, the abelists.
- 90 All sects and sectarian groups are rebellious.
- The heretics and rotten errors have a great appearance.
92. heretics and rotters want to be innocent martyrs on top of that.
93. 94. Of the Anabaptists.
- The devil does not like baptism.
96. mock remedy of the Anabaptists.
- That one should read and consider God's Word diligently, for one cannot unlearn it.
- The teaching of the Gospel is like the sun and the moon.

99. enthusiasts always find followers.  
 100 Whether the Anabaptists will also be blessed.  
 101. gushers want to be able to do everything and learn from no one.  
 102 Anabaptists have not written anything against D. Luther.  
 103) Whether the Anabaptists should be killed.  
 104. gushers are possessed by the devil.  
 105. Blasphemy finally brings destruction.  
 106. 107. D. Luther's judgment of Erasmo Roterodamo.  
 108. erasmus is a launderer.  
 109. Erasmus is not a warrior.  
 110. Erasmus is not Lutheran, but a papist bloc and scoffer.  
 111 Erasmus a Lucianus.  
 112. The Epicurer argument is like Caiphä Rath.  
 113. By Erasmus Prefaces on the New Testament.  
 114. by Erasmi Moria.  
 115 Erasmus sits between two chairs.  
 116. erasmi way or ingenium.  
 117. 118. Erasmus does not respect Christ and his word.  
 119. by Erasmi Conterfei.  
 120. from Erasmi Catechismo.  
 121. 122. The Life and End of Erasmi.  
 123: Prince Frederick's speech by Erasmo.  
 124. Erasmus Christ's enemy.  
 125. 126. Erasmus judges in matters of God only according to reason.  
 127. A sharp judgment of D. Luther by Erasmo Roterodamo, written to his son with his own hand on a note in Latin.

128. Erasmus asks nothing about faith in Christ.  
 129. beware of erasmi books.  
 130. Erasmus does not respect God's word in theology. Erasmus does not respect God's works and creatures.  
 132. from Erasmi case.  
 Erasmus does not think anything of God.  
 134. by Erasmi Diatribe.  
 135 From Erasmi Epistles.  
 136. gushers deceive themselves.  
 137. from Balaam.  
 138. of heretics.  
 139. of the Rottengeister theology.  
 140 Error is apparent and glistens.  
 141: Of errors and sects.  
 The false teachers' nature and sin.  
 143. false teaching does not hold in the length.  
 144. heretics cannot be persuaded of their delusion.  
 145. lack of listeners and preachers.  
 The devil does not harm the gospel with persecution.  
 Luther's complaint that Germany is in an evil state and that God will punish it, as punishment has always followed the preaching of God's Word.  
 148 Of the eclipses.  
 That false teachers and heretics should not be accepted again without recognition of their sin and public retraction.  
 150 D. Luther's Answer, Given to a Wise Man.

### 1. by Marco von Zwickau and a turner.

(Cordatus No. 1059. 1060. 1061.)

In 1521, that Marcus approached me with very sweet words and gestures, but without writing. Therefore I said to him, "I will have nothing to do with you and will not believe you unless you do signs. But he said: In seven years you will see signs. And soon the peasants' revolt followed. He said, among other things, that he could see immediately by sight whether a man was devout or ungodly and not chosen. That means to get lost with words. This man spoke strangely dark words: coarseness, meanness, boredom, and when I asked him how people could understand him when he spoke like that, he answered that he only preached to gifted disciples who had the pound. And when I asked him about my pound, he said that I was in the first degree of mobility and would yet come to the first degree of immobility, in which he was, and since he had sent a letter and admonition from Kemberg with very kind words, he said that I was in the first degree of immobility.

I said, "Goodbye, dear Marcus.

Drechsler said he had a message to him from his father. I [asked him]: Who is your father?-He: Jesus Christ. - He is my father, too. What then is the message? - That God is angry with the world. - Me: Where did he tell you that?-He: Outside the city, when I went out of the gate, I saw a very small cloud, which is a sign of the wrath of God. And in my sleep I saw the drunkards saying: It is true, it is true, and the hand of God upon them, and when one of them poured a candelabra of beer upon my neck, I awoke. I scolded him that he would not play his game with the name of God. But he went away and said: Whoever does not say what Luther wants must be a fool.

### 2nd Rotten are proud and presumptuous.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1062.)

Martin Cellarius, a very godless knave, also wanted to deceive me by flattery, for he said that my profession was greater than the

the apostles. But I said to him: Oh, what am I against the apostles! He wrote me four sextons about the tabernacle of Moses, but when I did not want to believe his flattery, he insulted me more than he had praised me [before]. To this I said: Go and do what you want.

Another from the Netherlands also came to me and wanted to argue with me until the fire, since he was quite unlearned. I said to him, "Let's argue about a candel of beer or two," and he went away again, for the devil, as a proud spirit, cannot stand to be despised.

### 3. of sacramentaries.

(Cordatus No. 1063. 1064. 1)

When Bucer conferred with me at Coburg about the Lord's Supper and finally asked whether the sacrament was also given to the ungodly, I told him whether the ungodly could also hear the word of God and misuse it. After he left, he wrote me these words: "Do not doubt that we teach the same things that you teach. But it has come into denial, as H[erzog] G[eorg], they cannot go back.

Oecolampad and Zwingli said they had to keep peace with me because I had been the first to preach the gospel, but after my death they wanted to make their opinion known. But they did not know that they would die before Luther.

### 4. from Carlstadt.

(Cordatus No. 1495.)

Everything that Carlstadt also started, he started for the sake of vain honor", because he let himself think that there was no scholar from earth, but he. And what I also wrote, he imitated, but gave it another coat of paint. He wanted to be alone, and I would have gladly given way to him, but I could not do it without doing injustice to God. I have never used any audacity or presumption in writing, even when I wanted to begin; for I thought so when I saw the abomination of indulgences: I will write about this evil thing,

1) Cf. Cap. 19, § 23 and Cap. 11, § 25. Cordatus No. 1281.

After that, others will come and write about other errors; there would probably be other people who would know how to lead it out better. This I thought to myself, although by the grace of God I am more learned than all sophistical doctors or theologians.

### 5. about Campano and his rapture.

(Cordatus No. 762. 957. 958. 959. 179.)

Campanus is an extremely bad man, and he must not be confronted soon; for, if one wrote against him, he would only become more audacious. He must only be suppressed with contempt, and his opinions will go no further.

Campanus falls into these questions as a young and untrained man, much more because he thinks he understands more Greek than Luther or Pomeranus. He has not experienced any challenge and yet he boasts of plerophoria [complete certainty] and boasts that he can describe the Godhead more clearly than John, and condemns me as a liar because I teach a weak faith that must grow and increase day by day through struggle.

Campanus describes a Christian as a perfect saint; but I say that a Christian is a wretched sinner, afflicted by various lusts, who feels human 2) inclinations about him. This is how Paul clung to Epaphroditus. Campanus, however, makes men into sticks, like the Stoics. If I were such a man, I would soon be baptized four times over.

If we could be as sure and certain of our faith as Campanus speaks of the Christians, I would not give one lighter around the sermon and sacrament.

No mortal can ever speak with such art and put his words so eloquently as the apostles. Therefore, Campanus is a worthless man who imagines that he can speak more clearly of the Godhead 3) than John himself in his Gospel.

(Here 24 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 4, § 23.)

2) Instead of pravis, which would allow a nefarious interpretation, we have read liumanis with Bindseil II, 25 and Rebenstock II, 3lu.

3) In the original certainly wrong: äs DvauMlio Oosnnis.

**6. another one from the Campano, that the spirits of the mobs keep stiffly over their rapture, and that it also goes away.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 39.)

**7. from the Rottengeister ambition.**

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, Dec. 12, 1538, p. 190.)

After that he talked about Carlstadt's and M. Bucer's arrogance, which would have greatly hindered the course of the gospel. For in other arts, professions and gifts, it is more appropriate to be proud. In theology it is the very most harmful thing to presume. For the heavens shall tell the glory of GOD and not their own; GOD alone the glory! (Ps. 19, 2.) Therefore I was very frightened when Carlstadt said these words: "I like to have honor as much as another." He did not want to give me precedence in the disputation at Leipzig, so that I would not deprive him of the honor that I nevertheless gladly granted him. But he put honor to shame at Leipzig because he is a very unfortunate disputator and has an awkward, ponderous mind. He had a particularly pleasant subject, but left it to me to dispute Eck's last theses on the primacy of the pope and on Johannes Huss. Eck, however, a domineering man, yes, an impudent and shameless one, obtained for me a safe stay and safe conduct with Duke Georg in Leipzig, so that I could debate with him; otherwise I had only come to Leipzig under the wing of Carlstadt. Carlstadt and Peter Lupinus were very vehemently hostile to me in the early days of the Gospel; but when I overcame them in the disputation and laid them down with Augustine's writings, they, after reading Augustine, became more vehement in this matter than I was. But the dreadful hope deceived the Carlstadt.

We must, said Martinus, have something new every year: Two years ago there were the murderers, this year there was the patricidal war, which the papists wrought through their French G. of K., 1)

1) Instead of "welschen G. von K." Bindseil II, 31: Herzog Georg.

whom they corrupt and bribe with money. But God will soon disgrace him, since he will not repent.

Thus, D. J[eckel] is also setting up a game for us at F.; he wants to ponder and scout according to my letters, which I wrote to D. H. W. 2) especially and secretly, he wants to ponder and scout. But his horns shall be scraped, since he will not stop. Now V. Ammerbach is also rebelling against us, daring to rebuke our teachings and the priests' marriage.

Oh, the shameful mobs do great harm to the gospel, even among foreign nations; therefore the adversaries blaspheme us. For a French scout told me roundly and expressly, as his king would be, quite eloquently, that we respected neither religion, nor police, nor secular regiment, nor marriage, but that everything went wildly astray, like cattle.

In addition, Carlstadt and Zwingel are brazen and defiant; for Zwingel may boast publicly and say: We want to have France, Hispania and England on our side and our part in three years. Thus, N. N. 3) has had his books carried from Switzerland into France under our name, so that many cities are still contaminated and polluted with them. And the city of N. N. is also not yet pure, only that they simulate under the appearance of protection and keep behind the mountain. But I have greater hope for those in Strasbourg.

**8. you have to condemn the spirits of the rotten, who otherwise proclaim their masters to be saints.**

(Contained in § 18 of this Cap.)

**9. red spirits are ambitious.**

(Cordatus No. III3.)

How is it possible that all the rotas speak: It is I? They want to be alone and have the honor all alone and hate others. And the Sacramentarians and Anabaptists hate me more than the pope, and the pope is more hostile to me than to them, and all at the same time dispute the gospel.

2) Bindseil II, 31: D. Hieronymus Weller.

3) Bindseil II, 31: Bucer.

4) Bindseil II, 31: Augsburg.

**10. The peacock is an image of all heretics.**

It is said of the peacock that it has an angelic robe, a thievish walk and devilish song. This bird is a true image of heretics: for all heretics can pretend to be pious and holy, and as angels, but they come sneaking along, and intrude before they are called to the preaching ministry, and want to teach and preach; but they have a devilish song, that is, they preach lies, error, heresy and seduction.

**The flies are the devil and the heretic image.**

D. Luther once said: "I am hostile to flies and resent them because they are imago Diaboli et Haereticorum. For if one opens a beautiful book, soon the fly flees on it, and runs around with the ars; as if it should say: Here I sit, and here I should smear my balsam or dirt. So does the devil: when the hearts are purest, he comes and shits in them. When I am at my funniest and most skilled in praying, I come to Babylonia with my thoughts, or build a castle or houses.

**12. wolves and foxes are the heretic image.**

In 1536, when the theologians of the Upper Lands were in Wittenberg in the cause of the Sacramentary, Luther said: Our Lord God has painted Haereticos et damnatos homines in Lupis et Vulpibus; for Lupus et Vulpes look so simple and pious, ac si omnibus horis orarent Pater noster et Symbolum; but the devil believes them.

**13 How God Saved D. Martinum from the hordes.**

(Cordatus No. 1140.)

God, with great mercy, has saved me from the praises and also from the tears of many enthusiasts who exalted my profession, but without God's word. That is why they wanted to be my masters; that is why I rejected their words. They see the affairs of this world only with One Eye, but they do not see the Word. That is why everything they hear is annoying and offensive to them.

**14. zealots and hordes do not look at God's word.**

Satan, said D. Martinus, often plagued me with many enthusiasts who boasted of the spirit, more than thirty, all of whom dared to lead me away from God's word to their dreams. As a maid was brought from Halle, she complained and pretended that she was possessed by the evil spirit. But when the captain spoke to her seriously in my presence and said that she was a scout, slanderer and blasphemer of the gospel who should be put to death with the executioner, she escaped from the city.

So one of them, named Gutwalt, wanted to persuade me with his humble, hypocritical words to applaud his opinion and enthusiasm, and said: "Doctor, do not despise me, even if I am a poor, unintelligent, simple man; for God can also work and accomplish much through such. I prayed day and night with fasting and tears, and called upon God; then I opened the book, and found it right at first, and the Holy Spirit revealed to me the right truth at that time. This is my opinion 2c.

Therefore, those who praise the Spirit and seek special revelation and dreams are unbelievers and despisers of God, for they are not satisfied with God's word and will not be satisfied with it. In spiritual matters I neither seek nor desire revelation nor dreams. I have a small word, and that alone I abide by. As St. Paul also admonishes and teaches that we should keep and adhere to it, even if an angel from heaven teaches otherwise, Gal. 1:8. In worldly and outward things I can well admit prophets who speak and prophesy of things to come, how things will be, and of God's wrath 2c., but in spiritual matters, as far as salvation is concerned, I remain alone with the manger, believing in Jesus Christ, born of virgins, suffered, crucified and died for me 2c. Do not be misled by this. And since we stand and remain firm on this article, we will be able to drive out all spirits and argue with them about the articles with blessing and victory, and be man enough for them.

**15. by Witzel.**

D. Martinus said: Witzel is not worthy that I would write against him, lest he be strengthened in his wickedness. For I have experienced that those who have fallen away from us have become the most miserable people, since there is no heart, joy or courage in them. Nothing is there, because a bitter heart, which would gladly go by force and avenge itself, have no good hour. So I am not, praise God, that I would spoil my rest, food, drink and joy for the sake of the pope. But they are serpents, raised among us, they have laid aside all human affections and love, they do not take care of the needs of others.

**16) Why Georg Witzel fell away from the Gospel again.**

D. M. Luther said that D. Gregorius Brück, Saxon chancellor, would have kept Georgium Wicelium alive: because he would have been a beginner with the rebellion in Thuringia, therefore, when he was caught, one should have beheaded him: Then D. Brück would have asked for him. When he came to us in Wittenberg, I appointed him pastor of the Niemeck parish, which is now held by Conradus Cordatus. But since he then attached himself to the Campanum, wrote together, and was a cake with each other, and disputed the article of the divinity of Christ, which Dominus Philippus Melanchthon first learned and required the Campanum to do, and he pretended such terrible blasphemy; then Elector Hans went to, and had Witzel caught and put in a tower; but we theologians knew nothing about it. Then Witzel fell away from us and attached himself to the pope again, and has now become our worst enemy, but he will also get his modest share.

**17. gushers do not answer correctly. 1)**

On May 9, Johannes Cellarius, preacher at B[autzen], came to D. Martino, and told him much of his f[rankfurters], 2) who, whether they were well acquainted with the doctrine of the Gospel, were

1) The first part of this § is very suspicious, although something similar is found in Rebenstock and in the Hall manuscript.

2) Thus Bindseil II, 35.

asks to answer; but they confessed nothing freely, kept flour in their mouths all the time, their answer would be: Well, well. Then said D. Martinus said: "It is true that they do not give a correct, round answer; they are such that they may not confess what they believe: they are quite Erasmanian, and their words are screwed, as it is now called, and doubtful, which can be interpreted and understood as one likes, from which nothing certain can actually be taken.

(The following Cordatus No. 1683.)

I can also drink, laugh, and make fun, but what is or must be done by the word, no one vexes me, and I let a lot of laughter. In Strasbourg, even when Bucer ruled there, the words "this is my body" and "this is my blood" were omitted when, as is the custom, the words of Holy Communion were read out in a very loud voice, and yet he wrote to me in the meantime, since I contradicted him and did not want to do everything that suited him: Martine, if you are not in earnest, it is better that we remain enemies than that we form a fictitious friendship. Isn't that playing at sacred things? This was said to me by someone who was present at her main service [missae].

**18. God punishes the despisers and blasphemers of the Word.**

(Cordatus No. 1075. 1076. 1077.)

The despisers of the Word perish in misery, soon here, soon there, for God is a just judge and His judgment is right. He proves this now, just as in Hamburg, where an outstanding despiser of the Word, who had turned many away, finally fell into despair, which no one could take away from him. And he said, My sin is greater than that it could obtain forgiveness, because he had deceived many. This man broke out of the house by force and threw himself into a well in broad daylight.

It is terrible enough not to believe God's words, but how terrible it is to despise and laugh at the word! (Marcius mensis Mara et mors est.) 3)

3) The bracketed words are probably, with Mr. D. Wrampelmeyer, to be taken for an addition to the cordatus. Therefore, we do not consider it necessary to add a

It is much better and more plausible to declare Zwingli and Oecolampad damned than blessed, even if one does violence to them, because in this way it is useful to preserve and deter those who are now alive and their descendants. But to proclaim them righteous and holy, which their followers do, harms many and strengthens all sectarians in their error.

### 19. gushers are avoidant and foolhardy.

(From § 7 of this chapter together with the last sentence of the next paragraph, the introduction will be formed. It seems spurious to us. Because there is absolutely no thought in it that is not also found in the following, we have omitted it).

(The following at Cordatus No. 1131 to 1135.)

If someone also has good cause, yet God is to be asked to give good success. For what is better and more righteous than the Gospel? And yet the preachers must pray that God's name be sanctified. Justice and peace must go hand in hand. kiss. But our enthusiasts are still uncertain about themselves and do not pray, even Zwingli only cried out: Let us tear through [perrumpamus].

I hear that Oecolampad prayed in his bedroom the day before that God would not promote his cause if it were not the truth, and yet he defended it most stubbornly in the disputation afterwards and affirmed that he was certain. But it is also possible that someone prays good words and yet is uncertain and doubts.

In theology and in prayer before God, there must be no uncertainty and doubt; even before men, one must act and speak modestly in such matters: If anyone knows better, let him say so. I at least was doubtful in some things in the beginning, although I certainly had the article of justification. But I was not able to put down the whole papacy with it, because I was not able to put down the celibate state, the mass, and the like. Therefore, always get rid of the "Let us tear through"; for that causes confusion.

In any case, it is a somewhat forced explanation to give them a relation to the predicted. Translated they read: The month of March is Mars and death.

The Swiss are now returning to the Pabst. Presumption of faith corrupts many, like those at Frankfurt, who have promised all protection to the clergy and do not know that in this way they let the people themselves shoot the reins to revolt, by which they themselves could also perish, as happened to those at Mühlhansen, who did not want to believe but to experience.

Since I wrote against the rebellious spirit of the old town, Münzer wrote back: "Against the gentle flesh of Wittenberg. So great was the gratitude of the man who wanted to perish.

### 20. D. Zochen's Conversion and Opinion of the Sacramentarians.

(Cordatus No. 536.)

When D. Zoch had read my books against the Sacramentarians, he said: Now I believe that Luther was enlightened with the Holy Spirit, because none of the papists could have done this. I am also of the same opinion that all the papists could not have overcome them with all the canons, with their writings nor with their prestige, and yet they are ungrateful, of which I will speak to them when I have died. I have offered myself enough against them in exhortation, 1) but it will not help. Jonas said that they [the papists] had said to Augsburg: "What shall we advise? everything has already been decided"; but after eight days they had completely forgotten this book until the second psalm came: "Why" 2c. O how long was the time for us, but we were relieved of our sorrow by your letter, especially by the allegory of the shining sun and the cloud.

### 21. of several gushers.

Carlstadt was very presumptuous to have been allowed to discuss in Rome in the most distinguished college, in domo Sapientiae.

1) The exhortation to the clergy, assembled from the Imperial Diet at Augsburg. Walch, old edition, vol. X VI, 1120. - The letter to the Elector of Mainz with attached interpretation of the second Psalm idiä. Vol. XVI, 1085. - The letter to Brück Ldiä. Vol. XVI, 2139 ff.



After that, he became a farmer out of loud envy, went bareheaded, and did not want to be called a doctor, but rather neighbor Enders.

Oecolampadius was a kind man at first, but afterwards he was bitter and harsh. Zwingel was a cheerful, polite collation man, but became so dark and sad afterwards.

Campanus came to Marburg and wanted to disputation with me, could not do dialecticam, and nevertheless wanted to defend his delusion and fancy hopefully and measurably; said that neither Luther, nor Zwingel, nor Oecolampadius, nor the pope had not taught correctly about the Lord's Supper, because he did not ask about figures or tropes and made a new way of speaking; said that it was a bread literal body. And he was very angry that he was not called to Marburg and allowed into the chamber for disputation and discussion. Such fellows are blinded by the devil. But Bucer and Capito are very friendly, kind and mediators, and would like to set things right, but it cannot happen so soon. There has been great trouble in France and Italy with the letter about the Lord's Supper in the upper country. The cause, raised against the papacy, went off well; but the enthusiasts, Carlstadt, Münzer, Zwingel and their ilk, also wanted to hunt for honor, fished only in front of the hame, and thus promoted the papacy.

## 22. sacramentirans are godless.

Godless is called and is the one who denies God, which are the sacrament-riders: because they deny the essence and the custom of the sacrament. The others, who only deny the custom of the sacrament, are not godless, but are weak in faith.

### (23) Which are the best preachers among the enthusiasts.

Among the gushers, these are the best preachers that these four pieces can probably do: One, don't put on a choir robe. The other, no chasuble. The third, not to think anything of confession. And the fourth, that in the Sacrament

of the altar is nothing but bread and wine. Just as with the papists, who are smeared and shamed by bishops, they are held in high esteem, even though they are the most unlearned and rude asses. That is why St. James rightly says in his epistle that in the last times the person will be considered.

### (24) The swarmers do not want to have erred, but to have done right.

Anno 1536, the 25th of August, D. Martin's letters came from M. Bucero, in which he asked the Doctor to write to the Swiss and to send them the Notel of Concord, as they had compared themselves with each other. Then spoke D. Martinus: "I do not know what to write, they only seek a cover with our letter to embellish their cause, and yet they do not want to confess their errors: they pretend and boast as if neither part had understood the other; 1) which I did not want to suffer, nor do I want the blame to come upon me that I should not have understood their opinion and opinion. Oh Lord God, she is too clearly understood. Why did I write so harshly against her if I did not understand? But I would gladly do so, if they confessed their errors, then I would also confess that I had been vehement and bitter against them. But I do not like this proposition that no one should have understood the other. It shall be said of me even after my death. For I have always been hostile to such mediations. And I have asked them more than ten times, since they did not seek right, pure, true unity, they should leave it at the first dissension and disagreement, until they bled themselves to death. I do not want to burden myself with other people's sins, so that I extinguish a little spark in them and make a big fire in us. God protect me from that.

I have always taught God's word with simplicity; I will stay with it and give myself up to it; or I will become a pope who believes neither in the resurrection of the dead nor in eternal life. They have written only what is according to reason, that

1) Cf. Cap. 19, § 42 and the literature cited there.

In the sacrament one receives bread and wine, not the body and blood; but the body and blood are eaten and drunk with faith and spirit alone, but with the mouth only bread and wine.

There can be no real true unity, because they measure this thing only with reason. I would gladly die if we could win back the church in Switzerland and the cities and bring it back into line, then the pope and the emperor would be afraid of us. But one should not trust in people, yes, one should let people go. They are looking for my words in the most precise and quickest way. I alone promised to do the best in the matter. They want to catch me with their words, they think. Oh no, I do not want to hand over God's word, I did not want to do it either in Augsburg or in Worms, since they also wanted to persuade me to hand over the matter. However, I would rather recite my escort and hand it over, at great risk to life and limb, than abandon my teaching, yes, God's word, and hand it over to people.

#### 25. complaint D. Martini about the gushers.

(Lauterbach, April 22, 1538, p. 68.)

Afterwards he sighed: "Ah, Carlstadt and Münzer have greatly hindered the Gospel. The Sacramentarians have gradually retreated. First, they taught nothing but bread and wine; second, spiritually, i.e. speculatively, there is body and blood; third, bodily, but it is received with faith. These are vain philosophical thoughts. For the articles of faith are against all philosophy, geometry, and arithmetic, yea, against all creature. It is, it is not, that no one can rhyme together. That is why the landgrave, who once favored Zwingli, wanted to establish unity among us, that we should call each other brothers; but I did not want to, although Zwingli said with tears that he wished to remain in our church, and that no separation would arise among us. And I hope that he has been punished in time and has changed his mind. There will always be dangers.

1) This is part of Luther's conversation with M. Simon Sulcer, Superintendent at Bern, Cap. 22, § 45.

We will not be overtaken by our golden friends. We will not be overtaken by our golden friends, since Christ suffered such things.

#### The trouble caused by the swarms does great harm.

D. Martinus said to the messenger whom the Swiss had sent to him: He still hoped good to them, that they would let go of the opinion and thought, sucked from reason, namely, of bringing Christ down and up from the right hand into the bread. Of this we have never taught; but have badly and simply-mindedly believed that the true body and blood of Christ is in the bread and wine, without ascending and descending; otherwise we could not believe any article of faith, of the holy Trinity and incarnation of the Son, as the middle person, if we would take reason with its wisdom to counsel.

Oh, dear God, this trouble hinders many people. When the teachers disagree among themselves in doctrine, because one pretends this and the other that, and do not teach from one heart and mouth, this pushes many people over the head, so that they go astray and do not know whom to believe. Dear, what do you think that the Jews, who had been placed in the most beautiful kingdom or regiment and priesthood of God, were annoyed and displeased when they saw that righteousness was offered and given to all without distinction, free of charge, out of pure grace, without any merit, and the Gentiles were supposed to be like them? What thinkest thou that the Roman empire and empire, which was the most powerful, and had the wisest men, and walked in its divine services in fine order, should have thought that they should be ruled by a foolish nation of Jews, by strange, weird, monstrous, and superstitious fables (as they called and blasphemed the faith in Christ crucified)? Such astonishments have always caused the gospel to be persecuted, as is also happening today. What blasphemy and slanderous lies are thought and said about the true pure doctrine of faith and the church? as if we were heretics, rebels 2c. It is still going on.

### The gushers' presumption and presumption of hope.

(Lauterbach, Sept. 26, 1538, p. 136.)

Zwingli was a very cheerful, open-hearted man, but after his fall he fell into such presumption that he dared to say and write: I hold that no man in the world has believed that the Body and Blood of Christ are in the Sacrament. He dared to speak this against the knowledge of almost all men, and so he perished miserably, like Egranus, the impetuous man.

### 28. by M. Eisleben.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 29, 1538, p. 182.)

On the November before last he was merry with his paternal brothers, his brother and sisters, his blood relatives, and when they had mentioned J. A[gricola] they wanted to put in a good word for him; but he replied: I have taken this person for my most faithful friend, who has so injured me by his deceit that I can never again exclude him in the number of my intimates. I will write against him shortly. He may be provided with it, because there is no repentance, but a man with a very insolent forehead.

### 29. by D. Jakob Schenk.

(Transferit according to Cap. 45, § 58, to which this § is excluded by Lauterbach).

### 30. from arch-heretics.

There was talk of arch-heretics, in the presence of D. Erasmi Alben, who was called to Brandenburg. 1) Said D. Martinus: Erasmus Roterodamus has passed away and died, like a good epicure, without sacrament; God also help N. N. that it is his earnest. Eisleben remains obdurate and a sly, treacherous mocker who can simulate and pretend. That is why I did not want to receive him when he came here. And I said to the margrave: He was not yet reconciled with me; I wanted to

would gladly forgive him, if he were sorry. Then the margrave said to the doctor: If only he were serious. D. Martinus answered: "I will let the Lord take care of that. It is very burdensome and annoying to learn such things from the household. But Judas solves this argument, since Christ said to him: O Juda, you betray the Son of Man with the kiss! So we have to experience the gloss and learn to understand it.

Such a fellow is also D. Jeckel, who now lies in Leipzig and is despised by everyone, because he is said to be able to do more than preach. He asked for my little girl, Anna Sfhützmeister], 2) free; but I told him: This shall not happen for eternity. And to the maiden: If you want to have it, then lift yourself up from me immediately, I will neither hear nor see you. It was the same with the mayor H. K., when he was courting his daughter.

### Ambition spoils everything.

(Contained in Cap. 22, K 110.)

### 32. comparison of the "Papilio", two-folders or summer birds, with the swarms.

A Papilio or summer bird is generated in the following way: First it is a caterpillar and hangs on a wall somewhere, gains a little house; then in spring, when the sun shines warmly, the house breaks open and a Papilio flies out. When it wants to die again, it sits down on a tree or leaf, presses a long tract of eggs from itself, from which young caterpillars emerge. So it is generatio reciproca, it is first a caterpillar, and becomes a caterpillar again. I have found varia genera of caterpillars in my garden; I believe that the devil brought them to me. First of all, they have horns in the nose 2c. But they are actually the hawkmoths. For the caterpillars have beautiful, silver, golden stripes, glisten and seem pretty; but inside they are full of poison. The enthusiasts pretend to be pious and holy, but they have false, erroneous and seductive teachings. And

1) Here we have omitted the words: "that there would be no hope for their fatherland", because they do not fit the context.

2) Seidemann: Lauterbach p. 2.

When summer birds die, they leave many eggs behind, and one caterpillar becomes many other caterpillars. Thus, one hawkmoth seduces many people, and from it grows more hawkmoths and red spirits.

At another time, M. Luther called the Rottengeisters, who were clowns and wise men, untimely and immature saints, who would soon become worm-eaten and fall under the tree by a soft wind.

### 33: Of Antinomians and Lawbreakers. From Eisleben.

My best friends, said D. Martinus with great sighing, want to trample me underfoot, and smear and turbulence the gospel; therefore I will undertake a disputation, to provoke the opposite, that they must come out into the light. And since they humbly offer themselves and surrender, I will not be satisfied with their pretense and hypocrisy, but will drive them either to oppose, or to preside and answer their propositions and pretensions. No, it is not a matter of joking. It is not for our name and glory, but for the glory of Christ.

And he continued with great sorrow in his heart: "Oh, what a pity it is when one loses a good friend whom he loves very much! I had this one (Eisleben) at the table, he was my good companion, who laughed with me and was cheerful: nevertheless he is backwards against me; I cannot tolerate that, he can never receive it. For it is gross error to reject the law. If other errors and vexations would go, it would be easier; but to reject the law, without which neither the church, nor the secular and domestic government, nor any man can be and exist, is to push the bottom out of the barrel. It's time to fight: I can't stand it, and I don't like it.

After that the doctor said: "Oh, how kindly and with a gentle spirit I punished him; but how deceitfully and treacherously he answered me! Oh the shameful hopefulness and presumption, what harm does it do! it is a mother of all heresy. Now would be the time to sing the Te Deum laudamus

singing and thanking God, it becomes a time of quarreling and bickering. Fie on you - there is no error so gross that does not have listeners! I must see that they still strut in my life and want to rule. As St. Paul says to the Corinthians (1 Ep. 4, 8.): "Would to God that you reigned without me." The good Paul had to see many of these things; as God speaks, Apost. 9, 16: "I will show you what you must suffer for my name's sake." Soon he was subjected to *patti* and suffering, and experienced it well; which suffering and heartache was also more bitter than death. It is called a martyrdom inter-pretativum, spiritual suffering, which happens without blood, in which one roasts and fears. I also have to suffer this in such astonishments and presumption of my disciples and pupils, that I would much rather suffer death and end with my blood 2c. Then he said to those who were at his table: "Pray for the peace of the church against these troubles. I am deceived, as Christ cries out in the Psalm against Judah. The adversaries do not do such great harm, but those who want to be out of us and cause trouble are the most harmful.

It is altogether too coarse and much to reject Moses. If he had taught another repentance, which concerns the police, outward good manners and discipline, not the repentance of the churches; that would still have to be suffered. And it is not enough that he apologizes and says that he meant D. Creuziger and M. Rörer; for the Catechism, the interpretation of the Ten Commandments, and the Augsburg Confession are mine, not Creuziger's or Rörer's. Since he wants to teach repentance out of love of righteousness, he only preaches the revelation of wrath to the righteous and pious; to the ungodly he preaches nothing. Since St. Paul says 1 Tim. 1, 9: "The law is given to the unrighteous". Summa, he opens windows and doors to all safety: for he who abolishes the law also abolishes the gospel. He casts out our doctrine from the comfort of conscience to the will of the flesh. I would not have done such a thing to him, if he had been able to talk to me about it every day and tell me what his opinion would be if he had a little Christian heart.

**34. a different one from M. E.**

(Lauterbach, 3, Feb. 1538, p. 22.)

Afterwards they discussed many things about J. Agricola, who in great presumption wanted to be [it] alone and tower over all others by his proud behavior, but he is well hewn. And the prince ordered today that he should be admitted publicly to the sermons in order to investigate it, and he had it announced to me [Lauterbach] and the other deacons that we should admit him. I indicated Pomer's order, otherwise we wanted gladly. [Luther] answered: The prince's command goes over Pomerania. He does not insist on it without cause. He does not give him so much pay for nothing, therefore he wants him to be sincere. Amsdorf, however, could not turn his suspicion away from him, because he could cover up many things by dissimulation and leave many things unsaid in speech. Luther answered: We will watch him and force him to teach clearly. And if he does not teach the affirmative opinion [affirmativam sententiam] of the law, then watch him. I have preserved him jetzunder, he would otherwise be gone. Oh, how many pains and struggles of soul I have had in this matter, that I have experienced this annoyance, that he in whom I have placed my trust, whom I have favored, defended, elevated, who [sat] mildly and meekly at my table, has willed otherwise than he showed. If it were weakness, it could be borne; but since it is willful malice, it is appalling. I am not a martyr as far as blood is concerned, but what temptations I have had in this matter, God knows. I would have almost died of fear before I managed to write the theses. I wanted to come to his aid and [ward off] the arousal. Oh God, it is unfortunate to seek one's honor in theology; this ambition is a consuming fire. As Christ says, John 5:23, "He honoureth not him that sent me." The holy Scriptures are given for the dishonor of the flesh, and we great fools want to seek our glory in them. Every other kind of courting, among physicians, philosophers, poets and artists, among beautiful young people, is tolerable because it can be easily changed. A girl who imagines something out of her beauty will be

A disease humbles. But the abominable presumption in theology is the source of all kinds of evils and a consuming fire. 1) Let us ask God.

**35. a different.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 18, 1538, p. 114.)

On August 18, he wondered at the presumption and vanity of J. Agricola, who presumed to bring about a reign with his very insipid thoughts, and in the meantime hindered the cause of the Gospel. Philip answered: This is the complaint at all times; for all difficult tasks have few helpers, but many who hinder them, and yet God goes forward in the weakness of the few, against the hindrances of the many. To this Luther said: Who would have thought of this sect of the antinomians? I have experienced three horrible weathers, Coiners, that of the Sacramentalists and the Anabaptists. Through these senseless people, other [weather] comes into being. So there will be no end to writing. I do not wish to live longer now, because there is no peace to hope for. The ancients may have said, like Bernhard, that four things must be preached: Virtues, vices, rewards, threats. And that is very well said. But the wisdom of the antinomians is much different. Verse:

Indocto tria sunt recte inculcanda popello: Virtus cum vitiis; his addes praemia, poenas, [i.e. To the unlearned people three things are to be properly impressed: Virtues, vices, rewards and punishments].

2) J. Justus Jonas said to D. M. Luther: M. Eisleben *Oportet* will do it, and told how he used to say, the mush 3) must be gone: it is salted, we do not want it. Then D. Luther said: He must eat the mush again, I will salt it for him so that he would spit over it.

On this Philip Melanchthon made this verse:

Arator quoties miserandum portat oportet, Ipse sui fastus non bene portat onus.

1) Cf. cap. 22, §110; 1, § 58.

2) The following is no longer at Lauterbach. -

3) Cf. Mathesius, Ute Sermon, St. Louis edition, p. 201 f.

**36. a different.**

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, Sept. 30, 1538, p. 138.)

J. Agricola disguises himself excellently in these great weathers, he puts on a mask [fingit sibi vultum] and I marvel at the cheerfulness of this man who is not humbled in such great misfortune. He has given me his retraction, perhaps in the hope that I will deal with him more cleanly. But I will seek the honor of Christ, not his, and describe the cowardly, proud and godless man in his own words, who would have greatly harmed the church, and I will dedicate this retraction in his name to Caspar Güttel 1) and the other preachers.

Magister Eisleben, said D. Martinus, wants to oppose his preceptors; but his art is too thin for that. I am not hostile to him out of some personal affinity, disfavor and revengefulness, as my conscience testifies; but for the sake of the common cause and the church, so that the poor wretched man may prefer his own cause to the public, common and righteous pure doctrine in our churches. He alone wants to be everything, the others are to be nothing, and he dares to do so, out of true courage, by a new doctrine.

Oh, that would be a fine theology, if one let everything go freely, and therefore did not punish and scold, so that "the consciences would not be offended and angered. But where would this saying of Paul's remain, when he says 2 Tim. 4, 2: "Punish, rebuke, admonish" 2c.? So the lawyers with their legal decisions and judgments anger and offend the thieves, the parents their children, when they scold and prod them. It cannot be otherwise. If a father provides food for his children, with God and honor, gives them good words, promises them, and feeds and clothes them, still he must also be angry, scold, punish and use the rod.

And said further of Eisleben's secret deceit and hypocrisy, and said, This will I do, and so show myself against him, that he either recant, or publicly recant against me.

1) Walch, old edition, vol. XX, 2014.

write. I will no longer tolerate his pretense and hypocrisy. Until now, I have suffered so many nonsensical spirits of the mob against me, which I have slain and overcome by the grace of God: now Satan attacks me with a new kind of spirits of the mob, who can pretend wonderfully, and pose and show themselves as the best of friends with words and gestures: they do not go right under anyone's eyes, and do not publicly argue against one, but can simulate and pretend finely, they are real assassin spirits, and cats that lick in front and scratch in the back.

**37. a different.**

Eisleben is smitten with nonsense and blindness, acts as if he wants to recant; but he is not serious, but vain hypocrisy. Alas, said D. Martinus said with a sigh, I do not begrudge him that he himself causes such misfortune and ruin. God would that he had neither wife nor children. A few days ago, I admonished him through the clergy with my letter to seriously and righteously recant; then I reminded him again through D. Creuziger and M. Ambrosium. But he is so insolent, proud and stiff-necked that he wants to make a liar out of me and accuse me of fourteen lies that I am supposed to have used against him: calumniret and says that I am not a dialecticus. Well, the prince has taken the matter to himself and has sent for him these days; I will order him to do it.

**38. a different.**

Well, Eisleben is a proud, hopeful, presumptuous spirit; he dares to cause great misfortune; he hurries so that he will be disgraced; he recants his previous recantation and wants to justify himself and burn himself white. I will not give him that, if God wills it; I will give him the larva. I want to strip off or dare to strip off his make-up and name or appearance. He should have enough examples and mirrors in Zwinglio, Oecolampadio, Münzer, and other red spirits; if he were otherwise wise. Bucerus has repented and improved in time, but he is more skilful in one finger than all the Grickel. Summa,

What can one say, it is Satan's deceit, which makes all godless, secure preachers to proud, hopeful, glorious Thrasones, as if they seek only God's glory, and the people's salvation and bliss.

### 39. a different one from M. Eisleben.

Anno 1539, on April 19, V. Martinus seriously ordered M. Ambrosio Bernd that he, as a master, wanted to indicate to the professoribus in the university that they should not become factiosi and cause division or separation, but keep the right order. And forbade that M. Eisleben should not be elected dean, lest his presumption, presumptuousness and disobedience should thereby be confirmed and strengthened: for he is a most insolent and hopeless enemy of the churches, schools, and all of us; thus we should have a serpent in our bosom, which should not be cauterized and fed with milk, but with earth, unless he righteously converts and corrects himself. Tell this to your facultists, but if they will not do it, I will preach against them publicly.

I am afraid of nothing more than of our ingratitude, which will now be greatly increased, grow and increase by the antinomian doctrine and hypocrisy: for they promise people everything beyond the cross in the most certain way; make good raw, wild companions out of them; write and carve a god and conscience for them themselves, according to their sense and pleasure.

Oh, that we could recognize our sin and only cry out to God: God, have mercy on me; then the matter would be helped. For our Lord God can certainly give us something to be thankful for, even if we are sinners: if we only repent, confess it and let us be sorry from the bottom of our hearts, and hold on to faith alone in Christ crucified, then all is forgiven, simple and just. But the poisonous doctrine of the antinomians enters gently, tastes good to flesh and blood, is delicately sweet: it will do great harm. If God wanted D. Pommer to be here now, I would attack the hypocrite, Eisleben, with the judgment of the church and put him under ban: for his feigning and hypocrisy, that he poses as a friend, and yet is an enemy, is very wicked.

tedious and hostile. After my death he will raise the comb 1) again and become courageous. The little man has not yet set or made a single proposition in which he affirmed or denied it; says neither yes nor no, as is the way of the people, does not close right away, always keeps mush in his mouth.

### 40. by D. Jakob Schenk.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 10, 1538, p. 5.)

Letter of Jak. Schenk against the preaching of the law. - A letter he had written to his pastors was shown, in which he completely rejects the preaching of the law as unnecessary, because it would be obvious to human reason. But the gospel, which is above all understanding of reason, must always be preached, and that in the sweetest way, because Christ commanded Peter: Feed, feed, feed my sheep, not slaughter them, nor kill them. And it would not be advisable for a preacher to blaspheme in his sermons because of a few ungodly people, and in the meantime miss the whole church. The ungodly must be admonished privately and reported to the authorities. Luther replied: "I have yet to see such monsters in my lifetime. Without my advice, the Elector had that Magister Karg 2) imprisoned, because he saw Satan's game among them, that one might sing at the other. 3) Perhaps all of this is done against the future aggravations for the glory of Christ and the gospel.

After that, a new motet was sung, namely, "My soul has become joyful." He remarked: "They have given the most beautiful joyful notes to the songs of the Virgin Mary, just as the young journeymen sing their metz [girls] most joyfully; so they have invented everything for the glory of Mary.

### 41 Another of the same.

D. Martinus wrote to D. Jakob Schenk, and admonished him the last time thus: Although

1) Bindseil 11, 76: cristarn; in Aurifaber and Stangwald "fight".

2) Karg. Cf. cap. 4, z 77.

3) The meaning will be well: that one may follow the other's false doctrine, therefore also be liable to the same punishment.

He said that many a complaint had come from time to time from his neighbors about him and from him; but he had believed him more than all the others; now, however, his faith was beginning to waver: for he thirsted for the rule, wanted to be the highest bishop, according to whom all the others would have to follow and keep. He would have obligated and committed M. G[eorg Karg] to him with his handwriting, who would have sworn against him to keep to him. Therefore, if he wanted to be a companion to the teachings of the Gospel, he should act sincerely and deal with it properly, or be a public enemy. But if he would despise this last admonition and rely on something, he should know that D. Luther again relied on Jesus Christ, who had so far preserved him from the gates of hell and from many enthusiasts and the spirits of the pagans. Therefore, beware that you do not start, and remember that you do not answer me with letters, but with action and work, and strengthen my wavering faith in me with action 2c.

And said: I have done enough with the man, I have promoted, excused and forbidden him so far with the Elector; but I do not want his made-up and colored doctrine. I have done enough to him, with admonitions in secret, both special and public. After my death, I will boldly and freely repeat this.

#### 42. the sins are to be distinguished.

Doctor Jakob Schenk, who was then the court preacher of Elector Johann Friedrich, said D. Martin Luther, has made it so that one never wants to believe him when he already speaks the truth: First, he speaks of sin without distinction, as I myself heard him preach in Eisenach. There he said: Sin, sin, sin is nothing. God wants sinners, for he says: They will go into the kingdom of God. He makes no distinction between the sins that have been committed and those that are being committed now or will be committed in the future. When the common man hears that God wants sinners, he soon says, Igitur peccemus. This is false teaching. It does not say: God wants to have sinners; but it says: when the

If a sinner repents, God wants him; therefore, a distinction must be made among sins. Agnitum peccatum is a bad sin, but velle peccare, that is the devil. For this the text stands, and does not say that God wants sinners, but says: "Sinners will enter the kingdom of heaven before hypocrites. There is a comparative in the words; and in order that one may understand what he means for sinners, it soon follows in the text: de agentibus poenitentiam. Item, if it were granted to us to sin, why then do the authorities punish sin? Now he would like to make it up with his disputation in Leipzig; but he has now lost faith, no one wants to trust him anymore.

#### 43. a different.

(Lauterbach, June 20, 1538, p. 90.)

On June 20, the wife of the prince of Freiberg, 1) Duke Heinrich, came to Wittenberg, with whom Luther twice discussed the pride and arrogance of Doctor Jakobi, and admonished her that she should be careful about the aggravations of the church 2c. There were also councilors from Freiberg who wanted to appoint another, and denounced Jakob's ungodliness and separation, because he had publicly taught carnal freedom: Do what you want, only believe, and you will be saved. Luther answered: It is badly distinguished, but one turns it around: Dear man, believe in God, and afterwards, as a born-again, new man, then do what comes before your hands. Fools do not know what faith is, they think it is a cold delusion, as the Sophists taught about the infused and unformed [informis] faith: the latter is a gift of the Holy Spirit even in children, which also remains in mortal sin; but faith that is formed [formata] by love cannot sin. Thus they have taught, although it is impossible to sin and to be born of God; this is contrary to each other. Oh dear Lord God,

1) In the original, this section reads "Freiburg" instead of "Freiberg"; as it should read, and § 47 of this section is also found.

2) D. Jakob Schenk from Waldsee near Memmingen, court preacher in Freiberg.



there will follow many aversions, because we do not fear God and do not pray, but do the thing with the powers of our intellect.

#### 44. a different.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 23, 1538, p. 119, is the continuation of Cap. 30, § 14, where we have transferred it for the sake of coherence).

#### 45. from false brothers.

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, Aug. 24, 1538, p. 120.)

On that day, whimsical things were said of the wretched character of Joh. A[gricola] and Jsakob] S[chenk], because they proved their cleverness by dissimulation and pursued the applause of the people in an astonishing way. He replied, "We must see this in false brethren. Therefore Christ says to Paul (Acts 9:16), "Go, I will show you how much you must suffer." He wants to make it sour for his own. He also brought me into it, the dear Lord will also help me out of it. I have enough, if I keep his grace.

Item, Anno 1538, den 3. September, came Herr Gabriel, Pfarrherr zu Torgau, gen Wittenberg zu D. Martino, and complained about D. Jeckel's courtly conduct, hypocrisy, and deceitfulness: for he deceitfully attracted to himself almost all of the nobility, councilors, and the princes 1) themselves, who thought much of him, so that he also had to suffer against the order of the visitation, that his brother preached at T[orgau] 2). When the doctor heard this, he was frightened, sighed, kept silent, and prayed. And the same day he ordered to act with Eisleben, so that he would either publicly recant or be disgraced.

#### 46. D. J[eckel's] false delusion.

D. Jakob S[chenk] 3) fraudulently boasted how he was one with the Wittenbergers. Then said D. Martinus said: "I must take him for my friend, and believe this, even though I have to protect him with letters and seals.

convince me. But let it go as it goes, my and his time has not yet come. It will be found in the sweepings and in the end. Let us pray against the troubles.

#### 47: Of D. Jeckel's hopeful stubbornness.

(Lauterbach, Sept. 11, 1538, p. 129.)

On Sept. 11, Luther heard J[akob] S[chenk] preach very boldly [in Lochau], chattering away according to his oratory. After the meal, he [Luther] met with D. Jonas for a private conversation and wished to win him over, but sfound him] unfortunately unrepentant, insolent, rebellious, ambitious, perjurious. When Luther reproached him for his ignorance, since he, as an inexperienced man who was neither a dialectician nor an orator, dared to do such things against his teachers, he answered: "I must do it for the sake of the blood of Christ and His great suffering, and the great pain of my conscience compels me to fear God more than all my teachers. For I have both a God and you. Luther answered: "Even if you understand our teachings from the bottom up, you should have honored us teachers, from whom you first learned, to the praise of God. Even if I understood all the Psalms of David in the spirit in which they were written, I would still not be able to make one; I would not be able to make the first verse of the first Psalm. Finally they parted unreconciled. Luther said: "If you are torn, the devil will mend you. Now we must also suffer the danger of false brothers. Poor Freiberg will never get over it, but God, as an avenger, will destroy the one who has desecrated his temple. For here the saying applies: evil mind, evil heart. (Terence, Andria, I, 1, 137.) A desperate bad boy. - Afterwards, he sat at the dinner table with them as an insolent mocker against Luther and the Freibergers, heckled them and Luther, and said: "If I make the court as pious as you make the world, then I have done wrong. 4) And yet he always sat there with a bold face, his eyes downcast.

1) Thus Bindseil II, 65.  
2) Thus Bindseil II, 65.  
3) Bindseil II, 65.

4) This will probably mean: so I have directed it evil.

and covered them, indicating the wickedness of his spirit, and was finally about to tie up with Luther when he left.

#### **Fortune beguiles the people.**

(Lauterbach, Sept. 15, 1538, p. 132.)

Afterwards, D. Jonas said a lot about the tremendous court life of J. A[gricola] and J. S[chenk], that they had done great things. He answered: Ah, how great is the corruption in man, since he degenerates more even through good days than through the cross! For these people have got into such great hope only through prosperity, presuming as inexperienced people everything and presuming that they, as idle and boastful people, would rule in what we have worked out. There should follow a beautiful church. The Catechism would have perished in the Church long ago, which we still preach with the greatest benefit. God keep us in the purity of his teaching.

**The devil can suffer that one preaches Christ with the mouth, but does not punish with what is to be punished 2c.**

In 1538, September 18, when J. Schenk was being praised and extolled everywhere as a pure teacher of the Gospel, who finely comforted consciences, D. Martinus said: "Oh, how I would like to hear this testimony from him, if only he did not speak such sweet and smooth words, as St. Paul did to the Romans in chapter 16. Martinus said: "Oh, how I would like to hear this testimony from him, if only he did not speak such sweet-mouthed, smooth, splendid words; as St. Paul complains to Romans Cap. 16, 18, which are the greatest deceivers, like the wind of Caecia, which blows so gently, softly and warmly, so that the blossoms are lured out to their destruction. So does the devil, who intends to destroy Christ, even though he teaches Christ and lies, even though he speaks the truth. A pious man may go up the stairs, but a wicked man lies down below.

For this the devil can well yield to and suffer, that Christ passeth over the tongue, and meanwhile lieth under it, that the ears of the people are tickled, and they are infected with that which they love to hear. This gossip will not last long. For Satan wants to spread the gospel through the gospel.

since in presumptuous and secure minds there is no knowledge of sin, nor matter or tinder that [the heart of the gospel] 1) might be able. Christ has no workshop in which to work, for he alone came for the sake of those who are of a troubled and broken heart and spirit. As he himself says Matth. 11, 5: "The poor have the gospel preached to them." And in the prophet Isaiah God speaks Cap. 66, 2.: "I look upon the wretched and the broken in spirit, and who fears my word." But these despisers of the law are the most hopeful spirits, just as in the papacy the people under the traditions of the law were far from it and alien to it. Therefore, the preaching of the law is a preparation for the gospel, and gives Christ, who is the master of faith, matter in which he can work.

#### **For whom the preaching of the Law and the Gospel belongs.**

(Cordatus No. 1323. 1397.)

The sermon of the law must be preached for the sake of the wicked, but mostly it falls on the good, who take care of it, and often too much. It is the same as when it rains on the sea and dense forests, not on fertile fields.

God, who is merciful, does not belong to the peasants, but he who strikes with pestilence and war is right for them.

(Here a paragraph is omitted because contained in Cap. 12, § 32.)

#### **The proud and presumptuous cannot teach Christ.**

Doctor Jakob Schenk acts the holy scripture, just as a schoolmaster Terentium walks the boy in school. So he looks at his person in the Scriptures, as in a comedy. He should be and wants to be. Therefore, it is impossible for a proud, arrogant, and arrogant man to preach Christ: he only wants to have broken, sorrowful hearts and lowly, humble spirits.

1) In the editions: "that it could be capable." In Bindseil II, 68 this sentence is missing.

**52. gushers are proud fools.**

^(Lauterbach, 7 Oct. 1538, p. 143 f.)

After that, J[akob] S[chenk] was remembered, who proudly and mendaciously undertook everything and yet denied, and wherever he was, caused dissension by relying on the reputation of the prince and the applause of the people. But he will be disgraced in his time, as Joh. A[gricola] was in great prestige at court and almost the most trusted - councillor, but without me his prestige has fallen. When he preached at the synod in Zeitz, he displeased everyone. This wretched man, puffed up by his court, has deceived himself with new words. He insists that the revelation of wrath should be preached, not the law, since the revelation of wrath and the law are the same and synonymous. I would not ask anything about the revelation of the wrath if the law had been abolished. I would not ask anything about the revelation of wrath if the law had been abolished. They are so foolish and unintelligent that they do not understand the synonyms, as if I said: Of death one should not preach, of dying one may preach; that would be such nonsense. I trusted this man so much that I gave him the doctrine, the church, my house, my secrets, and he, in his devilish dissimulation, hid his wickedness and joked with me daily. Never again will I trust him for all eternity and receive him into such familiar company. O dear God, keep us from falling into arrogance; lawyers, physicians and others may be arrogant. In theology arrogance finds no place, because it wants to have people who are spiritually poor, who should call upon God, and whom God wants to save, and he adds: You shall praise me, not yourself. Likewise: The heavens tell the glory of God (Ps. 50, 15. 19, 2.), not our glory, as those hopeful wretches do. It is a pity that we wretched people still want to seek honor in such great misfortune. We have to toil and gnaw with the devil, who has strong bones before we bite them. Paul and Christ had enough to do with the devil. I also experience my soul struggles every day, but

Those wretched, inexperienced people boast presumptuously of their victory. Just like that were Münzer, Carlstadt, Zwingli, Oecolampad, Stiefel, Eisleben, all of whom fell through hope. God preserve me, for I am a sinful man. I can also fall. 1)

**53) The spirits of the red can stay behind the mountain for a while, so it's good to keep an eye on them.**

(The first paragraph in Lauterbach, Oct. 10, 1538, p. 145; the second par. Oct. 11, p. 146.)

When there was a lot of talk about J. S[chenk] that day, he answered: I don't want to accuse him for the sake of teaching, but have quite good hope from him. But I cannot avoid suspicion, because I am burned. [Be-]may well sensation, one praise him as one will. In a fine way Sulla said about Julius Caesar, who was praised by all: You shall be right, only hold fast to it, but this you should know, in Caesar there are many [people like] Marius. Thus Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, said of his presbyter Arius that he would take away Christ's glory. When Peter died, Alexander followed, who also resisted him [Arius]. Athanasius, his college, also resisted him. All of them he despised, and fell into the worst heresy.

I praise open-hearted people, who state a matter with words and facial expressions and are not lying and hypocritical, like Joh. A[gricola] and J. S[chenk], who do everything amicably and yet lyingly. The name and designation "hypocrite" is very sharp and emphatic as well as Christ used [the word like this]. One cannot rebuke one higher than a hypocrite, a hypocrite, for he is the greatest plague.

**54. a different.**

Anno 1539, den 16. Januarii, arrived Doct. Martino letters from M. Gabriel Didymus, 2) in which he complained about D. J. Schenk, 3) the antinomian, Hoffahrt, with whom he was

1) On this §, see Mathesius, St. Louis Edition, p. 202.

2) Zwilling, pastor in Torgau.

3) Bindseil II, 71.

and supplicated to [the] Elector on account of his impure doctrine; for he clearly taught: One should abstain from gross sins and avoid the same. With which words hypocrisy would be defended. Then said D. Martinus said: The fool cannot hide himself, for it is an art above all art who can hide his art. The miserable, glorious, ambitious people seek only the favor of the common man even in the slightest word.

#### 55. of M. Eisleben's propositions.

Anno 1539, the last of January, in the evening, D. Martinus of Eisleben read Propositions of the next disputation, which were quite unrhymed by Jonatha, Saul. 1) Finally, he noticed the deception of Eisleben's law, which played with allegories and secret interpretations, and thus revealed what he had in mind and meant. From such suspicion all propositions flowed and hung on each other. But one must, and shall, understand it thus: Jonathas is M. Eisleben, who eats honey and preaches the gospel; Lutherus, however, is Saul, who hinders the use of honey in the church 2c., but does not get back to the right goal. And said at last: Ah Eisleben, are you such a one? O, forgive you, God, that you are so bitter and consider me your enemy. God be witness that I have loved you and still love you. If only you would fight against me in public and not fight so viciously behind the Pöckler 2). The next day was the disputation, and Eisleben was publicly disgraced.

#### The antinomian doctrine is a very harmful doctrine.

M. Hains 3) was remembered, who was an antinomian with the margrave. He did not want to punish, and made use of allegories.

1) We have omitted with Stangwald here the following words, which are found in Aurifaber and the other editions "The most noble final cause that Cyrilo rightly happened, that he would be killed; Eneas would still be excused."

2) Shield.

3) Mag. Heinrich Ham at the margrave Johannes. Walch, old edition, XVII, 393, § 2.

and spiritual interpretations, which teaching is uncertain, but pleasant and airy to the people. There spoke D. Martinus said: Dear God, how the poison throws and eats around. M. Ham, Jeckel, Schenk are gone; so one would like to call M. Eisleben cheaply a colorful newt, 4) and a Kanker, who has many stars. It is a shameful and harmful doctrine that denies Christ by confessing him, and defiles and disturbs his kingdom by teaching Christ: it makes people presumptuous and despisers of God's grace, even though they boast of grace.

P[hilipp] Melanchthon wrote from Frankfurt, how he had to argue with the antinomians, and they defended their thing highly, and many people were attached to them. Then said D. Martinus said: "The devil is quite nonsensical, rages and rages. He will cause much misfortune through the antinomians, because many unrighteous things and evil things will come out of it and will take place if the law is brought out of the church to the town hall. After that the authorities will say: We are Christians too, the law does not concern us. Likewise, the executioner, as a Christian, will also throw away the law. Then, sweet mercy, that is, great and infinite courage and evil will follow, which cannot be controlled. So Münzer also concluded and concluded in 1525, with his and other people's following and adhering to him, great harm, made a lot of bad consciences, killed the poor people body and soul.

#### The antinomian doctrine of different repentance.

Anno 1539, April 15, D. Martino sent Positiones, printed in Leipzig, which, it was said, Johann Hanerus 5) had made, in which he disputes quite sharply how the law does not concern the Christians, and divided the repentance into three parts, saying: The Jews have another repentance, another the Gentiles, and another, the Christians. Then said D. Martinus said: Who would have thought that such unruly spirits should come? For this is a wicked and injurious thing.

4) Cf. § 60 of this Cap.

5) Haner. Cf. De Wette IV, 545.

It is a gross error to distinguish repentance according to persons, when all men repent in the same way, because all men, one and another, have offended and angered one God at the same time, whether they are Jews, Gentiles, or Christians. Therefore, it is a gross, abominable public error to distinguish repentance according to persons, as if men had a different repentance and faith before God than women; princes a different one than subjects; lords a different one than servants; the rich a different one than the poor. Thus, they make a person's reputation with God.

#### 58. a different.

Haner, the wretched man, distinguishes repentance unjustly, and against God and his word; says: We Christians have a different repentance than the Jews and Gentiles: as if the prophets had not taught repentance rightly, and their repentance at Nineveh had not been righteous. Therefore, since repentance from the law should not be preached, it would follow that Christ had not been under the law, since he was under the curse of the law for our sake.

Summa, Satan cannot rest nor celebrate, there come many heresies, which all at once dispute Christ as a God who became man. For all the heresies that have arisen have arisen either against the Lord Christ's divinity or humanity, 1) either denying His efficacy and power, or some circumstances. Thus the antinomians deny Christ, who was under the law, when they dispute the law, and think that it is no more sin than to crucify Christ; as if it were not a sin against the first commandment to crucify Christ again.

We may well pray and watch, there are still many heresies to come. I do not say that repentance should not be preached to those who have already been justified by faith; but I do say this, and I urge that unrepentant, obstinate sinners should be taken seriously.

2) and bring them to the knowledge of sins through the law; for where sin is not recognized nor confessed, and where one does not want to have sinned, Christ and the gospel can have no place, for where there is no sin or does not want to be sin, there is also no forgiveness. But the antinomians want to bring Christ into the midst of impenitent sinners, who have no conscience, nor know themselves how depraved and evil their nature is; there, truly, Christ has no place or room.

#### 59. false brothers, the sweet-mouthed teachers, are more harmful than the public ones. Enemies and papists.

Our enemies, the papists, will not harm us, but the greatest danger is from false brothers. Who would have taken care of the antinomians? who protect and help themselves from my books, as if it were only a few sins that the Holy Spirit punishes. But if one were to ask the antinomians, "Is the offense against the Son only a few sins?" they would say, "For which Christ died, that is, for our sins against the ten commandments of God. Oh, I am quite hostile to the antinomians; God grant that they may recognize themselves.

#### 60. a different one from M. Eisleben.

When it was said that C[aspar] Asquila, 3) pastor of S[aalfeld], and M. Ham in the Mark were antinomians, D. Martinus sighed deeply and said: Dear God, how the poison is thrown around! M. Eisleben should be called Stellio, a colorful newt, 4) because with his poisonous teaching the gospel is darkened. They, the antinomians, vex and mock the Lord Christ on the right, as the papists do on the left. For in teaching Christ, they impugn Him and take away His power and work. So J. Schenk simulates and holds behind the mountain for a while, and the boy Schwenkfeld, who causes much error, sows and seduces many people with his sweet words. There are still many thoughts

2) So Stangwald instead of: "erstlich".

3) Bindseil II, 77.

4) Cf. § 56 of this Cap.

1) Cf. Cap. 7, § 27.

According to the prophecy of Simeoni, Christ will be set as a sign that will be contradicted; all heretics must aim at him. So many thoughts will be revealed, and it will be seen what they have in mind.

Behold, how many thoughts come now in the day, which were not in the time of the papist darkness: for then men were idle and safe, and the devil had the hearts even within, and kept his palace in peace. Therefore we must learn by experience this prophecy of Simeoni. As happened to the other dear fathers before us. For the devil is enraged, rages and rages, as a lewd woman when she is enraged and enraged, and cannot still her wicked heart, nor atone for her wrath, but with reviling and blaspheming without ceasing.

**61. False brothers and heretics are to be despised only.**

(Cordatus No. 194.)

We cannot punish f[alf] brothers who go out from us more severely than to let them do what they do, but with this condition that we do not say that they belong to us. So we send them to hell with their own ornaments.

**62. by Thomas Münzer.**

Münzer, when he was in Zwickau, came to a beautiful maiden and said: He was sent to her by a divine voice to sleep with her, because if it did not happen, he could not teach God's word. This is what the virgin confessed to her priest in confession, when she was deathly ill.

**63. from Carlstadt.**

Carlstadt once said: "If I knew that our Lord God wanted to condemn me, I would trot into hell as gladly as I would ride. A horrible, terrible and ungodly speech. God says: Believe, keep my word alone, and do what I tell you: let me do the rest. So they want to know beforehand, without and apart from God's word, what His secret and hidden will is, since we should be content with the revealed will, believe it and be satisfied.

**64. by L. Eisleben.**

(Contained in Cap. 12, § 44.)

**65: Of the Waldensian Brethren in the Land of Bohemia.**

(Cordatus No. 1099. 1100.)

The common life of the Waldensians is undoubtedly very good, if one looks at the outward appearance, and in many things they are right, like us: they condemn the mass, purgatory, the invocation of the saints. They have unmarried ecclesiastics, but only as long as they want them, otherwise they will be deprived of the office, which will also happen with us, if we do not want to make the provision that married citizens shall be pastors of the churches; otherwise, in what way shall we get the pastors? They [the Waldensians] do not walk idly, they do not get intoxicated, they are truthful, serve their neighbor diligently, have a very good discipline of children; but they do not have the article of justification, although they confess that men are saved by faith and grace. But by faith they understand a quality [qualitas], which is the highest among the other qualities, but neither 1) they explain it [faith] nor grace by the word, as we do.

The Waldenses and the Papists say that faith without works is dead. If this saying of Jacobi [2, 20.] were applied to the moral conduct and the preaching of the law, it is a very good saying. But if you bring it into the article of justification, it is ungodly.

**(66) Not to know the difference between faith and works, which is lacking in men.**

**Waldensians.**

(Cordatus No. 1197.)

Although the Waldensians do not know the actual difference between faith and works, they speak of it more skillfully than the papists. This way of speaking "formaliter" is a way of speaking full of poison when it is connected with the word "faith" and its explanation.

1) Before eani should be supplemented good.

It holds that works justify together with faith, and that faith is only a cover of works and the basis of justification. Many fathers were of this opinion, and John Huss was caught in it, but before his death he was freed from it, because he prayed: O Son of the living God, who suffered for me, have mercy on me! He has the whole, who has this article.

#### 67. what they think of the Sacrament of the Altar.

(Cordatus No. 406 and No. 783.)

The Waldensians have strange opinions about Holy Communion, which I cannot understand, because they say that in the bread and wine the body of Christ is true, real, essential, but sacramentaliter, sacramental, namely in the host he appeared to some as a child, to others as a finger of a man, and this they take 1) sacramental.

The Waldensians are sad and stern people, torment themselves only with the law and do not treat the promises properly. They have no cheerfulness in their conscience. They have pieties, works, from which they get troubled consciences, which the Christian faith [Symbolum] nevertheless comforts miraculously, about the version of which I wonder very much, because it is put to the highest consolation of sorrowful consciences, with which the Waldensians do not deal, yes, they remain in constant sadness. Hennick, who was a Waldensian, answered: "I have often had such a sorrowful heart that I have cursed God for having made me a man and not a beast.

#### 68 The Waldensian Fallacy.

The Waldenses err, first, because they hold that faith without works does not make one righteous and blessed, but is formed by love: they know nothing of imputed righteousness. 2) They do not know about the power of the Word of God. Secondly, they know nothing of the power of the word that GOD

1) Aurifaber: "name".

2) So Stangwald instead of "reformiret".

He will be gracious before our works, and give his word, and with his gracious word address us ungodly men before faith and works, before we begin to believe and to do good; as he converted Paul. So he called Adam, Abraham, Moses 2c. also before grace, before they were converted.

#### 69. of some fanciful unity, who pretend that they teach just what we teach.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 28, 1538, p. 123.)

On August 28, a letter 3) arrived from the Augsburg City Council, in which it was indicated how Mag. Johann Förster would be dismissed from it because he was quarrelsome, biting, careless and incorrigible. And so they rejected this very good man with the highest disgrace, because he did not want to look through the fingers of the hawks Michael Cellarius and Bonifacius. But these write to my face that they have always taught and still teach what we teach; they do not want to appear to have erred, and they impose errors on us. They do this, since I am still alive, and dare to write such a thing to me. That is why I have never liked the imagined unity. I fear that the latter will be worse than the former, because they do not act out of conviction, but are forced by the authorities to seek this bond of unity. I am very agitated and will not write to them for a while and will transfer the matter to Mart. Bucer with the matter and the matter at hand. If he has brought it in, he may well lead it out. These are the four 4) most desperate pots. This very fearful Michael Cellarius fled the light at the Reichstag (and made himself) out of town. Just so was Münzer, Carlstadt and Zwingli, who were very bold in happiness, very fearful in danger. Therefore one says of them rightly: bold in luck, despondent in misfortune.

3) Cf. Luther's answer to the mayors of Augsburg, Aug. 29, 1538, Walch, old edition, vol. XXIz 412 and 1458.

4) The word "four" is missing in Bindseil I, 360.

**70. by Witzel. One should not write against blasphemers, but despise them.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 6, 1538, p. 159.)

After that they spoke of the exceedingly faithless apostate Witzel, whom the Leipzigers had called, that he only drove his mockery out of insatiable hatred. Luther answered: "Have patience, this shameful villain and αὐτοχράχριτος [who has condemned himself 1) is not worth answering; for he knows that he defends the most unjust cause against his conscience, and he is also the most ungrateful knave who would have been worthy of death, and through our benevolence he has been preserved in life and honor. Now he gives us the reward. He will certainly find his judge. I did not want to take a lot of money to write a booklet against him. Such a knave is not to be feared but despised. He, along with all the papists, will not gain much with his blasphemy and scolding, nor will he achieve much. But we must do so when they blaspheme; we must be silent, but pray and bless, and not carry wood to the fire. Therefore my advice is that such all too godless people should not be answered. - Then he said what difference there was between χόλαξ, Gnatho [in Terence], a merrier, like Paul Jovius; συχοφάντης, a mischievous Auf laurer, as Hamann, Witzel; and χαχο-ήτης, an exceedingly treacherous person, as Ahitophel, Sadoletus. 1)

**71. gushers are presumptuous and great people.**

(This § is another redaction of Cap. 22, § 34.)

D. Martinus said of the Sacramentarians, who insist so hard on the spiritual food and drink in the Sacrament of the Altar, and said: God has ordered and instituted both, that one can see and grasp, and their custom and use: as, baptism, and the body and blood of the Lord Christ in the Lord's Supper; the custom is that they are useful. But now the heretics deny one of the two: either *rem*, the essence itself, as it is from God one, or *rem*, the essence itself, as it is from God one.

1) For the last section, compare Cap. 4, § 70 and Cap. 39, § 2.

or its custom, for which it is instituted. The Sacramentarians and Anabaptists deny *rem*, the essence. For they say that in the sacrament of the altar is bad bread and wine, not the true body and blood of Christ; baptism is bad water. The pope and his followers do not deny the essence, but let it remain as it was instituted by God, as the key of the churches, baptism, and the sacrament of the altar; but he does not have the right custom. The zealots and the spirits of the mob call the work a papist thing, but the custom and benefit they call spirit, which they only want to have.

But beware of such spirituality. For this is certain: what God gives, He gives in such a way that it can be seen and heard; we should also accept this as spiritual things. So God wanted to give Himself bodily in the day, and Christ wanted to be tangible, as John says in his epistle, 1 John 1:1: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have touched" 2c. So also he gave the oral word, baptism, the true body and blood of the Lord Christ in bread and wine, as he hung on the cross, gave his body for us, and shed his blood for us, 2c. as we received it in our mouth, that we should have it all bodily and visibly. I ask the gushing spirits, let them answer me: If God is not tangible, how can they be sure that there is a God? Oh, they are great donkey heads.

The devil spoke from Marxen, Stork and Carlstadt, the enthusiasts, because they said to me D. M.: You shall see signs enough. But they meant the peasants' revolt; I did not understand it at the time. What the devil does, he always presses the seal with his butt on it.

**72. of Thomas Münzer and his rapture.**

Muenzer, said D. Martinus said: that the outward oral word and sermon would be nothing, the spirit would have to do it, one would have to have it: no one would become a Christian, our Lord God talked to him before: he threw at the God who did not talk to him 2c.



With this, Satan shows how hostile he is to the Word.

But he made several degrees or stages of Christianity. The first one he called the decoction, that one should put away the gross sins, such as eating, drinking, fornication. The other is study, that one should think about another being and make an effort to improve. The third is wonder, speculation, and thoughts of sin and grace. The fourth is boredom, so he called the terror of the law, that one becomes hostile to it and suffers from sin. The fifth and last stage he called suspensionem gratiae, deep serenity, or deep unbelief and utter despair, as was in Judah. Serenity, the faith in God, that one should leave it to our Lord God. In this degree would be those who have heard God's word.

This doctrine has a reputation of holiness, and in this way he diminished the authority and glory of the oral word, praised revelation and secret speaking, admonished and punished the Lost Gentiles, that is, those who would not praise nor accept his doctrine; and proved it with examples of the Old Testament. Until he brought together a great and mighty company of peasants and poor people without understanding, with whom he was going to attack and destroy the princes. So he brought in six thousand people miserably for body, honor and property, who were slain.

He wrote from me: I also want to get him, his sharp tongues shall not help him. Once he wrote to me and M. Philippo: "I like it that you attack the pope in Wittenberg, but I do not like your whore marriage at all. He teaches about marriage that a man should not sleep with his wife unless he is sure beforehand, through divine revelation and inspiration, that he will beget a holy son or daughter with her; those who do not do so break the marriage with their wives.

### **73. of sacramentaries.**

(Cordatus No. 1570.)

All want to adorn their deceptions with the pretense of the gospel; for it is written from Augsburg that there sacramen

tirerian preachers thunder and flash against the evangelicals, they held it with Philip and Luther, the others did not know what they blamed in their teaching. So, because they do not want to be our friends in God's name, they are friends in the name of the devil, as Judas was Christ's friend in the garden.

### **74 Bucer's Argument from the Sacrament, Anno 1531.**

(Contained in Cap. 19, Z23.)

#### **Abuse of the sacraments is punished by God.**

(The first two paragraphs Cordatus No. 737, 738.)

The enthusiasts, when they handled the dead stones and wooden images, won, but when the living came upon them, namely the Swiss, they were all slain, as it also happened to the coiner.

If one needs the sacraments differently than God has appointed, it does not go out well, as Gideon did when he set up the ephod. He did not feel well about it either.

Zwingel twitched the sword, therefore he received his reward, according to the saying: "He who takes the sword perishes by the sword", Matth. 26, 52; if God made him blessed, 1) then he did it extra regulam, outside the rule of His word, and dispensed with it. And D. Martinus continued: "Zwingel and Oecolampadius are like Phaeton and Jcarus among the poets, they want to master the Scriptures and interpret them as they please.

#### **The Sacramentarian Delusion of the Night Supper, and D. M. Luther's Concerns. M. Luther's Concerns.**

The sacramentarians are under the delusion that Christ's body is true in bread, and his blood is true in wine, but Christ's body and blood are neither eaten nor drunk by the ungodly nor the godly, but only spiritually.

And that this is the delusion of the enthusiasts about the Sacrament of the Altar, was shown to all of us church servants in Wittenberg, especially in our presence, by M. Luther, our dear father, who diligently warned us about it, and said this as a testimony to his opinion and doctrine

1) Cf. Cap. 9, § 19.

In this matter, namely, he could not, nor would not, admit, approve, or consent to this doctrine of theirs, because it is, he said, contrary to the clear public words of Christ, in which he commands us to eat his body; for Judas also, the betrayer, hath likewise taken the body of Christ, as well as the other godly, pious apostles. For one thing. Secondly, that this doctrine of theirs is not certain, therefore it cannot make consciences certain, nor assure that it is right. And for these two reasons he decided that he would much rather, and it would also be better, that this discord among us and the sacramentalists remain, than that one should compare and agree on certain proposed conditions and means. This was written to me, Johanni Schlaginhaufey, Johann Förster of Wittenberg on December 19, 1534.

#### 77 From Sadoleto, the Cardinal.

Anno 1539, April 1, Sadoleti's letters were brought to Sturmium, in which he pretended to Phil. Melanchthon and Bucer, and praised them highly. When M. Luther had read them, he said: "How can the devil humble himself so deeply that he would gladly bring these excellent men away from the Gospel and turn them away! If Philip were willing, he would easily be made a cardinal, but would still keep his wife and children; Sadoletus seeks and means Philip more than Stormen. "Satan" does not celebrate, but "go about seeking" whom he may devour," 1 Petr. 5:8; therefore let us be valiant, watchful and prayerful.

#### 78. the heretic war.

When the heretics, says Hilarius, are at loggerheads with each other and quarrel, the right church is at peace. So from Arii heresy came the Eunomiani and Macedoniani: because they tore and bit with each other, the church had peace and tranquility.

#### 79. by Thomas Münzer.

Since Thomas Münzer opposed me as if he wanted to help things, I had to resist him; but I did not like to, but was forced to do so out of great need: God also graciously helped me.

#### 80) The most serious damage to the gospel is done by the fanatics and the mobs.

Just as no sword, power or authority could overthrow or force the pope, the lord of the world, except the one man, Martin Luther; so no tyranny will be able to prevent D. Luthern no tyranny can hinder, but Satan by his cunning treacherous groups and sects, as in Apocalypsi stands that the lion has done no harm, but the dragon. For since Satan cannot do anything by force, nor is he able to, he dares to accomplish everything by trickery and deceit, and to darken and falsify the gospel where he cannot even dampen it; he secretly sows tares among us. Therefore, do not let the spirits of the mob take hold of you or anger you, for this has always been the image and fortune of the gospel; it tends to go that way. Only stay with it, God will preserve it and defend it from the devil and his scales.

#### The first is the first of the two.

At the Imperial Diet in Regensburg in 1532, Paul Ricius sent out a booklet in which Moses and Paul talk to each other and discuss how the sayings that are now disputed in religion could be compared. When M. Luther saw it, he said: "Everyone knows better how to advise the world than we, who would like to and could do it better than they. So it is also in other faculties and arts, each one thinks he alone can do it, the others nothing.

#### 82 Another from the same Ricio.

Martin Luther's table companion, Severus Schiefer, had once said over the table that Doctor Ricius, a Jew and physician, was now writing a book against our Christian faith, and that he should be displeased that Philip Melanchthon wrote that the articles of our Christian faith should not be understood with reason. To this Martin Luther replied: Ah, what should reason understand of this? It knows nothing of how a human being is created from a drop of blood; or, how

It comes that from a little flower or blossom on a cherry tree a cherry should grow; or how our mouth and our flesh are created. The world is full of miracles and wonders that happen every day. But, as Augustine says about the sixth chapter of John: *Haec omnia propter multitudinem viluerunt*. The Lord Christ once fed many thousands of people with a few loaves, but how many thousands of people does he feed daily? *Omne rarum charum, vilesцит quotidianum*. He makes wine grow daily from the rocks, he can make butter and bread from the sand, but who respects it?

So he created man once from the earth, and still daily he forms a man from a drop of blood. There is not a big difference. There in paradise he takes a lump of earth in his hand and says: "Make a man out of it"; then it happens. Nowadays he takes a drop of blood and creates a man out of it. These are great miracles, but because they happen daily, they are not regarded at all, and who can understand anything about them in the beginning? It is true that when reason is enlightened by the Holy Spirit, it can understand the Ten Commandments to some extent, and it can be guided by the Jewish religion; but to fully understand the articles of faith, as of the Holy Trinity; item, of the humanity of Christ, is far from being possible, because it does not rhyme. I cannot say that the King of France and this stone are one person; or that this knife and I are one person, for it does not rhyme. So it also does not rhyme that God became man; therefore we have to study it. I also think about it, but I do not understand it. St. Paul understood it well, even though he did not grasp it at all. But there he comes out when he says Col. 2, 3: *In Christo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae Dei*; for in Christo all things are known, yea, all creatures, and the whole Godhead: in Christo is found the supreme strength and weakness, death and life, righteousness and sin, grace and wrath of God. Ah, it is a high article, and few take it seriously.

**That all false religions and worship originate from the opere operato.**

In 1542, M. Mathesius and the other table companions read over Luther's table the booklet *de variis ritibus et ceremoniis Judaeorum* by the baptized Jew Antonii Margaritā. Then M. Luther said: "All religions, which are against the right, Christian, true religion, all come here *ex opere operato*, that one says: I will do this, it will please God. But this rule should be well noted, *quod omne opus operatum est idololatria*. So, what the papists only taught, that was all *opus operatum*. Their rules and traditions remind me of the Jews, as they have taken much from the Jews. The pope also wanted one to do this or that, as to put on a cap, wear a hard shirt and rope around oneself, and have it put on one's head: whoever did not do or keep this was condemned. Again, if one did it, they could not say for sure whether one would be saved by it or not. Fie on you, devil, what kind of teaching is this! If you do not do it, it will bring you damnation: again, if you do it, you will not know whether it is pleasing to God or not. In such. We poor people are stuck in such error.

Then one of the table companions said: If the world should still stand fifty years, then still much thing would agitate. Then the doctor answered and said: "God does not want the world to stand so long, for it would become worse than it has ever been. For many sects would arise, which are now still hidden in the hearts of men, so that one would not know where one was. 1) Therefore come, O Lord, come, and smite with the latter day; for there is no more improvement to be expected.

**How all heretics could be fed.**

Do away with the ten commandments of God, said D. Martinus, and all heresies will cease. For the Ten Commandments are a fountain from which all heresy springs and flows. For the Holy Scripture is a book of all heretics.

1) So Stangwald instead of "would be".

Of future sects that would miserably vex, afflict and devastate the true church of God.

D. Martinus sat saddened and lamented the present miserable state of the poor church, which is now in many dangers because of the tyrants and false teachers, sects and cults, through which Satan has challenged the gospel, baptism and the supper of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ these past years. But I hope," he said, "that the two errors will now be completely destroyed. But I am still afraid of two sects, the Epicurismo and Enthusiasmo; the two sects will still reign. For the whole world walks along in the utmost, highest certainty as if it wanted to live here forever, and as if there were no God nor any other life after this.

The others, who do not want to be regarded as not respecting God, will flutter after high things, despise the oral word of God and deal with their own thoughts and speculations, boast of the spirit, and pretend that the oral and external word is nothing; as the enthusiast Marcus of Zwickau was, who said: "No one shall take this teaching from me, not even God Himself. And would have liked to bring me to his opinion in many ways: he boasted and pretended that he had learned everything without the Scriptures, from revelation. Item, he boasted, his pound and gift would be in the degree of immobility (for thus such enthusiasts needed strange, unusual words), namely, he could see into people's hearts, what thoughts they had 2c. But God protect me from his enthusiasm.

I am worried that more of the same enthusiasts will come, walking along in gray skirts, hanging their heads, looking sour, drowned in their thoughts, and darkened, stubbornly persisting in their delusion, yielding to no one, and despising the oral word. That is why I have always advised, admonished and pleaded with the utmost diligence that we should read the Scriptures diligently and listen to the sermon, since God Himself speaks through His servants, that we may

with God, who has revealed himself and speaks to us; but God, who is silent and hidden in his majesty, is to be left alone. Therefore, because God has seen that we err in our thoughts and speculations in divine matters, He has revealed Himself to us in His word, and has spoken to us through His only begotten Son, who lies in the womb of His mother at the teat, and has earnestly commanded, saying, "This is the one you shall hear," who will teach you all things. Matth. 17, 5.

But we, alas, do not want to hear him, and despise or master the oral word; we do not want to look for Christ below, by the manger and swaddling clothes, but start above. Oh, if God speaks through a donkey, it is his word; how much more, since he does it through his Son, and his apostles and sent servants! Therefore St. Paul praises the Thessalonians 1 Ep. 2, 13: "You have," he says, "received our word as the word of God, as it is in truth." If we could believe that God spoke to us, we would hold the word in greater honor, love and value. But one cannot receive the concretum, namely the speaking, loquitur. For the enthusiastic quare, as which God seeks with his own thoughts, causes all misfortune: Why the one God is triune, one person God and man, his mother a virgin? why he has mercy on it, that not?

It is the peccatum originale, the original sin, which brought Adam in paradise into all misfortune, and has crept into our skin and inward parts, must also be brought out again through Christ. The Haars, in German Wie?, has become a woe for us; for when Adam wanted to strut and deal with the Haars, Wie?, a woe resulted. Is there no landlord so bad in the house who allows his servant to ask in his secret things how and why he does this? But the servant shall be satisfied with his master's command: he shall carry it out, and not ask why. So God also wants us to fear Him, and with trembling and bruised heart and spirit do what He has commanded and as He has commanded it, and not ask, inquire any more.

and ponder the reason why he wants it that way. He wants us to give ourselves the shame, but him the honor only; that we are poor fools and sinners, but he is wise and righteous, and considers those righteous who believe in his Son, as St. Paul says Rom. 3, 24. But we seek our honor and glory, and his shame.

Therefore, whoever wants to be advised and helped, should diligently pay attention to the oral word, believe it, and turn the quare into an ita, and become like a child; as the holy scripture speaks of the oral word in a very fine and masterly way. If we had no more than the two Psalms, the 119th and 131st, which teach us that we should diligently pay attention to the word, we should be content with that, if the devilish quare (why? how?) had not taken us thru through original sin.

But that some pretend and say that the oral word does nothing, but the Spirit does it, is necessary; for the apostles did not believe either, therefore God had to send them the Holy Spirit 2c. Answer: The apostles did believe, however weakly; but afterwards such weak faith became strong through the sending of the Holy Spirit. For the Holy Spirit taught nothing else than what Christ had taught before, since Christ says in clear words, Joh. 16, 13: "He (the Holy Spirit) will not speak of Himself, but what He will hear, that He will speak" 2c. Summa Summarum, the devil does not want us to stay on the right path, but always drives us to one side. Epicurism goes to the left side, enthusiasm to the right, on which the most pious and devout walk in great superstition and idolatry.

#### **The first is the first of the two.**

In 1538, September 13, a fierce disputation against the antinomians and lawbreakers was held for almost five hours, in which D. Martinus opposed the new teachers in the strongest possible way and persuaded them to reject the law through the gospel and to abolish the law, and

He said that he would resist them to the end, even if he should die over them. It shall also be said of him after his death.

And on the evening over the table he said: He would never have agreed to Jeckel's and Grickel's opinion, he would never have put up with them, not even in the least. For the fire always used to be lit by a tiny spark. As the sacramentarians said in the first: It would only be bread; then, it would only mean the body; finally, it would be the true body, but only spiritual,

So Arius also continued his heresy one by one, unhurriedly, of which Peter, bishop of Alexandria, when he noticed it, said long before that it was strange and against the honor of Christ; for whoever denies the divinity of Christ, takes away his honor. And he, Arius, began thus: First, he denied that Christ was God, and said, He was a creature, but fully adequate. But since the Catholic and pious bishops resisted him, he said to the other: Christ was the most perfect creature, even above the angels, through whom all things were made. Thirdly, he pretended: He would be only by the name of God. Fourthly, he said that he was true God from true God, light from light, led Christ into the school, and thus taught from him that the error was so subtle that many fell to him, and kept it with him. Also, the fine bishop of Milan, Auxentius, was deceived by the same error, against which Hilarius wrote an epistle.

But since the pious Christian bishops were not satisfied, he said to the fifth: Christ was not born of the Father, like God, but made of one essence with the Father; he would not admit that he was not made. Then the quarrel arose over the Homousion. Hilarius opposed this, which book he wrote against him is the sum and content, that Christ is natural God, of the same essence with the Father. Although afterwards St. Jerome opposed it, he would have liked to see that this word, Homousion, was taken from the Symbolo Athanasii and Confession of Faith.

because it was not written anywhere in the Bible and the Holy Scriptures. Which Athanasius. Athanasius put a stop to it and said: That one also spoke of the father, he was unborn, could not be born. Even though it was not written in the Scriptures, it rhymed well and would be spoken of in the same way.

Summa, what shall I say: There is no error, superstition or idolatry so gross that one does not fall for it and does not accept it; just as now the Pope of Rome is also honored as a god. And the pagans also had a god, which name was not to be denied: for the same conceived as many creators as there were years in the world. As the Greek word (αλραξις) brings with it in number.

#### **87 A different from Arii heresy.**

The Arii heresy lasted very long, over three hundred years, reached the time of Augustine and Gregory. Under the emperor Constantino it was in the highest bloom; under the emperor Domitiano it tyrannized; under Joviniano, Valentiniano and Gratiano it diminished a little; it endured seven emperors until the Goths came. Thus the Turk is still today an Arian, although he praises in his oaths the four Gospels; item, that God is a creator of heaven and earth, likewise the resurrection of the dead. But he praises his Mahomet as the highest prophet: he has Christ preached publicly in Constantinople, but that one should leave his Mahomet satisfied and not attack and rebuke him, who is a wonderful man.

#### **88. Of the future sects prophecy of D. M. Luther.**

In 1539, January 23, D. Martinus lamented and lamented the sects that would still come from false brothers. There will be so much writing, he said, that the least grammarian and philosopher will want to write special things, and we will fall back into the old errors. For the devil is a thousandfold artist, and can disguise and adorn an error in many ways. So, the Samosatani's and Arii's error is almost the same, only

that the latter confesses one person with the Father, but the latter confesses two persons, but nevertheless one named God, who has only the name. Thus the sacramentarians have also twisted and decorated this saying: "This is my body".

#### **89. of heretics, the abelists.**

He, D. Martinus, also remembered the heretics at that time, who were called Abelists and had taken the name from Abel; they would have been the most distinguished teachers outwardly in the light that the sun shone. For first, they held that all who wished to be in their sect should be in wedlock and have wives. Second, that they should dwell with one another, yet abstain from conjugal works, and diligently increase the household with goods and food. Third, that they should choose children from others and from other people to be their heirs. Truly, this has been a strange heresy, and a frivolous one, which has accepted foreign people as heirs. Who would not like that? Thus, the marriage state and God's order are always challenged.

#### **90 All sects and sectarian groups are rebellious.**

It is certain, said D. Martinus said, that every heretic and spirit of the mob is also seditious: for after he has taught and spread lies, he seals it with murder. Just as the Lord Christ paints the devil with the two titles, who so sets up poor people that they only set the antecedent, under a good opinion and pretense of peace, as if they sought nothing else than the salvation and salvation of people's souls, peace and unity: after that the devil soon infer such a consequentiam, and leads such a consequence on it, as the heretics themselves never meant nor thought. So Grickel does not now see this consequence that will follow; but the devil is a good dialectician, who has already made the syllogism, antecedens and consequens, the final speech and consequence: but we are sure, think that the devil sleeps, walks idly, and does not rule, since he is among the children of God, and walks around, as Job complains Cap. 1, 6, and St. Peter says 1 Ep. 5, 8.

### The heretics and rotten errors have a great appearance.

The heretics and the red spirits, the Jews and the enthusiasts, the doers and the nobles, are always more hopeful, more heated and have a greater appearance and reputation than the true Christians, for which reason one does not think otherwise, that they are righteous and that their thing is vain sanctity. But one can and must meet them with this one argument and reason, and ask them: Dear, is this also the command of our Lord God? Then they must fall silent.

### 92. heretics unk Rotten want to be innocent martyrs on top of that.

Doctor Martinus remembered the Grickel and said: "He is a proud, presumptuous man whom you cannot win over with whistling or crying, do what you will. The other day I was in Will, already on my way to talk and reconcile with Jeckeln and Grickeln, and yet I was about to be prevented from doing so and was advised otherwise: for I see that the kinder and friendlier I show myself to them, the more their stomachs swell, and they become more and more proud and defiant. He boasts that he is Abel, that he must suffer much and be strangled. What? He will become a martyr under my hands, and I must be his executioner to make him a martyr, since he has troubled and tortured me much more than all my adversaries. No pope or fanatic has grieved me more than he, and now he wants to lay the blame on me. Arius did the same when he wrote to his own: I am persecuted by my pastor and bishop for the truth's sake, but I overcome it all 2c. I mean, he was a martyr. In the same way, Christ also made the devil a martyr. Oh dear God, how we walk safely in such great wickedness, without all fear of God and prayer! Therefore, also very horrible and evil lines will follow.

It was the same in the time of the apostles, after whom Manichaeus, the heretic, soon came and said: The apostles had the Holy Spirit, but inadequately, but he had it fully. So now our red spirits also say: we have well

and be fine and right, but they would be perfect, they would have to work it out completely and bring it right 2c. So the devil's process goes, he does not do otherwise, that must be expected of him: he always wants to be our Lord God's master, and make everything better.

So for these twenty years I have had more than fifty heretics who wanted to teach me, but God protected me from them, saying, "I will show you what you must suffer for my name's sake," Acts 9:16. 9, 16. Summa, "they must be heresies," 1 Cor. 11, 19; one cannot help it, do what one will. It was so in the time of the apostles; we will not do better than our fathers. When tyranny and persecution cease, heresies follow. For this reason I have let my confession and the three symbols of our Christian faith go out publicly, primarily for this reason, because these articles will soon come into danger and be challenged. The times under the Gospel are evil; where the doctrine is taught and preached purely, all things are revived. Now that this bright light of the gospel has gone out, we see what the world is, which we did not see before in the darkness: and though it hurts now, and we would gladly lament, Christ has laid down for us the loquibar, speaking, strong, as he says: "I am your Lord and Master, you are my disciples and pupils; if they have called me Beelzebub, how much more will they do it to you", Matth. 10, 24. 25. 10, 24. 25. You shall not have it better than I.

### 93 From rebaptizers.

(Cordatus No. 836. 837.)

The Anabaptists are very bad boys who always boast of their great patience and always shed blood. That is why they cry out that the princes are godless and must be exterminated. They are living devils, not human beings. Carlstadt belonged to their sect and let his son die without baptism.

Baptism is a bath of life, not just water. It is better that those who think it is only a sign remain without it.

**94. a different.**

(Cordatus No. 1695.)

I do not know the faith of an adult, for he can lie; furthermore, the testimony of a man is not believed. Pay attention to God's word, which commands, and pay attention to God, who says: Preach, baptize, absolve. The prosperity is to be brought home to me. The Anabaptists say, If you believe 2c. Only the commandment and the word of God are to be regarded.

**The devil does not like the tanfe.**

Luther said that baptism is such a thing that all devils must not swallow a drop of it, otherwise it would become a cellar throat for them, which would burn them like hellish fire; but where they see baptism, they must not go to it nor stay with it, but must flee far away from it. Why is that? Because God has commanded and commanded that we should put our hand and tongue to it, and pour the water over the person to be baptized, with the words and letters that God has promised and assured us in the most certain way that He Himself will be present with His divine grace and power, and will do such a work Himself: Baptism is not mere letters, or merely bad water, but God has joined Himself to us and through us, as His instruments, to exercise His grace, power and might.

**96. mock remedy of the Anabaptists.**

(Contained in Cap. 17, § 10.)

**That one should read and contemplate God's Word diligently, for one cannot unlearn it.**

Doctor M. Luther said that Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector, was in the habit of saying: "What one otherwise runs from worldly things or wisdom, I still want to understand well, but when God speaks, that is too high, that one does not grasp and fathom so soon. Yes, of course, said D. M. Luther; still

we go there and think: O we read it ten years ago, and we know it well; but listen:

Lectio lecta placet, decies repetita placebit. This is said of a poet, for example, as of Virgilio or Ovidio; and if one runs it over ten years, then he finds something in it, quod delectet. But here they all cry out: O you can do nothing, because Fides, Fides, bona opera etc.. Well, they say: Repete, repete, acue, acue. So Moses cries out: Just read, just read, there you will probably find more, you will always find something that you never knew before. But we do not. I don't do it myself, that's why I'm sorry for myself, ego odi me; but when I come across it and read it, then I find strength, then I feel that it is a strength, and that it is not a history. The Sapientia says: Come and eat my bread, and you will not hunger; drink my wine, and you will not thirst; drink and be filled. Prov. Sal. 9, 5.

Thus it is said: Letters of princes should be read two or three times, for they are written thoughtfully and wisely. Much more, one should read the Bible often, for God has written His wisdom in it.

**The teaching of the Gospel is like the sun and the moon.**

The teaching of the gospel is like the sun and the moon in the sky. For as the moon lightens the night, so the gospel also lightens the night, that is, our reason and human wisdom and understanding. Plato and Aristotle know well from the light of nature: Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris, but it is still dark and night to them. When the gospel comes, it wipes men's eyes so that they have to say, "Yes, indeed, it is true. Then the gospel is also a sun, because it brings the promise of the Son of God, when it says: Believe in the Son, who was crucified for you, died, was buried, and rose from the dead. This is the *luminare magnum*. That is why a Cardinal of Rome rightly said: "Even if the Gospel were not true (as they are wont to say), there is still no silent faith in the Son of God.



rer doctrine will never come on earth. And it is true that no teaching is more difficult than this, as you can see in Matth. 5:20 ff.

### 99. enthusiasts always find followers.

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, Jan. 13, 1538, p. 8. - Das Folgmdc, July 12, 1538, p. 98.)

On January 13, Phil. Melanchthon a note written by an Anabaptist who had seduced G. K[arg]. This note had been given to Philip by the imprisoned G. K. had handed it over to Philip; in it the Anabaptist praised his spirit and where he had gotten it from; how he had been with Sebastian Frank, whose wife he praised with the highest and heavenly praises, because of her figure, because of her eloquence and her spirit, and he had agreed with her in such a way that his spirit and her spirit had joined together as high as [if] they were both one person; how he had stayed with the highest delight for seventeen weeks, at last he had departed from her, like Elijah from Elisha. This was written. Luther said: This was a whimsical deception of Satan and the most impudent lies by which he attacked the truth, and yet he had disciples who imitated him. The rude devil shall get disciples here, since we are still alive. I cannot hold Mr. D. S[chenk] unsuspecting that he has sent such a deceiver here. But in the end we will see how it stands [*cujus toni*].

On July 12, he commemorated the Anabaptist Hans Sturm, 1) who had been visited, interrogated and instructed here in the castle several times and still did not want to repent. When I asked him in the presence of many whether he also believed that Christ was a savior of children? If he believed that Christ died for them, and if he believed that he died for the children, that they also had sin, for which Christ had done enough by his death, he answered, "It is true that Christ died, but for us as an example, that we also should die. And thus he completely denied the power and fruit of Christ's suffering. For in this way Christ would be no more than John the Baptist and an-

other saints, who have also died as an example for us. He stubbornly held on to such things and led many into error. That is why he died in prison in Schweinitz.

### 100 Whether the Anabaptists will also be blessed.

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 19.)

### 101. gushers want to be able to do everything and learn from no one.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 14, Wednesday, p. 112.)

On August 14, there was a respectable matron from Freiberg, the wife of W(olf) L(ose), who in the presence of Luther deplored the audacity and courtliness of J. S(chenk), and with what pride he had despised Wittenberg. Luther answered: "It is the art and manner of the same spirits that they please themselves alone, they despise the reputation of all others; and told of the foolhardiness of some. Master Lorenz [Werder] of Torgau, the Anabaptist, and also a goldsmith were brought here; they went along in such great impudence, wanted to be tested by us and laughed: What is the matter? Furthermore: What are you examining us for, Magister Luther? I knew that before you shat on a straw wipe. I am baptized and holy. I may no longer baptize children, for all my children are born holy of me. Such abominations Satan begets in sure and presumptuous spirits. Therefore Solomon says Proverbs 28 (v. 14): "Blessed is he that feareth all things: but he that is stiff-necked shall fall into mischief." Let us take care and pray that we do not fall into temptation, and the visitations are very well ordered, so that such wicked men can be controlled.

### 102 Anabaptists have not written against M. Luther.

There was a special, excellent Anabaptist who had been wandering in a desolate forest for three days and had eaten nothing; after that he would have come back to the city and found all the citizens and inhabitants of the city, the people of the city, and the people of the city gathered together.

1) Hans Sturm, a cloth shearer in Freistadt near Linz, Austria. (Kummer.)

and the unlearned, and asked that the learned should stand in one place, and the rabble in another: and he spake most vehemently, and reproached the wisdom of the world, and then turned to the rabble, and received and pledged them as simple pious men.

(The following Cordatus No. 1065.)

None of the Anabaptists has written against me, because they, being a rebellious rabble, do not have a scholar who could become a master. The red spirits have wanted to become masters of me.

### 103) Whether the Anabaptists should be killed.

Luther answered and said: "There are two kinds of Anabaptists. Some are public rebels, teaching against the authorities, whom a lord may well have judged and put to death. Some, however, have fanatical delusions and opinions; these are generally expelled.

### 104. gushers are possessed by the devil.

Muenzer, Carlstadt, Campanus and similar fellows, groups and sects are all devils in the flesh, for all their thoughts are directed toward doing harm and taking revenge.

### 105. blasphemy finally brings ruin.

Blasphemy kills and knocks the bottom out of the barrel. The blasphemy of the Sacramentans will certainly break their necks. As soon as the blasphemies come, as soon as must become another world. Like Pharaoh and Rabaces, the king of Assyria's heir, who have miserably corrupted and lost theirs by blasphemy, along with themselves.

Dear God, is it not enough that God forgives and pardons all other sins? But the sin of blasphemy against God he does not want anyone to be blamed, nor to go unpunished; as he himself says in Exodus 20:7: "I will not hold him innocent who uses my name uselessly. And this is the judgment, "Thou shalt not take the name of GOD in vain." From the beginning of

In the world, God's commandments have always been attacked, but they still stand for and for; but they, the transgressors and blasphemers, perish and perish.

Item: The gospel is accused of being a seditious doctrine, but it is not seditious; although sedition always follows it, it does not cause any, but brings peace and unity: the devil, with his scales, sects and cults, causes sedition and all misfortune, because he cannot stand pure doctrine, which destroys his kingdom; he makes the world oppose it. That is where dissension and turmoil come from.

What did it cost God before he brought his people to where he wanted them to be! Namely, the kingdom of Egypt into the Red Sea, and the whole people of Israel into the desert. In the same way, Christ took with him the police, regiment and priesthood of the Jews and the Roman Empire. So also today Germany will be torn apart and devastated.

### 106 D. Martini Urtheil von Erasmo Roterodamo.

(Cordatus No. 530.)

Erasmus has in his appearance and in his writing the mark of deviousness, because he mocks God and religion, and if he makes the greatest words of Christ, of the Scriptures 2c., they are still very cold. But he has a spirit to be biting, as his Moria and his Julius 1) prove; are grown and not made words. A made sermon leaves cold; as when he calls Christ reverentially for the sake of sinecures: If Christ does not want to be a king, let him be a beggar. He has provoked and refuted the papacy; now he pulls his head out of the noose.

### 107. a different.

(Cordatus No. 1466.)

I ask all of you who are serious about the glory [of God] and the gospel, that you take the

1) Erasmus' famous writing *laus stultitias*, appeared in Paris in 1509. His witty dialogue "Julius" was probably written in Italy in 1506. According to others, he is not the author. (Wrampelmeyer.)

Be enemies of Erasmus, for he is an abhorrer of religion. Just read his Dialogue de peregrinatione, and you will find that he wants to overthrow the whole religion from the ground up and completely reject the whole religion because of individual abominations, since the dialecticians say that no conclusion can be drawn from what is only individual to what is general. For it does not follow: A certain religion is godless, therefore every religion is godless. Therefore dialectics is also necessary, not the sophistical fallacies which he uses, as they [the sophists] once said: No one and no one bit each other in the sack; where they argued about whether "no one" was taken in itself [absolute], or accidentally, whether personally or really.

**108. erasmus is a launderer. 1)**

(Cordatus No. 1093.)

Erasmus is not a Greek, but a little Greek, 2) who ridicules and imitates all others, and if he remained in his art, he would be a man, but since he wants to be wise in all things, he deceives himself. It is said: he shall be a fool before the world who wants to be wise before God. Erasmus does not want to do that.

**Erasmus is not a warrior.**

(Cordatus No. 1102.)

Nature without art can do nothing, lies there like a log, and art without application can also do little. Therefore, use is the golden art, but art is the wooden art. The application has made me a teacher 2c. To mock Erasmus is not to refute, and if I were a papist, I would easily convict Erasmus; for although he mocked the ceremonies of the pope, he did not refute them. By mocking, we do not defeat anyone in our time.

**110. Erasmus is not Lutheran, but a papist Bloch and scoffer.**

(Cordatus No. 1226.)

I want to free Erasmus from the suspicion that he is a luther-

1) Cf. Cap. 73, § 12.

2) Orusoulus Used by a scholar in a contemptuous sense: a conceited fool.

He has the Roman faith and believes what Pope Clement believes. He is a papist, who believes what the pope wants, but ridicules everything about himself. In the dialogue, which he titled "Puerpera", his spirit and his faith come out. He says of God that if he were concerned about affairs, he would be foolish, powerless or unjust, because he does not govern everything on earth according to his will. But it is said [1 Cor. 1, 21.], "It pleased GOD well to make blessed by foolish preaching those who believe in it."

**111 Erasmus and Lucianus.**

(Cordatus No. 1294.)

When I die, I will forbid my children not to read the Colloquia of Erasmus; for he speaks through other persons his exceedingly ungodly opinion, which is against the faith and the church. He may well ridicule me and others, but he will not ridicule the Schefflimini. Erasmus is much worse than Lucian, because he ridicules everything holy under the appearance of holiness.

**The Epicurean argument is like Caiphas' advice.**

(Cordatus No. 1304. 1305 and 1306.)

I heartily hate Erasmus, because he uses the same argument against the gospel that Caiphas uses [John 11:50] against the person of Christ; for he thinks it better to be silent than that the princes of Germany should be aroused. John also hated Caiphas and Christ gives him a great blow [Joh. 19, 11.]: "He that delivered me unto thee hath greater sin."

What a plain man 3) speaks should be noticed. Therefore John is to be read with special attention. Every word is worth a centner. He speaks as it were sleepy words like [Joh. 17, 5.]: "Father, glorify your son." But God and a godly person judges differently about these and other words of him.

I have patiently borne that Erasmus mocked me, but since he also mocked Christ and

3) In the original worse, i.e. plain, simple.

mocking all godliness with his ambiguities, I will make a move on him and will kill him, because I have sworn to Christ. Therefore, I will no longer let his [Christ's] honor stand in danger. He [Erasmus] has the material of a Democritus and an Epicurus, let him hear that 2c. Admittedly, this is also true: he who presses Erasmus presses a bug. I will cite the passage from Isaiah [59, 5.] about the basilisk egg, which fits him. I made this verse on him in bed that night:

Qui Satanam non odit, amet tua carmina, Erasme etc.

[He who does not hate Satan, love your poems, Erasmus.]

### 113. From Erasmus Prefaces to the New Testament.

(Cordatus No. 1332.)

Even if many wise men in the world should be angry and turn away from me when I write against Erasmus, it is better that I lose them than Christ. In his prefaces on the evangelists he almost does not distinguish Christ from Solomon; John he almost despises. About Paul's letter to the Romans he says that the difficulty of the letter is greater than its usefulness. Does that mean Paul praised? Fie on you!

### 114. by Erasmi Mona.

(The first paragraph of this § at Cordatus No. 1330.)

When Erasmus wrote his "Moria", he has begotten a daughter worthy of him. For it is fitting that that slippery-talking Vertumnus 1) should turn his tails in circles like this, and that a Thor should beget a Thorheit.

(The following paragraph Cordatus No. 1338.)

One leaf in Terence is better than all the dialogues and colloquies of Erasmus, my serpent, whom I hate. Epiphanius, Cyril, Bulgarius [Theophylact] have been the best in the Greek Church.

2) Item: I am the snake, the Erasmo,

1) Vertumnus, change god, the god of nature and the seasons, which are always changing.

2) This paragraph is probably spurious, an edit of the next preceding paragraph.

I will faithfully oppose the reading of his books by all God-fearers, for they serve neither good discipline nor understanding. From one leaf in the Terentio, Erasmus can make a great long Dialogum or conversation. He is a mocker of religion, police and economy, of the church, secular and domestic regiment. And, since God is before, if our Confession and Apologia were dead, Erasmus would create an epicurean church.

### 115 Erasmus sits between two chairs.

Erasmus could well have served and been useful to the trade of the Gospel, as he is often Christianly admonished to do, but he has not done so. And now that he would like to, he cannot, for the matter has now come too far, and he no longer has the deck of cards in his hand, but has given it up. He has expressed himself in this way, so that he is no longer used by the papists for this purpose, and he is like Jude Iscariot, who also did not want to do it, since he was kindly admonished by Christ, when Christ said to him, "Why do you betray the Son of Man with a kiss? Luc. 22, 48. "My friend, why have you come?" Matth. 26, 50. Then he could have refrained and served Christ, but he would not. After that, when he was sorry and wanted to, he could not, and was also despised and rejected by the Jews. Therefore a bishop said of Ario, the heretic, and said: Arius does not seek God's glory. So may I say of Erasmo also.

### 116. erasmi way or ingenium.

(Cordatus No. 1635.)

Erasmus is such a mocker [Momus] that he cannot be seized either by us or by the papists, and on and on he devises new ambiguities which must be interpreted against him (even if the decree had not already made this determination). 3)

3) The original offers: huas [arnpüidolias] aävrs8U8 6uni I ni8i ut 8tatuit Dserstum) 8unt intrsrstanåas. The explanation which Dr. Wrampelmeyer attempts with respect to the bracketed words: "if they are not within the bounds of the decree" is impossible, for Luther would in that case be following the

If he were a Christian, he would not be playing his game with religion now as an old man.

**117 Erasmus does not respect Christ and his word.**

(Cordatus No. 1636.)

I will speak plainly of Christ, and will say with Joshua [34:15], Call yourselves whom ye will serve; but I and my house will serve the Lord. How great a sin it is to mock Christ, as happened to him who said that Peter had said, "The devil is at war; what I strike, he heals;" this is clear from the suffering of the whole creature, which mourned when Christ was blasphemed on the cross.

**118. a different.**

After my death, said D. Martinus, now that he has spoken much of Erasmo, you shall say that Erasmus was a godless man and an epicure. But if I am alive, I will go after him. One should not suffer his treachery. He thinks he alone is wise and learned, mocks us as if we were vain geese and sleepy fools. In his writing he uses vain words of uncertainty, 1) which one can interpret as one likes, so that he will not be punished; as he now does in his new catechismo. Such dark, uncertain, and doubtful speeches do not serve piety, but do great harm and mislead the people. It behooves a teacher to teach, to nurture, and to defend with certainty.

(Cordatus No. 1765.)

I would have meant, I wanted to bring Erasmus with my epistle again in armor, that I would seize him as a not ambiguous [amphibologicum] in some words, but it is in vain. I would have hoped that I could cleanse the church of his doctrine and of his brood, that is Egranus, Crotus, Witzel, Oecolampad, Campanus 2c. I do not want him in the church.

Decree have made no concession. But the words are to be put thus: umpbibobas aaversus eum interpretanãue sunt a nokis, visi sam taoiendum esset, ut 8tatuit V6er6turu.

1) Cf. cap. 22, § 40.

**119. by Erasmi Conterfei.**

When Doctor Martinus was shown Erasmi's conterfei, he did not like it. And it was said that when Erasmus saw his own Conterfei image, he said: Seeing thus, I am the greatest knave. So no one likes his own figure.

**120. from Erasmi Catechismo.**

Erasmus, said D. Martinus, has been poisoned and besmirched with Epicurismo in Rome and Venice: he has praised the Arians more than the Catholics: he may say: Christ is called God only once in John, since Thomas thus speaks to Christ: My Lord and my God, John 20, 28. But among all his enamored, 3) arrows I can least like his Catechismum, because he teaches nothing certain in it, makes young people only misguided and doubtful.

**121. of his life and end.**

(This § in Lauterbach, Aug. 16, 1538, p. 114, and. (the second paragraph) Sept. 30, 1538, p. 138.)

Luther: Erasmus' sentence and position was: one must serve the time. He looked only at himself. He lived and died without a preacher and without comfort. He went in repentance correptam. 3)

Erasmus of Rotterdam has written many things gloriously, for he had spirit, leisure, was without all complaint, without office, he did not preach, he did not read, he was not a steward, was in a state of life without God, lived very securely, as he also died [morixit], and in his agony did not desire a minister of the Word nor the Sacraments, and perhaps one still imputes to him the words that in his agony he is said to have confessed: Son of God, have mercy on me. God protect me that I should not desire a pious servant at my last end, yes.

2). Thus at this point in Aurifaber. The otherwise more common spelling is: verlipt, e.g. Wittenb. VII, 148 b. It means: poisoned.

3) in Teufels Rachen (Stuttg.-Leipz. Ausg.). This expression still occurs in Tischreden, Cap. 43, § 163, and in the admonition to the clergy at Augsburg. Wittenb., ed. VII, 447 b.; Jen. (3rd printing) V, 78 b.

If only I could call the next one, I would thank God. But that man learned that in Rome. But now one must be silent because of his reputation and his books. - Afterwards, there was again talk of collecting Luther's works in volumes; but he resisted: "I do not want my books, especially the earlier ones, to be published; indeed, I would rather destroy them all. For the whole church is filled with books, and the Bible is neglected. For many books of Augustine are nothing, the whole Jerome is almost nothing, with the exception of the Histories, which one would like to bring to four quaters 1). The world is vain, always desires new things, neglects the godly. A desire for libraries arises, and so my example gives others an opportunity. Everyone wants to write, because Luther has written.

#### 122. a different.

Doctor Martinus pointed out to M. A. Lauterbach a very violent, bitter epistle that Erasmus had written to Elector Duke Frederick against him, the doctor. Anno 1525. Yes, this one can, he said, scold me, and [only wants] to have his Epicurismum praised. Ah, epicurism is the most harmful sect, which cannot be refuted with the holy scriptures, for they do not respect it.

#### 123: Prince Frederick's speech by Erasmo.

Doctor Martinus said that Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, had once addressed Erasmus at Cologne in 1519 and had given him a damask; after that he said to M. Spalatin: What kind of man is Erasmus? One does not know how to deal with him. And Duke George, as he used to say, "That the addiction stabs him, one does not know what he is up to: I still praise the Wittenbergers, who speak yes or no. It is also true, said D. M. M., because we tell it to the pope dryly.

Then S. said: Erasmus once went out, let himself be heard of these blasphemous words: If God were not, I would rule the world by my cleverness. Dar-

1) Quatern, a printed sheet of four leaves.

D. Martinus answered: Erasmus has always attributed to him this divinity, which he wanted to deprive Christ of, has considered himself alone wise, has despised the others, and has considered us to be his fools and game birds, in whom he would have his pleasure, as if we did not understand his screwed and fickle words. I offered and challenged him in the epistle that displeased Philip, but he would not go along with me; for I had much from his great book, which he called Farraginem Epistolarum, that I wanted to cut out for him.

#### 124. Erasmus Christ's enemy.

This, said D. Martinus, I leave after me in the will, and to this I take you to witnesses that I consider Erasmum the highest enemy of Christ, as none has not been in a thousand years. In his Catechismo there is not a word that he said: Do this or leave that. He does nothing in it except to mislead consciences. And he has written against me in his booklet "Hyperaspistes," 2) in which he wants to defend his book on free will, against which I have written in my book "On the Servile Will," which he has not yet published and will never be able to publish for eternity. This I know for certain, and I defy the devil with all his scales, so that he may confute it. For I am certain that it is the immutable truth of God. But if a God lives in heaven, he (Erasmus) will one day become aware of what he has done.

#### Erasmus judges only according to reason in matters of God.

(Contained in Cap. 34, K 5.)

#### 126. a different.

(Cordatus No. 394 and 246.)

It will be a ridiculous thing for Erasmus that God should be born of a poor woman. Lucian has ridiculed all, but

2) In the ablative editions: Hyperaspiste. Cf. De Wette IV, 509, where Luther jokingly calls this writing Viperuspiäes.

A greater knave is Erasmus. But on the last day he will feel differently and he will speak 1): I thought the life of these people was nonsense.

Erasmus of Rotterdam considers the Christian religion to be a comedy or a tragedy, containing things that never happened, but invented to ennoble [firmandos] the manners of men. 2)

**127 Another sharp judgment of D. Martin Luther by Erasmo Roterodamo, written to his son with his own hand from a note in Latin. Anno 1533.**

(This § in Walch, old edition, vol. XVIII, 2498.)

**Erasmus does not ask about faith in Christ.**

I did not want to take ten thousand florins, said D. Martinus, and stand in danger before our Lord God, since St. Jerome is standing in it, much less Erasmus, who in one place annoyed me very much and pushed me before the head. When he was supposed to answer about faith in Christ, he said, "I will let this little thing pass and go.

**129. beware of erasmi books.**

If I am in good health and God gives me strength and power, I will confess my Lord Jesus Christ fully and freely against Him. I will not sell Jesus like this. I go to the pit every day, therefore I will confess him with a free open mouth, and not mince words. For he that speaketh sophistically, and keepeth gruel in his mouth, that is a good enemy to him, especially in matters where he is sensibly concerned. Just as the pagan Quintilianus says that one should beware of the one who speaks doubtfully, with uncertain and wavering words, which can be interpreted and twisted wherever one wants, in both rights. But now Erasmus speaks with diligence and deliberately, even maliciously, slippery and, as they say at court, with screwed words, which have no certain sense, and which he directs and ver-

can turn of his liking, according to his sense, as he wants, according to opportunity of the circumstances.

Therefore I command you by God's command, said D. Martinus to those who were with him, that you be enemies to him and beware of his books, for he considers all our theology, like Democritus, the pagan mocking philosopher, that is, to be nothing but foolish heiding, you laugh and scoff. I will write against him, if he should die and perish: I will kill Satan with the pen. Although these thoughts have plagued me for a long time, I have refrained from writing against him, because I thought, "What if you kill him? Well then, I have killed Muenzer, whose death is on my neck. But I did it because he wanted to kill my Christ. Uncertain, doubtful, wavering words and speech are to be swept up, run through the reel, quickly chastised and not left well alone. With rhetoric I cannot be his equal, but with dialectica I want to be superior to him; if not beautiful and curly, as they say, then silly and firm.

**Erasmus does not respect God's word in theology.**

Erasmus, said D. Martinus, understands his thing, that is, pagan trades; but our thing, that is, theological things, he does not respect: brings together all philosophers, kings and princes, sayings, words and deeds: then he brings to heap and shows all the aversions that have come from our doctrine, that Christ, as an incomprehensible, inexperienced young man, punishes and rebukes them all at once, yes, condemns them. Finally, he concludes: "If there were a God, he would not suffer such things. That is why he has a god called Rhamnusia, 4) that is, luck: as it goes, so it goes, as it falls, so it falls, approximately; believes no other god.

The first is that in all his books there is no mention of faith in Christ and how he conquered sin, death, the devil and hell.

3) I.e. necessarily.

4) Rliamnusia, i.e. nemesis, fate.

1) When Erasmus will see the believers in bliss.  
2) Maybe: kormandos?

and which he has overcome. The other is that he deliberately desecrates and blasphemes our thing with special diligence, and uses such words and sayings that would not occur to a stick-fool; but he speaks and writes deliberately. But he opens his heart, and makes it manifest, because he defends his thing so highly, otherwise he would 1) press on the epicurum, as it is written Luc. 19, 22: "Thou servant of a fool, out of thy words I judge thee."

#### **Erasmus does not respect God's works and creatures.**

We, said D. Martinus, are now in the dawn of the life to come, for we are beginning to regain the 2) knowledge of the creatures that we lost through Adam's fall. Now we see the creatures quite rightly, more than in the papacy. Erasmus, however, asks nothing about it, cares little about how the fruit is formed, prepared, and made in the womb, so he also does not respect the marriage state, how glorious it is. But we, by the grace of God, begin to recognize His glorious works and wonders even from the little flowers, when we realize how almighty and kind God is; therefore we praise and extol Him, and thank Him. In his creatures we recognize the power of his word, how mighty it is. When he spoke, 3) there it stood. Also in a peach pit: the same, although its shell is very hard, yet it must open in its time, through the very soft pit that is inside. Erasmus ignores this and does not pay attention to it; he looks at the creatures as the cow looks at a new gate.

#### **132. from Erasmi case.**

(Cordatus No. 1521 and No. 1529.)

I am surprised that a hurried man can fall away from God as far as Erasmus did. I wonder that a man can fall so far from God as Erasmus; for he is as certain that there is no life with God as I am certain that I have two eyes. Lucianus is not as certain as he.

I resent the fact that Erasmus arrogates to himself the name of a theologian, since he is the

1) The words: "otherwise he would" 2c. are omitted by Stangwald.

2) In the editions "the".

3) In the editions: Since he said, he spoke 2c.

custom of Christ and his ministry does not know why he came to earth; for in his whole theology he makes Christum a jurist 2)

#### **Erasmus does not think anything of God.**

(Cordatus No. 1518. 1519 and No. 51.)

Erasmus is a jack in the skin, which is evident from all his books, especially in the Colloquiis, where he does not speak in his own person, but in others. He mocks the true religion next to the false one. If I had a year free, I would want to fight with him. To this Erasmus, the father and the son is a ridiculous thing.

God has allowed us to play with "apples" and pears and nuts, our wives; but with Him and His majesty He does not let us joke.

Philip Melanchthon: Erasmus of Rottterdam said that after the theologians invented the Father and the Son, they also added the Holy Spirit so that they could argue about their offices.

5) Erasmus is worthy of great hatred. I admonish you all to consider him an enemy of God. Erasmus strikes fire in the tinder of the young boy, and holds Christ, as I hold Claus fool: he teaches nothing, but wash; what Res are and the things concerned, there he teaches nothing of.

#### **134. by Erasmi Diatribe.**

(Cordatus No. 153.)

Of all the books that the enemies of truth have written against me, I have read through none but the Diatribe of Erasmus, and even these I have read in such a way that I often thought of throwing them under the bench. For all of them, no matter how many have written against me, have given me, when I had read one or two sheets, material enough-the rest was good to wipe my butt. This I also did, so that the lies that were left in such books did not weigh me down beyond measure.

4) The last sentence of this section is transferred to the following §, where it belongs.

5) The last paragraph is no longer with Cordatus.



**135 From Erasmi Epistles.**

In Erasmi's epistles you will find nothing more special than that he praises the friends and scolds and blasphemes the enemies and adversaries, and nothing else.

**136. gushers deceive themselves.**

(This § except for the first sentence Cordatus No. 733 and 735.)

I have, said D. M. Luther, the enthusiasts, who rage so hostilely, gladly; because they corrupt and kill themselves.

Paul has been the wisest man, according to Christ, who says [Tit. 3, 10.], "Avoid a heretical man, when he is admonished once and again."

I am well pleased; he that deceiveth me, let him deceive me. The game is started in one name, which is called Christ. I dare now, ask nothing of it, where stocking 1) or tail remain.

**137. from Balaam.**

(Contained in Cap. 22, § 105.)

**138. of heretics.**

(Contained in Cap. 7, § 31.)

**139. of the Rottengeister theology.**

One of them said how the theology of the red-blooded spirits was the cause of much evil and misfortune. Yes, said D. M. Luther, there is no greater mischief than the sun: for if it did not shine, there would not be thievery, adultery, robbery and drudgery. Our Lord God is the greatest cause of sin, so why did he create it? says Frau Hulda, the reason.

**140 Error is apparent and glistens.**

(Cordatus No. 87.)

There is no error that does not have a very beautiful appearance when one breaks into God's word with reason. Thus, for Manichaeus, error had a very beautiful appearance of the two gods or principles, one of which was good, the other evil;

For when he looked around at all creatures, he saw in all of them something good and something bad, as in the trees some good fruit, some bad, in others worms, rotten twigs, and the like. Furthermore, that he fell into such a gross error was due to the fact that he either did not treat the first article of the Christian faith at all, or only very superficially; otherwise he would not have admitted a second God. The same happens to all those whom reason deceives. But it deceives those who either wholly or partially follow their thoughts and not only the word of God.

**141: Of errors and sects.**

(Except for the last paragraph, Lauterbach, 21 Jkln. 1538, p. 14.)

Afterwards Schneidewein said that a big rumor was spread here and there about a preacher who was caught here, who had been seized during a disputation and thrown into prison. Some spread this rumor about M. Georg Rörer, some about Major. Luther answered and gave information about the matter and the person [Karg], that he was seduced by an Anabaptist, so that he denied that Christ had received his body from Mary. He claimed that Christ's body was a real body, not an illusory body, as the Manichaeans say, but a heavenly and divine one. When I countered him: If Christ has not taken on our flesh, then our flesh and blood cannot enjoy blessedness: he claimed, on the other hand, that our flesh would not be resurrected, but that a new flesh would be created. Thus one error begets other errors, and if we do not watch and pray, innumerable sects will obscure the pure gospel. If the devil dares to defile the articles of faith in our time, when we are still alive, what good can we hope for in our descendants? Alas, dear Lord, the devil is grief-stricken for us, and we snore in our security. We want to show great prudence in theology. He who wants to seek his honor in the holy scriptures is nonsensical; for the same is given for God's honor, not for man's glory. Poets, jurists, beautiful girls may be fine, if

1) Stocking--Trunk. Wittb. Ausg., Bd.V11.Fol. 610.

They strut in their gifts, but in the holy scripture everyone should humble himself 2) I hold Jakob S(chenk) suspicious that he has incited that student against us by his arrogance and hatred. For I hear that he has boasted that he wants to create all the theologians and philosophers of the university. It is just a lot to take a bite out of.

The Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, said D. M. Luther. M. Luther, "have caused tumult and noise and disrupted the church, but have done no particular harm to Christianity. But I, if I were to take three bishoprics from the pope and deny Christ, would do great harm to Christendom. For the devil gives me other more pointed arguments, which they do not yet know and can pretend. But God protect me from that. And in this I realize that the devil is a master of the world. Nevertheless, I also realize that Christ is stronger: because *Verbum Domini manet in aeternum*, God's word remains eternally, and whoever clings to it with faith also remains eternally.

#### **The false teacher's nature and sin.**

All murderous and wolfish teachers' kind, said D. M. Luther. M. Luther, is that they want to be praised as doing better than all other salutary teachers. Therefore, they also sin against the Holy Spirit in this way, so that their sin cannot be forgiven 2) but must fall into punishment, because they not only sin, but also justly defend such sin with all iniquity; for sin must be recognized and repented of if it is to be forgiven.

#### **143. false teaching does not hold the length.**

In 1532 a very poisonous book went out against the Holy Trinity. M. Luther: "People do not think that others have also written and acted on this article; but it does not hold the sting that I want to set my thoughts against God's Word and the Holy Spirit.

1) From these words "for ... humble" is Cap. 22, z 57 made. - The same thought Cap. 37, § 34.

2) Cf. cap. 39, § 18 at the end.

#### **144. heretics cannot be persuaded of their delusion.**

In 1542, D. M. Luther said: "No heretic can be persuaded to turn away from his own delusion and mind and give honor to the truth of the divine word. No, they see and hear nothing. Like M. Stiefel, when he preached in 1533 that the last day should come in the same year: he neither saw nor heard me. Throughout my life, no adversary has given me such evil words as he did. And even if they repent, it is still generally a gallows repentance that does not have the time or the right root.

Oh, it is soon done for a man that the devil takes him over so completely that he has neither sense nor reason. We do not believe that we are such weak people and that the devil is so powerful. I often wonder what kind of battle it must be between the devils and the angels. I think that the angels are often defeated for a while when they fight for us. It is said: You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain, you shall not curse, rebuke 2c., much less commit heresy. I hold that Grickel believes nothing: he holds godliness to be a trade and business; and again. If it were without the prophets, and [we] had not them, we should despair: but their examples sustain us, because it was so with them, yea, with the Lord Christ himself. "The disciple is not above his master," Luc. 6, 40.

#### **145. lack of listeners and preachers.**

D. M. Luther said: "The only thing people lack is that they cannot take the preaching ministry for the word of our Lord God: they only think that it is the speech of the priests. Therefore they fear (as they say) that one wants to become papist again, or that one wants to get the upper hand over the laity again. So we pastors and preachers also fail to hold our teachings as God's word. For when people humble themselves before us, we soon want to tyrannize.

3) D. i. duration.

Now this is the plague that has always been from the beginning of the world, that the hearers are afraid of the tyranny of the teachers, and the preachers want to be gods over the hearers. It was the same with the prophets: If they put just a long time before: Haec dicit Dominus, it did not help until the punishments came afterwards. So then one complains: These are evil times. Yes, recordare, fili, says God, that you also did not want to hear me. This is what Solomon said in fine words, Proverbs 1:24, 25, 26: Extendi manus meas etc., nunc ego vos quoque ridebo. They are mala mundi, there is no other way, it will remain so. Lot must be in Sodom and Moses in Egypt, Jacob with Laban in Mesopotamia. Nothing else will come of it, therefore we may send ourselves to suffer cheerfully.

**The devil does not harm the gospel with persecution.**

D. M. Luther once said: "If the devil were so wise as to keep silent and allow the gospel to be preached without hindrance and persecution, he would have less damage to his kingdom; for if the gospel is not challenged and persecuted, it rusts away and has no cause to display its power and strength.

**Luther's complaint that it is evil in the German land and that God will punish it, as punishment has always followed the preaching of God's Word.**

O dear children, whoever can die, let him die soon, it does not want to become good in the world, it truly does not want to become good. If I knew that my children would see the misery that is coming, I would much rather die soon with my children and all believers in Christ. It will happen this way, and you can already see how John the Evangelist says: Christ will have ventilabrum in manu sua, and purgiren aream suam, he will winnow the grain on the threshing floor, Matth. 3, 12. When the Gospel was in Rome, our Lord God winnowed confidently, and many fine people came away. God gathers the grain into his barn. When

When the people were gone, he set fire to Rome so that it lay in ashes and cannot yet be rebuilt. The same will happen to the German land. Our Lord God will collect his grain: when that is gone, he will set the German land on fire. For our sins oppress us, and we do not repent, but still heap God's wrath and punishments upon us.

Recently, a great prince gave Erasmo Albero leave, only because he wrote to him that it was not right that the poor priests should give protection and tax from their pay, if they otherwise had no trade nor access, but their pay, from which they would have the nourishing bread to eat, and this pay they should still overspend. But he had to leave the country because of this, and the citizens, where he was, tied a pair of shoes to his door and wrote over them: Surge et ambula; so he had to go away in disgrace, as a rebel. Well then, let us begin a Domo Dei, so let it be lamented to God.

**148 Of the eclipses.**

It was once thought over Luther's table that the eclipses had neither effect nor effect; if one had said in former times that the eclipses or darkness always meant the death of a king or otherwise of a great leader. To this D. Luther answered and said: It is true, the eclipses want to have no more effect. I think that our Lord God will soon come with the right effect and strike with the last day; as I dreamed the other day: when I lay down to sleep after noon, I dreamed that the last day came on the day of Paul's conversion, and I said: In pace in id ipsum requiescam seu dormiam.

And Luther said: "I know no more counsel, for it is as I dreamed that the last day had come. For it is impossible that the Pope's church or the Roman court should be reformed; the Turk and the Jews cannot be punished and reformed; there is also no improvement in the Roman empire; it cannot be punished and reformed.

help. They have now come together for thirty years at many imperial congresses, and yet they have never achieved anything; the longer it goes on, the worse it gets. So our people are rising, and now they are also becoming incorrigible; so that this regiment cannot stand, no one can be drawn any more; therefore it cannot remain, or there would be no God.

(This paragraph Cordatus No. 409.)

There is no greater plague on earth than a wayward woman. Therefore Solomon says [Prov. 30:21-23] "A land is troubled by three things, and the fourth it cannot bear. A servant, when he becomes king; a fool, when he is too full; a hostile woman, when she becomes wicked; and a maid, when she becomes her wives' heir. When the louse is in the grind, no one can get along with her. The servant who becomes king is the nobles, the fool is the peasants.

These four things are now going on with force in the pregnancy, therefore I know no other advice nor help, except that the last day will come; one can never help, it is desperate. Perhaps our Lord God lets his gospel go now, so that he wants to gather his Christians beforehand, as he has always done. When he wanted to destroy a kingdom, he first gave them preachers and had them call out: Here, here; come, come; learn rather.

The sermon is always preceded by punishment. So he did also in Rome: when he had gathered his Christians therein, the Goths and Vandals came, and thrust them into a heap. He did the same in Jerusalem. As John the Baptist says in Matt. 3:12: "God hath a shovel in his hand, and gathereth his wheat into the barn, and the chaff he will burn with fire." How many a strong sermon will he have preached, which are only described in short words; he will have said: Dear people, look, your Savior is coming, I am his praecursor, he will surely come when I am dead. Yes, what does he mean by this? Little. I would like to hear such a sermon. What a sharp sermon that would have been, when St. John says: "You vipers", Matth. 3, 7.

is much more severe than when I call the pope an antichrist. So all the sermons of the prophets are only short sentences and indications of their teachings: otherwise, if all the sermons of Jesus and other prophets had been collected together, it would have been a large book, probably sixteen times as many as the other prophets' writings are now.

But so it goes: our Lord God gathers his grain, the axe is laid to the tree, says St. John Matth. 3, 10. It will not be otherwise. Curavimus Babylonem et non est sanata, ideo relinquamus eam, say the angels, Jer. 51, 9. we will leave it and go away.' O it is a poor thing when the world is thus abandoned.

Therefore I often think when I walk and speculate what I should pray for the Diet; for the Bishop of M[ainz], Albrecht C[ardinal], is not pious, the Pope is lost; so I know no other help than that I pray: Dear Father, adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua, and make it an end, veniat dies illa extrema. There is no hope of improvement. One can help the *empire as little as* I can help a ship that is out of my hands and floating in the middle of the Elbe; only that I pray that they do not make it worse, so that there may still be a little stay.

I am not so much afraid of the emperor and the pope who persecute us as of our own sins and ingratitude. I did not want to look at the pope, he can do nothing, he has not done anything to us yet; but our ingratitude, contemptus et fastidium verbi in tanta luce, will do it, so that the devil even creeps in to us. This sometimes causes us to be despondent, for this sin even pushes the bottom out of the barrel.

**149) That false teachers and heretics should be punished without knowledge of their sins, and without public knowledge of them.**

**Revocation, not shall accept again.**

In 1540, Luther said: "If the pope would throw away his triple crown and leave his Roman chair, and let go of the primacy, and if the pope would give up his triple crown, and let go of his Roman chair, and let go of the primacy, and let go of his triple crown, and let go of his triple crown.

publicly confess that he has erred and devastated the church, and shed innocent blood; yet we cannot receive him back as a member of the Christian church, but we must consider him to be the real Antichrist.

When M. Eisleben had denounced the Antinomy in Wittenberg, and would have liked to have gotten along with M. Luther, and all kinds of conditions had been proposed; also M. Eisleben's wife wept bitterly, and begged very much to accept her husband again; item, the Elector of Brandenburg wrote for him, and interceded, M. Luther answered nothing to it, but this: If he is publicly recanted in this manner, he can be accepted as: I confess that I have deceived and wronged those of Wittenberg.

I am sorry for this and repent from the bottom of my heart, and I ask for God's sake that I be forgiven. Otherwise, we will not accept a revocation that he can interpret. It must be spoken clearly. If he does not want it, I will give it.

**150. answer of D. M. Luther, given to a Klügling.**

When M. Luthern once asked someone a question, and the doctor had answered him, and he did not want to be satisfied with that, he continued much more with various questions; then D. Luther said to him: Beware of the quare, si non vis errare. Strife makes strife. Hader significat panniculum, ex quo conficitur papyrus.

## The 38th chapter.

### Of Christians and a Christian life.

1. what a Christian is.
2. the Christian service.
3. the holiness of Christians.
4. very difficult is to believe forgiveness of sins.
5. miraculous dispute of Christ and his members with the devil and his scales.
6. the Christians' business in the world.
7. the best dying.

8. which die the happiest.
9. when we do it best.
- (10) As it was with Christ, so it is with his Christians.
11. Christians do not see their blessedness.
12. a Christian is lifted.
- (13) Righteous Christians must be plagued by the devil and the world.

#### 1. what a Christian is.

(Cordatus No. 1716.)

For a Christian, the essential [forma] of life is believing the Gospel, the purpose [finis] is the forgiveness of sins, the active is the Holy Spirit, the accidental [accidens] is to be afraid in the world.

#### 2. the Christian service.

The Christian worship is not the outward, hypocritical larva that the monks and the spiritless lead and pretend to lead, as they mortify their bodies, wear them down, and wear them out with an austere life of fasting, vigils, and singing,

that they wear hard or woolen shirts, and cut themselves with rods 2c. God knows nothing of the service of God, nor does He desire or require it of us; but this is the right service of Christians: when His word is taught diligently, purely and unadulterated. There the hearts are properly instructed and taught, so that they know what and how they should believe, and are also taught how they should love God and their neighbor.

Faith is the right worship that is most pleasing to God; however, it does not come from our will, strength, and effort, but from the Holy Spirit alone, who works it in the heart through the oral word when

and where he wants, if one listens diligently to the preaching of the divine word. "Therefore Christ also praises the faith of the Cananaean woman. He does not say that she is a bitch, but says, "It is not good to take the children's bread and give it to the dogs." And what follows shows that Christ was not serious when he spoke to her. Matth. 15, 26. 28.

### 3. the holiness of Christians.

(Cordatus No. 1209-1212.)

Great is the narrow-mindedness of people, because of which they cannot receive the grace given to them by God. This is where blindness comes from, although we know that we have the Word, that we have been baptized. Although we have faith, we cannot be sure that we are holy. Likewise, that we rather allow ourselves to be called Christians, which is a much loftier thing than saints. We have been able to call clothes and dead things holy, but we do not dare to call Christians holy. We look at the condition and we believe that no one is holy if he does not perform miracles. This unbelief is strengthened by the pope, who declared only the dead to be saints. Zwingli also distances us from the [right] opinion of holiness, since he calls a righteous man and righteousness pious and godliness; hence it comes that we immediately look to good works.

But we want to remain with righteousness, which is of the kind that is imputed to us, 2) and is not a condition, namely, that God considers us pious and righteous. We cannot consider ourselves so, because we judge according to our feelings. We do not judge according to faith, that is our weakness.

Christians always do good because they are

They get up again when they have sinned, and with bruised hearts they praise God for the repentance and ask that He henceforth make them stronger and protect them from such a fall. From those who sin, the Holy Spirit certainly departs, but immediately they pray [Ps. 51:14], "Comfort me again with thy help, and the joyful Spirit reveal me." After Peter has denied, he weeps, Magdalene sheds tears 2c.

The Christians whom Christ loses through sin, he seeks again and calls them back; we are only to believe. For faith is a very great thing, but it is learned only through practice, patience, challenge and perseverance [practical].

### 4. very difficult is to believe forgiveness of sins.

Many boast that they have learned the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins, and can do it very well: and I, poor wretched man, can take so little comfort in the suffering and resurrection of Christ, and the forgiveness of sins. But this I can do, that I eat our Lord God's bread, and drink his wine and beer: but that I could accept the most necessary treasure, the forgiveness of sins, out of pure grace, that will not follow.

### 5. miraculous dispute of Christ and his members with the devil and his scales.

(Contained in Cap. 7, § 86.)

### 6. the Christians' business in the world.

Christians have and should have to do and create with two things, namely with God's word and works. They should deal with this.

### 7. the best dying.

(Contained in Cap. 48, § 49.)

### 8. which die the happiest.

(Contained in Cap. 48, § 2.)

### 9. when we do it best.

Nevermore and before do we do and make it better and more holy, because if we do not know.

1) It should be noted that in Luther's time the expressions "pious" and "godliness" were used of a walk in so-called good works. That is why we have translated xius mostly as "godly".

2) The words in *justitia praedieainenti relationis 6t uou ouuUtatis* would literally mean: "in the righteousness of the category of relation and not oer constitution", i.e. in the righteousness, dre is referred to us, but not inheres in us. (Wrampelmeyer.)

what and how much we do. So also, never more wisely, than when we think we have directed and made it foolishly. For strength becomes stronger in weakness. *Ideo est passio optima actio*, suffering is the best action and doing. We never do worse than when we know what and how much we are doing; for it is impossible that we should not at times please ourselves. In such a work and drudgery of fame and ambition we spoil the work, do not honor and praise God as purely as we should; according to the saying: "Strength becomes stronger in weakness", 2 Cor. 12, 10, as can be seen in the examples of Jonah, Elijah and all high and excellent saints.

#### (10) As it was with Christ, so it is with his Christians.

If Christ could not raise it in the world, but had to suffer it from His own; how shall we, as the yeasts, come to this, that, if the bishops were lifted up' and put to death, we should reign in the world!

The Christians and the godly have greater goods than the wicked. For even though the wicked flourish in the world and are held in great esteem, they do not have God.

#### 11. Christians do not see their blessedness.

There is a great mountain that hinders us from seeing our blessedness; for if we rightly knew and understood the greatness and dignity of our baptism, we would be blessed even to feel it.

#### A Christian is courageous.

Just as the Holy Spirit is courageous and despises death and all danger, so also righteous Christians, in whom the Holy Spirit is, are joyful and courageous. For a Christian defies and says: If God will not have me alive, I will die; if he will not have me rich, I will be poor. But the devil's spirit grieves and makes heavy-hearted; therefore he must speak differently to the serpents and Pharisees, the hypocrites; as he says in Genesis, "He will make himself known, and kill you." (Isa. 31, 2.)

#### Righteous Christians must be plagued by the devil and the world.

Philip said: D. M. Luther has a good conscience, therefore he lets one thing go to his heart. Christ exercised and exercised all his ancestors well; for what belongs to Christ must feel the bite of the serpent in the heel. Thus the mother of the Lord Christ was undoubtedly a poor maiden, which is why she was entrusted to a carpenter and given in marriage, who was also poor. When her husband died, she and her son were still alone.

Therefore we should only be happy and content in poverty and affliction, and remember that we have a rich Lord who cannot leave us comfortless and helpless; and thus have peace and a good conscience. Let it be as God wills, so they have peace in their hearts with God, which the wicked do not have, as Isaiah says Cap. 48, 22, but are a raging sea. So Eck did not have peace in his heart, as also all miser, usurer 2c.

## The 39th chapter.

### Of hypocrites and false brothers.

1. the greatest harm comes to the church from false brothers.
2. what a hypocrite is.
3. what people the Christians have to argue with the most.
- 4 False brothers have come in the place of monks.
8. of Judah Iscarioth, the example and model of all false brothers.

- Judas, for what he serves and is useful as an apostle.
7. poor Judas.
8. Judas an image of the enemies of Christ and his divine word.
9. how Christians are preserved against the devil and tyrants.
10. that the heretics and the fanciers are useful to the Christians.

- False teachers do great harm in the world.  
 12. from the way of the ostrich.  
 13. secret enemies of the gospel, false brothers.  
 14. beware of false brothers.  
 15. from false Christians.  
 16. the Christians weapons and armor.  
 17. likeness of a Christian life.  
 18. Godly Christians Enemies.  
 19. a Christian is a patient.

- (20) False brethren are the worst enemies of Christians, as Judas was among the apostles; that they should not be offended.  
 The world does not recognize righteous Christians.  
 22. a Christian's characteristic.  
 23. false Christians, inward secret enemies, the worst.  
 24. from whom one shall suffer violence and injustice.  
 25. what is the hypocrite's humility.  
 26. from false Christians.

### From false brothers comes the greatest harm to the church.

I am not afraid of those who attack the church from outside and of public enemies, such as the papists and tyrants with their violence and persecution. For by this the church is not corrupted, nor is God's word hindered, but rather it increases and is increased. As Tertullianus says: Sanguine Christianorum rigatur Ecclesia<sup>1</sup>): through Christian blood the church is watered, fertilized and improved. But the inner evil of the false brothers will do the right damage and devastate the church, so that there will be mercy. Judas had to betray Christ, and the false apostles had to confuse and falsify the gospel. These are the true companions through whom the devil rumbles and destroys the true church.

Therefore, he comforted Mr. Gabriel, pastor, and Mr. Michael Schuttes, deacon at Torgau, for the sake of Jeckel, the antinomist, who was then Saxon court preacher at Torgau, that they should watch and pray. For the devil, he said, cannot be countered or resisted with human strength and weapons. For, as Job says Cap. 41, 18, he respects a long spear that is shaken and used for a thrust like a straw. But he is afraid of the sword of the spirit, that is, of God's word, which causes him burnt sorrow. Therefore, let us honor God's word, hold it dear, and pray.

### 2. what a hypocrite is.

Doctor Martin Luther asked how the little word hypocrita should actually be translated.

For "hypocrite," he said, would be too weak and too low. It means almost as much as a villain, who for the sake of his

The hypocrite is not only a hypocrite or flatterer who caresses and speaks what one likes to hear, but who also deceives and harms, and that among the people. Hypocrita is not only a hypocrite or flatterer who caresses you and speaks what you like to hear, but at the same time also deceives and does harm, and that under the appearance of holiness, as the examples Matth. 23, 23. ff. clearly indicate that Hypocrita is a harmful deceiver. For St. Jerome says: That pretended holiness is twofold wickedness. Therefore Hypocritism is called false, Hypocrita a child of perdition, a false desperate knave. Lucas painter calls such a knave a holy rogue. Hypocrite is too thin and weak.

### 3. with what people the Christians have to quarrel the most. 3)

(Cordatus No. 266.)

The greatest and most violent quarrel that Christians have is with false brothers, and it is by far the most violent because they want to be and be called Christians, which they are not. If they wanted to say that they were people like Pilate, Judas and Herod, that is, if they wanted to give up the name of Christians, we would suffer from them all the adversities that they would dare to inflict on us; the war would be over and peace would be restored to us. But because they still want to use the Christian name, we have to fight,

1) Cf. cap. 20, z 12.

2) Cf. Cap. 37, § 70; Cap. 4, § 70.

3) Quite similar Cap. 39, § 13 and § 24.



and do not want to suffer in any way that they speak and do with impunity what is not due to Christians. For we arrogate to ourselves the rule over consciences by the word, and will not let it be taken from us.

#### 4 False brothers have come in the place of monks.

(Cordatus No. 171.)

After we have cut off monks and nuns 1) by the preaching of the word, now false brothers confuse everything, so that also in our listeners it will be true what is written: "He came into his own, and his own did not receive him. [John 1:11.]

#### 5. of Judah Iscarioth, the example and model of all false brothers.

I am surprised, said D. Martinus, that nothing is written about Judah, what he did to Christ for mischievousness. I think he did it most with his tongue, because Christ does not complain about him without a cause in the 41st Psalm [v. 8, 10]. He will have gone to the chief priests and elders and spoken of him peevishly. I also baptize, he will have said, but I see that it is otherwise. In addition, he was also a thief, he intended to obtain something honest from Christ. Just as Georgius Wicelius, Crotus, and others also came to us and wanted to become great lords with us. So Judas must also have been a desperate bad guy, because if the man, Jesus Christ, is an enemy, there must be a great cause. He must have longed for Christ. Otherwise, if he had not been so wicked, our Lord God would have forgiven him, just as he did St. Peter, who also fell, but out of weakness; but Judas falls out of wickedness.

But just as the Jews at Jerusalem could not be prevented from crucifying Christ, so neither can they be helped when the punishment of God is at hand. This we see in the case of the traitor Judah. Our Lord God has Judah and the other Jews finely attacked, and so they are very weak,

as if he could not count four; but after that he comes well to them, and at last pays them.

#### Judas, for what he serves and is useful as an apostle.

Judas, said D. M., is as necessary among the apostles as otherwise three apostles; he solves and solves many innumerable "arguments" and loci, as, the main article of justification, against the heretics, the Donatists, who pretend that no one can baptize except he who has the Holy Spirit. Against this stands Judas, who is an apostle and one of the twelve; therefore what he did in his office was right; but if he stole and is a thief, he has done sin and wrong: therefore his person must be separated from the office; for Christ did not command him to steal, but to carry on the office of preaching, baptizing 2c.

So also Judas solveth, which they reproach us with: Yea, say they, there are many bad fellows, false brethren, and unbelievers among you. Right, Judas has also been an apostle, he will undoubtedly have stood and held himself in a much better position than an intelligent man of the world, than the others, no one has provided for him. At the table in the last supper Judas is actually the pope, he has also taken the bag, is a miser, thief and belly servant, also wants to confess Christ and boast; sed re vera nihil habet, nisi tantum nomen, quod dicitur Judas; but he is in truth a true Sharioth.

#### 7. poor Judas, D. M. Luther.

(This § is Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, Col. 1472 f. No. 40, the first verse).

#### 8. Judas, a picture of the enemies of Christ and his divine word.

That Judas hanged himself, and his belly burst open, and his bowels fell out of him, is an example and a picture of how all those should perish who persecute Christ and kill his Christians. For as it happened to Judah, their commander and captain, because he betrayed Christ,

1) shorn out, i.e. separated, eliminated.

So shall it be with the other enemies of Christ. And the Jews should look at their cousin Judah and see that they would all perish in the same way.

There is also an allegory and mystery in the little words "belly" and "bowels". For the belly signifies the whole Jewish kingdom, which is to fall away and go to the ground, so that nothing of it remains. Item, that the entrails were poured out, so it was indicated that also the children of the Jews and their descendants, yes, the whole Jewish family, should perish and perish.

It has also been said that where God's word goes, one only becomes more angry and stubborn, since one should reform and convert from it. There is a terrible example and spectacle of this in Judah: he preaches the gospel himself, and performs great miracles and wonders, and is also the chief among the apostles, and yet he betrays Christ and sacrifices him on the flesh bench, so that he is captured and crucified. Thus the Jewish people become neither more pious nor better: although they have heard the gospel from John the Baptist, from Christ, the Son of God Himself, and from all the apostles, yet they crucify Christ in the end, and beat all the apostles to death, and thus remain hardened in their sins until they are destroyed and annihilated by the Romans. It is a strange thing that the gospel, which should soften them and entice them to repentance, should only make them harder, worse and more wicked. But it is the same with the sun, which shines on mud or dung, which is soft and full of water, but the moisture dries up because of the sun's heat and warmth, and the dung becomes as hard as a stone or pebble. On the other hand, the sun also shines on wax, which is hard, so that it must be driven apart with axes and mallets, but when the wax feels the heat of the sun, it softens, melts, and fuses. Thus, some only become more angry and hardened from the preaching of the divine word, and to them the word is "a stench unto death," as St. Paul says in 2 Cor. 2:16, but Christian hearts are turned to God by it, and they are not ashamed.

and the gospel is to them "a savor of eternal life, yea, a power of God that maketh them blessed," Rom. 1:16. Now, the Jews have not improved much from the gospel, nor have they become more devout through the manifold miracles and examples of the wrath of God, which He has presented to them for repentance.

Thirdly, we learn from this example that the enemies of the Lord Christ and his word do not cease their tyranny until they are brought down to the ground; for no admonition, warning or miracle will help them, as can be seen in Sodom and Gomorrah, in Pharaoh who tormented the children of Israel, in the empire of Babylon, and in Jerusalem 2c.

#### **9. how Christians are preserved against the devil and tyrants.**

D. M. Luther once said: it reminds him of the pious Christians as a goose, which one ties on a wolf pit, where around vain hungry wolves stand, and they want to eat gladly; but the goose is kept alive, and the wolves, who jump after the goose, fall into the pit, are caught and slain. So also the dear angels protect us Christians, so that the devils, the ravening wolves, with the tyrants and persecutors do not have to destroy us.

#### **10. that the heretics and the fanciers are useful to the Christians.**

D. M. Luther said in 1542: "We do not know how good it is for us that we have adversaries, and that heretics revolt and oppose us. For if Cerinthus had not done so, John the Evangelist would never have written his Gospel; but since Cerinthus opposed the divinity of the Lord Christ, John had to write and say: In Principio erat Verbum, and made the distinction trium personarum so clear that it could not have been clearer. So, when I began to write against the indulgence and the pope, Doctor Eck lay against me, he made me lively and woke me up. I wanted to wish the same man from the bottom of my heart that he would be converted and that he would be like-

I wanted to make a fist of him so that he would convert. But if he should ever remain so, then I wish him that he would become pope, for he would have well deserved it: for until now he has had to bear all the burden, toil and work of the papacy against me with disputes and letters alone; although they have also paid him in part, for he alone has seven hundred guilders from the parish of Ingolstadt income. But he would be cheap, because they have no one else who could do it and attack me. He gave me the first thoughts against the pope and brought me there, where I would otherwise never have been able to go. Therefore, if the heretics and others of our adversaries think they can do us great harm, they must serve us and be of use.

And Doctor Martin Luther said at another time that St. Augustine said: "Heretics, they woke us up and made us lively, chased us into the holy scriptures to think about them more diligently and to investigate what is right, otherwise no one would think about the word. *Dissensio haereticorum facit eminere, quid sentiat Ecclesia.*

#### **False teachers do great harm in the world.**

A liar, said D. Martinus said, "A liar and a false teacher deceives people, deceives souls, and kills them, so that they do not even think it, notice it, or realize it, under the appearance of God's word; but he, a murderer, can deceive no one. So Judas is a liar and a murderer, like his father the devil.

It is a great thing that Judas sat at Christ's table and was not ashamed when Christ said, Matt. 26:21, "One of you will betray me. The other disciples thought nothing less than that Judas would betray Christ; indeed, every one feared that he would be the one to betray Christ before Judas, to whom Christ had entrusted and entrusted the bag and all the administration and housekeeping; therefore he was held in great esteem by the apostles.

#### **12. from the way of the ostrich.**

(Cordatus No. 230.)

It is said of the ostrich that if it has only hidden its head under a leaf or foliage, it means that it is completely covered and so hidden that no one can see it: so the hypocrites take some good work and think that all the filth of their sins is covered and hidden with it, and they are most beautifully adorned and righteous before God.

#### **13) Secret enemies of the gospel, false brothers. 1)**

We do not want and should not suffer that the secret enemies of the gospel and our persecutors, who nevertheless want to be called our brothers, want to trample us underfoot; unless they confess that they are such people, as they are in truth, that is, enemies of Christ and his word. But they do not do this, indeed, they boast that they are lovers of God's word, and teach righteously, and yet they secretly persecute him and his word. We do not want to suffer this, even if it should come to ruin, and we want to tell them plainly and not mince words.

#### **14. beware of false brothers.**

Anno 39, the 13th of January, letters came to M. Philippo from D. Jakob Schenk of Freiberg, boastful, splendid, and deceitful ones, in which he corrupted him and smeared his mouth. He reported this to D. M. Luther and said: "Whoever wants to court a beautiful woman must start with the maid. Luther answered and said, "This is my advice, which I give you, that you beware of him, and have no fellowship with him, neither in writing, nor in colloquy, nor in other conversations; for he abuses our goodwill.

#### **15. false Christians.**

(Cordatus No. 1805.)

Clouds pass by without rain, like the false evangelicals who boast that they are Christians and yet do not bear good fruit, and Jude [v. 12.] says of them, They are clouds without water.

1) Same content as § 3 and § 24 in this Cap.

### 16. the Christians weapons and armor.

Job says: "Man's life is a knighthood on earth", Job 7, 1. A man, especially a Christian, must be a man of war and be at loggerheads with his enemies. And St. Paul describes the armor Eph. 6, 10. ff. Now there are two kinds of armor that Christians must have, one of which in Greek is called phylacteria, that is, armor to guard the heart; the other is called amynteria, that is, armor and projectile to strike and slay the enemy.

The armor and armor, so serve and belong to the custody of the heart, are these:

1) The belt of truth; that is, the knowledge of the pure doctrine of the gospel, which is righteous, not a fabricated and hypocritical confession.

2) The cancer of righteousness; but this is not the righteousness of a good conscience, although this is also necessary, because it is written Ps. 143, 2: "Do not go into judgment with your servant" 2c. Item, St. Paul says 1 Cor. 4, 4: "I am aware of nothing, but therefore I am not righteous"; but is the righteousness of faith and forgiveness of sins, of which Moses speaks, 1 Mos. 15, 6: "Abraham believed God, and this was counted to him as righteousness."

3) The boots or shoes are the works of the profession, in which one must remain and persevere, not going further nor breaking out beyond the set goal.

4) The shield of faith. The fable of Perseus holding the head of Gorgoni in his hand rhymes with this: whoever looked at it was dead from the beginning. And just as Perseus threw the head of Gorgonis before his enemies and held it up before them, and thus retained the victory; so also we should throw the Son of God, as the head of Gorgonis, before all the evil temptations and wiles of the devil, and we shall surely prevail and retain the victory.

5) The helmet of salvation; that is, the hope of eternal life, as St. Paul interprets 1 Thess. 5:8.

But Amynteria, weapons so that you can use the Enemy beats and slays, that are two:

6) Firstly, the sword of the spirit that

is God's word; and secondly, prayer. For as the lion is not more terrified or afraid of anything than the rooster's cry, so the devil can be overcome with nothing else but the word of God and prayer, of which Christ Himself has given us an example, Matt. 4:4 ff.

### 17. likeness of a Christian life.

Our life is like a ship's voyage. For as the mariners before them have the port to which they direct their voyage, that they may obtain it and come thither safely and out of all danger; so also the promise of eternal life is made and done unto us, that in it, as in a port, we should rest gently and securely. But because the ship in which we are led is weak, and great, violent, dangerous, impetuous winds, weather, and waves want to fall upon us and cover us, we truly need a wise, skillful shipmaster and patron, who will govern and lead the ship with his counsel and understanding so that it does not either strike a rocky cliff or even drown and sink.

Now our ship's master and patron is God alone, who not only wills the ship, but is also able to govern and maintain it; so that, even though it is tossed and assailed from time to time by impetuous waves and storm winds, it may nevertheless reach the shore and port unharmed and unbroken.

But he has promised that he will help us if we only ask him diligently for government and help, protection and protection, and call upon him with earnestness; and as long as we have and keep this shipmaster with us, there is no need, and we come out of all misfortune, so that the cruel winds and waves cannot harm us nor cover us. But if those who are in the ship, in the greatest danger, wilfully throw the master and regent out of the ship, who could preserve them by his presence and counsel, in that case the ship must perish and perish. And it is clearly seen that the shipwreck did not happen out of negligence.

The ship's master was not to blame for this, but rather for the willfulness and foolishness of those who were in the ship.

This likeness and image finely shows what the cause of our misfortune and misery is and where it comes from.

### 18. Godly Christians Enemies.

(Cordatus No. 65 and No. 1357.)

The Christians are forced to suffer three kinds of persecutors, namely bad ones, worse ones and the worst ones. The first are the tyrants, who persecute us by force, and they sin against the Father, whose is all power or dominion. The second are the sectirians, who sin by human wisdom against the divine wisdom of the Son of God. The third are the false brothers, whose sin is out of pure malice against the goodness of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, they commit an indispensable sin and are the worst, they are simply Judases. Of these Christ says: "He who ate my bread" 2c. and complains about them in the Psalm and in the last Gospel. [Ps. 41, 10.; Joh. 13, 18.] "They tear down and eat our bread", that is, they hear our sermon and trample us underfoot for wages.

Christians must endure threefold enemies because they believe and confess three persons in the Trinity. Against the power of the Father the tyrants, against the wisdom of the Son the sectirians, against the goodness and holiness of the Holy Spirit the false brothers. This is the theological proof. The grammatical one is that because some are more wicked than the tyrants, some more wicked than the sectarians, the third most wicked than the false brethren, who eat the bread of Christ and trample it under their feet out of pure wickedness. Therefore their sin is in vain. 1)

### 19. a Christian is a patient.

A Christian is completely *passivus*, who only suffers, both before God, because there he only receives and takes, and before the people, because there he only receives evil.

20. false brethren of the Christians worst enemies, as Judas among the apostles, that one should not be offended at this.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 13, 1538, p. 149.)

No one is surprised about the fame of J[akob] S[chenk], who will have applause for a while because of his eloquence without real content [sine re]. For the vain world is always looking for something new and unusual. But when the people at court get used to his words and realize that he always plays on the same string, they will grow tired of him. After all, St. Paul complained from time to time about the arrogance of the false brethren and about the astonishing applause of the great crowd; see the whole chapter 1 Cor. 4, where he praises his teaching and the sincerity of Timothy against the pompous false brethren who only put the kingdom of God into words. It is no wonder that we are also repulsed by it.

### The world does not recognize righteous Christians.

Just as Christ, so also we, who are righteous Christians and cling to him alone, are invisible in the world, for it does not see faith, nor does it recognize us who believe in him, just as it does not recognize Christ, who is certainly among us and in us; as he himself says, "I am with you always, even to the end of the age," Matth. 28, 20. and Joh. 17, 22. 23.: "I have given them the glory that you gave me, that they may be one, even as we are one, I in them, and you in me, that they may be perfect in one" 2c.

### 22. a Christian's characteristic.

The characteristic of a truly devout Christian is that he is strongest in the greatest and greatest weakness and wisest in the greatest foolishness. One is understood with the senses, the other with faith.

### 23. false brothers, inward secret enemies, the worst.

Ingratitude is a very vexing thing that no one has yet to bear or overcome

1) The second paragraph is probably another relation of the first paragraph, which Cordatus took from another collection of Luther's speeches into his own.

but Scipio the Roman; yet our Lord God can suffer more than we. If I had had to deal with the Jews, I would have lacked patience, I would not have been able to watch for so long. The prophets have always been poor people; they have been plagued and persecuted the most, not only by external, public enemies, but also by internal, secret enemies, by their own people. What the pope is doing to us now is nothing compared to what Jeckel and Grickel are doing: they are doing us heartache, the golden friends and little brothers. But it should be so. That is why Moses rightly said: You are a strange God.

#### 24) From whom one shall suffer violence and injustice. 1)

Suffering and tolerating injustice takes place and applies only when the enemies of God's Word persecute us and confess to it; but the sin of those is not to be suffered who want to be brothers and to be considered Christians, as if they were leaders.

1) Same content As § 3 and § 13 in this Cap.

They are of the same doctrine with us, since they falsify it in several articles and do not want to be taught or reported. When they have been admonished once and for all, and have been overcome with God's word, they are not to suffer, nor to be silent about it, but to be punished, and to oppose it, as Christ teaches Matt. 18:15 ff. Therefore, if they want to boast of the name that they are brothers and Christians, they recognize their sin and that they have done wrong, and let themselves be punished. But if they still want to defend their sin, they only freely confess that they are enemies, and then we will be satisfied and willing to suffer everything from them as enemies; but from brothers we do not want nor should we suffer it.

#### 25. what is the hypocrite humility.

(Contained in Cap. 22, § 107.)

#### 26. false Christians.

It is safer to be an epicure and a sow than a false Christian. The pope is much worse than the Turk, as well as false brothers.

## The 40th chapter.

### Of Sophistry.

1. beware of sophistry.
2. from Wicelio.
3. a different one from the joke.

#### 1. beware of sophistry.

(This § except for the last paragraph in Lauterbach, Nov. 17, 1538, p. 174.)

The world must be considered carefully because it is governed by opinions. That is why sophistical hypocrisy and tyranny prevail; true religion is forced to serve them as a handmaiden. Therefore, one must carefully guard against sophistry, which consists not only in ambiguities of words,

but flourishes in all classes, as it has the most beautiful appearance in religion under the name of the holy scripture. There is more harm in sophistry than any human being can recognize. For our nature, which is all too inclined to the lie of sophistry, cannot see the evil, therefore Plato sets up an admirable description of sophistry: Those are not to be praised who can reverse everything and refute the sayings of others, and according to both

Drawing conclusions on the sides, after the manner of Carneade; these are subtleties. This is the praise of a good head, to search for truth and to delight in simplicity.

The world is ruled by glibness and epicuric life, as experience shows, and it is now, unfortunately, all too apparent. Epicurism is even tearing down and taking over.

hand by force. God will come soon with the last day and put an end to the game, otherwise there will be neither advice nor help.

### 2. from Wicelio.

(Contained in Cap. 28, §17.)

### 3. a different one from the joke.

(Contained in Cap. 28, § 16.)

## The 41. Chapter.

### Of annoyances.

1. what are the biggest annoyances.
2. the best becomes the ugliest.
3. what kind of trouble David has caused.
4. of two kinds of fraud.
5. consolation against the annoyance of the doctrine.

- (6) The fear of which the godly offend, that the wicked may prosper in the world.
7. from the saying: Blessed is he who does not take offense at me, Matth. 11, 6.
8. aergemiss of the world.
9. what is annoyance.

#### 1. what are the biggest annoyances.

The wickedness of the church is far greater than that of the Gentiles: for when the Christians go astray and fall away, they are far more wicked and godless than the Gentiles. Therefore the prophet Jeremiah complains in the 4th chapter of his lamentations, v. 6, that the wickedness of the daughters of his people has become greater than that of Sodom. And Ezekiel says Cap. 16, 51: "You justify Sodom with your sins." And Christ says Marc. 6, 11.: "It will be worse for the land of Sodom on the last day than for you."

So it must be, "he came into his own and his own did not receive him", Joh. 1, 11. It makes, truly, the pious quite clumsy that they would rather be dead. As we learn today with great heartache, that many of ours give others trouble; as N. of M. 1) was much vexed, so that his cousin, even though he was a pope, was preferred to him. Therefore, one should diligently pray to God against vexation, so that his name may be sanctified.

#### 2. the best becomes the ugliest.

2) From the best of God's creatures come the worst; from the most pious the evil husks. For out of the church come heretics, out of the apostles traitors, out of the angels devils, out of Jerusalem, which was God's host and dwelling place, came the prophet murderers. Therefore St. Paul says Apost. 20, 30: "Even from among yourselves shall arise men speaking perverse doctrine, to draw the disciples unto themselves." Therefore the church has no outward reputation nor succession, it does not pray. Thus from Rome has come the highest profanation and the most desolate abomination. The most beautiful virgins become whores; husbands become adulterers. The same inward and spiritual aversions in doctrine always do the greatest harm, and offend the pious, much more than in life.

#### 3. what kind of trouble David has caused.

(Contained in Cap. 60, § 1.)

2) Same content Cap. 2, § 102.

1) Count Albrecht von Mansfeld. Bindseil 1, 184.

#### 4. of two kinds of annoyance.

Annoyance is two things: one that one takes, acceptum; the other that one gives, datum. Acceptum, which one accepts, is when one is annoyed by what is done right and well; as, although Christ does everything he speaks and does, out of and according to God's, his heavenly Father's, command and will, yet the Jews are annoyed by it, thinking he is doing wrong. Such a thing is called an assumed error, a false delusion; it is good for nothing and should not be. So the pope and his crowd are annoyed that I teach about Christian freedom. Christians are thus freed from all laws by Christ, not that they should not do it at all, nor be outwardly pious, but that the law cannot condemn them, even if they do not keep it: knowing and believing that Christ has done enough for them according to the law, and gives them all his satisfaction, merit, and holiness, even himself with all his goods for his own. After this, good works also follow willingly: they are neither useful nor necessary for salvation, but only the fruits of faith, which are done to be grateful to God, to honor Him, and to serve one's neighbor. The papists are annoyed by this. But what do I ask of them? Yes, that is why I preach, so that people may know that their teaching is falsified. But what I teach and do is and comes from God's command; that I truly know. We punish them, and reprove their doctrine; but too well for them. As St. Paul says, "I will provoke them to anger and insult, not for their fall and condemnation, but for their resurrection and salvation, if they know it. Well, we must punish false teaching and teach God's word pure and unadulterated. Let him who will not do so be angry and displeased; how then shall we do to him? God, whose Word is, will finally be the judge; we are certain of this. But to defend error is the devil. If our Lord God so lusts to fall that he does not believe God's word to be God's word, we will not hold him, but always let him go; he will well know it, and in his time he will find out, with his great, noticeable and insurmountable harm.

Item: There are two kinds of trouble: One from the outside, as the Turk, the pope, with their followers, who are in full bloom, and do them as they please. This angers and hurts us. The other, within ourselves, which is the greatest, is that I am God's child. If this were true, says my reason (as it is certainly true, because God says it, who cannot lie nor deceive, before heaven and earth must enter), and I believed it, I would throw the pope on his triple crown, and trample the Turk underfoot. But we do not believe it to be true, that is why we are so fainthearted and despondent.

#### 5. consolation against the annoyance of the doctrine.

Much trouble comes from my teaching; but I console myself, as St. Paul did to Tito, with the fact that this teaching is revealed for the faith of the elect, Titus 3:5, for which we also preach, they are in earnest; for the sake of the others I would not lose a word. I have eaten a lot of nuts that were not full of holes, and yet I thought they were good, but they threw them into my mouth and made it full of dirt. Zwinglius, Erasmus are vain nuts with holes that throw them into your mouth.

#### (6) The offense of the godly, that the wicked are well pleased in the world.

This trouble is always in the world, that the wicked prosper and have all that their hearts desire; but the godly and true Christians are afflicted, they are in trouble, and must suffer much. The Psalms complain about this trouble from time to time. So we see today that the bishops, worldly wise men, hypocrites, epicureans soar high, are rich and powerful, are highly honored. In contrast, pious Christians are oppressed, suffer hardship, are poor and despised. This angers and hurts very much. Well, it happens in an inn that foreign guests come and lie down in good beds, and the innkeeper's children have to lie on the hard benches,



or sleep behind the stove until the guests come away: but it has always been the case that the most wicked want to be the most pious.

(Two paragraphs omitted here because contained in Cap. 74, § 1.)

**Blessed is he who does not take offense at me, Matth. 11, 6.**

(This § is Walch, old ed., vol. IX, 1401.)

**8. annoyance of the world.**

At the other table of the ten commandments of God the whole world is angry, as which the

Reason partly understands what happens against it. But when God and his word are despised, the world is silent: cry out only when one enters a monastery, or when one eats meat on a forbidden day, and when priests and monks take wives.

**9. what is annoyance.**

(Cordatus No. 1158.)

Anger is a word or a deed by which the opinion against God and men is corrupted, and it is an active one which I give, a passive one which I suffer.

## The 42nd chapter.

### Of the right worship.

Of God's and Satan's obedience.

2. two kinds of sacrifice in the Old Testament.
3. argument from the service.
4. which means: to worship God, to serve.
5. the wretched alone praise God.

6. right Christian pilgrimage.

7. great signs and change, so in the church ge-

8. ^on the patriarchs' service.

9. true worship of the New Testament.

**1. God's and Satan's obedience.**

(Contained in Cap. 24, §123.)

**2. Twofold sacrifice in the Old Testament.**

The first was called the early or morning sacrifice, indicating that we should first offer to Christ, not oxen or cattle, but ourselves, confessing God's gifts, both bodily and spiritual, temporal and eternal, and thanking God for them. The other, the evening sacrifice, to indicate and signify that a Christian should offer to God a bruised, humble, repentant heart that considers its distress and danger, both bodily and spiritual, and cries out to God for help.

**3. argument from the service.**

One said, "God wants you to serve Him freely, voluntarily; but whoever serves God out of fear of punishment and hell, or out of hope and love of reward, does not serve and honor God freely, therefore he does not serve Him rightly. Answer: It is a

stoic argument, which the cane saints lead, who reject the affections and inclinations of human nature, and insist that one should willingly honor, serve, love and fear God alone as the highest good; which should be the noblest end and final cause. This is true: but God can well suffer that we love Him for His promise, and ask Him for bodily and spiritual goods: therefore He has also called us to ask, likewise to fear Him for the sake of punishment; as the prophets remind us.

It is a good thing that man can know the eternal punishment and reward of God: and if he looks to this as the end and cause, which is not the noblest, it does him no harm if he only pays attention and looks to God Himself as the noblest finite cause, who gives everything for nothing, out of pure grace, without our merit.

**4. which means: Worshiping God, serving 2c.**

To worship, the little word on Himself means to stoop and bow with the body, with out-

The giving of the gifts. Serving is the work. But worshiping God spiritually or in the spirit, John 4:24, is the service and honor of the heart, comprehending fear and faith in God. Worship is twofold, external and internal, that is, recognizing God's benefits and thanking Him.

#### **My wretched ones praise God.**

The whole world blasphemes God, and only the wretched honor and serve Him; as it is written: The poor and miserable praise the Lord. If the mighty and the wise did so, they would not give glory to God, but to themselves.

#### **6. right Christian pilgrimage.**

For some time in the papacy, pilgrimages were made to the saints, to Rome, Jerusalem, Compostel, to St. James, to do and pay enough for sin. But now we can make true Christian pilgrimages that please God in faith; namely, if we read the prophets, psalms, evangelists, etc. with diligence, we would not walk to God through the cities of the saints, but through our thoughts and hearts, that is, we would visit the true promised land and paradise of eternal life.

D. M. Luther said: That a German prince had come to Compostel in Hispania, where St. Jacob, the brother of the evangelist and apostle St. John, is supposed to be buried. When the prince confessed (as was the custom in the papacy, and wanted to obtain a large Roman indulgence and forgiveness of sins; as indulgences were given out there, whoever gave money for them) to a barefoot monk, who had been a pious monk, he asked the duke if he was a German? When the prince confessed this, the monk said: O dear child, why do you seek this so far away, which you have much better and more abundantly in German lands? for I have seen and read an Augustinian monk's writing on indulgences and the forgiveness of sins, in which he concludes powerfully that the forgiveness of sins and the true indulgence stand only in the merit and suffering of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, in which the forgiveness of sins and the true indulgence stand only in the merit and suffering of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, in which the forgiveness of sins and the forgiveness of sins stand only in the merit and suffering of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

The child will be found at the end of all guilt and torment. And had said once again: O dear child, stay with it, and do not let yourself be persuaded otherwise.

#### **7. great signs and change that happen in the church.**

(Cordatus No. 828 and No. 462.)

The present decade has had so many miraculous signs than otherwise some centuries have had, and so many changes that no one would have hoped for, as: the emptying of the monasteries, the abolition of the corner fairs, the crowd of tyrants and swarming spirits, Rome twice devastated, Muenzer who increased so rapidly and perished in this course; Zwingli perished, and shortly after that Oecolampad died in a gentler way 2c.

All pagans serve their gods, Jeremiah says, and love them, only the people of the true God do not serve and love their God and the true God.

#### **8. from the patriarchs service.**

(Lauterbach, Jan. 29, 1538, p. 17.)

The holy patriarchs, from the creation of the world until Moses, for two thousand years, had no commandment from God to perform a specific service, and yet they offered their services and sacrifices to God. So GOt can be worshipped without a specific word of God, or their worship would have been in vain for two thousand years. Luther answered that this was an apparent and great argument, but could be resolved, namely, that the holy patriarchs had performed their services, but that these were confirmed by signs from heaven, namely consuming fire 2c. Likewise, that in those services they did nothing against the will of God, but only looked to the promised seed. Look at our papists and see if they are similar to them. Rather, they are quite unlike them, because they completely abandon God's word and the article of justification, and teach straight against the expressed will of God through their human statutes.

#### **9. true worship of the New Testament.**

(Contained in Cap. 33, § 12.)

## The 43rd chapter.

### Of marriage.

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| <p>1. that righteous love between spouses is strange.</p> <p>2. whether a minister of the church may remain without marriage for the sake of the preaching ministry.</p> <p>3. another question.</p> <p>Few believe that the marriage state is God's creation, order and institution.</p> <p>5. image of the marriage state in all creatures.<br/>A husband must be a pious and God-fearing person.<br/>The sweetest company and fellowship is among pious husbands and wives.</p> <p>8. the dignity and benefit of the married state, which the world does not see.</p> <p>(9) A lewd woman is a man's greatest heartache.</p> <p>10. Luther's advice on how one should marry.</p> <p>11. how new husbands are minded.</p> <p>12) After the betrothal, the wedding and the wedding ceremony should not take place.</p> <p>13. you have to have women.</p> <p>14. praise and glory to the married state, that it is a fountainhead of all other divine states.</p> <p>15. God preserves the marriage state.<br/>The marriage state is God's blessing.<br/>The marriage state is necessary, and one cannot do without it.<br/>18. unpleasantry and burden in marriage.<br/>Original sin makes the married state contemptible, but God preserves it.</p> <p>20. Matrimonial matters do not belong before parish priests and preachers, but before the authorities, who shall rule on them.</p> <p>21. Of the saying: There shall be two in one flesh.</p> <p>22. man and woman is one body.</p> <p>23. daughters shall be endowed with money, but sons shall remain in fiefs and inheritance.</p> <p>A wicked woman is one of the greatest plagues.</p> <p>25. take a rich wife.</p> <p>26. the weighting of the marital status.</p> <p>27. that men cannot do without the marriage state.</p> <p>28. a good or bad marriage.</p> <p>29) What is due to wives from the deceased husband's property under Saxon law.</p> <p>30. Becoming married should be done thoughtfully, not suddenly, out of fervour.</p> <p>31. having many wives or husbands one after another.</p> <p>32. of agreement or disagreement between spouses.<br/>Marriage should be entered into in the fear of God and prayer.</p> <p>34: The freedom of spouses in the Old Testament.</p> <p>35. praise of the marriage state.<br/>God Himself has ordered and preserves marriage.<br/>Marriage is the most noble state after religion.</p> <p>38. blessing of the marriage state.<br/>Marriage is God's gift, which the devil is hostile to.</p> <p>40. of the devil's tyranny against the spouses.</p> <p>41 Each one takes its equal.</p> <p>42 An old man and a young girl.<br/>Nature is corrupted with carnal lust.</p> <p>44. forbidding marriage is against nature.</p> | <p>45. what is the office of each spouse.</p> <p>46. one question.</p> <p>47. children are a blessing to marriage.</p> <p>48. from the digamia.</p> <p>49. of king Solomon's many wives.</p> <p>50 The papacy is the enemy of marriage.<br/>D. Luther's Thanksgiving for Marriage.<br/>Matrimonial matters belong before the secular authorities.</p> <p>53. what marriage is.<br/>The first two pages of this book are devoted to the subject of marriage.</p> <p>55. what to consider in marriage.</p> <p>56. praise of a pious woman.<br/>The woman is the wife of the house.</p> <p>58. for what the marriage state is used.</p> <p>59. praise of a good marriage state.</p> <p>60. from a virgin girl.</p> <p>61. Marriage is to be entered into with God.</p> <p>62. marital status hostile and spiteful.</p> <p>63. of the concubinate of the princes.<br/>The world will soon tire of the marriage state.</p> <p>65. unity between spouses.</p> <p>66. children are the fruits of matrimony.</p> <p>67. one question.</p> <p>68 What discourages marriage.</p> <p>69. children should not be prodded too hard.<br/>The court shall decide whether matrimonial matters are to be judged and pronounced according to imperial and secular law.</p> <p>Why Moses described the patriarchs' marriages so diligently.</p> <p>72. from good marriage.</p> <p>73. pious spouse.<br/>Marriage should be started with prayer, like all things.<br/>The wisdom of women.<br/>Women can talk well.</p> <p>77 Of the disobedience of women.</p> <p>78. a strange, gruesome marriage case.</p> <p>79 Whether one may take his brother's wife.</p> <p>80. from a high person who left her spouse.</p> <p>81. by King Henry in England.</p> <p>82 A question: Whether a man, from whom his wife has run, may take another.</p> <p>83 From another case.</p> <p>84 A question: Whether a man does wrong when he kidnaps a virgin he loves.</p> <p>85. of causes of divorce.</p> <p>86. of the degrees in the marriage.</p> <p>87. children should marry with prior knowledge and advice of parents. and how far away.</p> <p>88. D. Luther's serious disputation of secret dereliction.</p> <p>89. cheeses are large and strange.</p> <p>90. from the third degree of marriage.</p> <p>91. of spiritual kinship.</p> <p>92. D. Luther's exhortation to marry those who are weakened.</p> <p>93. causes of divorce.</p> |
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- The first two words of this article are: "The first," "the second," "the third," and "the third," respectively.
95. we secretly or apparently coitus make a marriage.
- 96 New heresy in the state of marriage.
- The following is a list of the most important questions.
98. of clandestine betrothals and how they are to be punished.
99. from the words: de praesenti et futuro.
- 100 Whether one spouse may divorce the other for the sake of religion.
- 101 D. Luther's concern when one spouse runs from the other.
102. of three divine estates.
103. common life is the safest.
104. difference between marriage and fornication.
105. from stepchildren.
- The Pabst's punishment of those who have broken the marriage.
- The following is a list of the laws that apply to matrimonial matters.
- 108 D. Luther's concern about whether leprosy separates marriage.
- 109 D. Luther's concern, since one impregnated a maid.
- 110 D. Luther's concern whether one might take his cousin's wife in marriage.
- The verdict of the Consistorii of Wittenberg in a marriage case in which a farmer had impregnated his deceased wife's sister and then taken her in marriage.
112. of secret betrothals, and of parental violence.
113. of the degrees in matrimonial matters.
- The following is a summary of the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure.
- 115 A question of fiancées against the parents Wisfen.
116. of the running away of a woman or a man.
117. D. Luther's Concerns about a Strange Case.
- The Pabst's excuse why he forbids the marriage state.
- 119 D. Luther's concern about divorce for the sake of running away, whether the innocent part may be free again.
- 120 A question when a woman does not want to keep conjugal company.
121. From another case.
122. 123. D. Luther's Citation in Matrimonial Matters.
- 124: Luther's Misgivings about Common Women's Houses.
- The way a man has lived is the way he will live.
- Question: Is bad fornication a sin?
- 127: About the women's regiment.
- What a woman is.
129. of love between spouses.
130. of made love through drinks.
- God holds above the marriage state.
132. that the holy fathers of the Church also had carnal desires, therefore one should avoid celibacy and flee a solitary life.
- 133 From cuttings.
134. you can't do without women.
- The marriage state is necessary.
136. D. Luther's prayer for his marriage state.
137. children bind the marriage.
138. despisers of marriage.
139. from a wicked woman.
- The parents love against the children.
- The women's office, for which they are appointed.
142. an example of female chastity.
- The first of these is a book on the subject.
- 144 Diligent study drives away covetousness.
- Fornication follows false teaching.
146. what the marriage state is based on.
- 147: Why the pope is beating up on marriage.
- The first love in the married state is the fiercest.
149. of conjugal relationship.
- Believing that marriage is God's order and creature is a strange thing.
- 151 Cause why a pious woman should be loved.
152. of the secret engagements.
- Women and virgins are to be honored, not defiled.
- This is the first time that the author of the book has written a book on the subject of sexual immorality.
155. children should be raised with reason.
- The blessing of D. Luther over a child.
- 157 A Latin, so D. Luther commanded his children to learn so that they might fear God.
158. paternal care of the children.
- The marriage state is mocked by the people of the world.
- 160 Of two kinds of adultery.
161. cause of adultery.
- 162 History of how a woman's adultery was concealed by her husband.
163. the garden brothers' fornication.
- 164 History of how adultery was punished.
- Luther's complaint that adultery is not punished as well as theft.
- A history of how cruelly God punishes adultery.
- Another similar story.
- 168) How fornication was punished.
- Of the priest marriage.
170. of a cardinal who took a nun as his wife.
- The celibacy and celibate life of the clergy.
- 172 Causes of papal celibacy and celibate life.
- The pope has killed many thousands of children.
- What the vow of chastity is.
- The fathers' misconception of the marriage state.
- The hypocrisy of celibacy and celibate life.
177. horny is forbidden.
- 178 Fruits of celibacy and celibate life in the priesthood.
- 179) When celibacy began and for how long it lasted.
180. of priestly chastity, or celibacy.
181. D. Crotus is a blasphemer of the female sex.
182. fruits of the celibate life of the priests, nuns and
- 183: That a cardinal in Rome had been legitimate.
184. D. Luther's response to an allegedly vexatious case.

**1. that righteous love between spouses is strange.**

A beautiful virgin in a place, who otherwise had many handsome suitors, took a priest for the sake of money; then said D. M. Luther: The money has overcome the virgin Reginen (queen).

(The following at Cordatus No. 1091. 1092.)

Oh dear Lord, how great it is to love wife and children very much. For the devil sets himself against this order and corrupts even our good natural inclinations. What is it therefore [to be wondered at] that someone said against his wife: If the devil had had you in hell as long as I have had you, he would have grown weary of you?

The law incurs wrath even in civil matters. To everything we have to do, we are hurt even if you are forced by the law to marry a new woman every week; therefore, we love whores and hate women. Therefore, it is a sign of a good man if he can love his wife and children.

**2. whether a minister of the church may remain without marriage for the sake of the preaching ministry.**

(Contained in Cap. 22, § 151.)

**3. another question.**

(Cordatus No. 1163. 1164. 198.)

If, on the other hand, they [the papists] say that celibacy is easier to bear than imprisonment, which a preacher must also suffer for the sake of the word, I reply that this is not true. For burning is harder to bear than imprisonment. But one does not have to 1) fast, because lust only grows stronger in the one who does not have the gift of chastity. I did not suffer much from heat, but the more I tormented myself, the more I burned.

The celibate status of the pope is a sure artifice and deceit of the devil, by which he unnoticed from the church the freedom of Christ.

tears away. For if one could abstain, he should oppose it in order to preserve the freedom we have in Christ. But such a one would be forced to confess his marriage state by word and deed, and [it] need not mean silence. For Isaiah says [40:9.], "Get thee up into a high mountain, and cry, lift up thy voice with power." It is a strange thing all that is done out of immense hatred against marriage.

In order to confirm the status of marriage, I had decided with myself before I was married that if I had had to die unexpectedly and I had suffered from an illness, I would have wanted to have a girl married to me on the deathbed. This I would have done in defiance of the pope, who more than can be said has destroyed and disgraced this state; this godless sodomite with all his orders.

**4. few believe that the marriage state is God's creation, order and institution.**

(Contained in Cap. 4, § 22.)

**5. image of the marriage state in all creatures.**

In the first book of Moses it is written about marriage, Gen. 1, 27: "God created male and female and blessed them. Although this saying was spoken primarily of man, it should also be applied to all creatures in the world, such as the birds under the sky, the fish in the water, and all animals that are on earth. There you will find a man and a woman, a man and a woman, 2) who keep together and forgive each other, breed and multiply. That therefore God has set before us the marriage state in all creatures, and that we should have the same image and counterfactual in the trees, in the sky, in the birds of the earth, in the animals, and in the sea in the fish, yes, even in the stones. For everyone is aware that even among the trees male and female are found, as, apples and pears, since the apple tree is the male, and the pear tree the female, and the like kind more are found on the trees.

2) In the editions: "a hen and you".

1) There will be a *non to* insert, as all other editions have required, also the following.

And when they are planted together, they grow and get on much better with each other than otherwise. The man stretches out all his branches to the woman, as if he wanted to take her in his arms; in turn, the woman also raises her branches to the man. So heaven is also the man, and the earth the woman, for the earth is made fertile by heaven through the heat of the sun, rain and winds, so that all kinds of herbs and fruits grow from it. According to this, the marriage state is also depicted in the hard stones, especially in the precious stones, such as corals, emeralds and others.

**A husband must be a pious and God-fearing person.**

(Cordatus No. 449.)

Whoever unites with a woman is without doubt a good man, but H[ans] M[etsch] is not worthy of this divine gift. Husbands and wives must be good persons, and to have peace in marriage is a gift that comes closest to the Gospel. But those who are unloving and do not care for their children or spouses are not human, but at least very similar to wild animals.

**The sweetest company and fellowship is among pious husbands and wives.**

(Cordatus No. 638. 1)

A very great grace is to have a spouse whom you can trust with everything, who is a mother of children 2c. Käthe, you have a pious husband who loves you. Let another empress be, but you thank GOD.

**8. the dignity and benefit of the married state, which the world does not see.**

(Cordatus No. 516.)

All works of God are hidden from the world. For who can worthily consider marriage, from which comes all offspring for the world, hence also the household, the world regiment 2c.? But although all this is very useful, the world does not see its benefits, but only its inconveniences.

1) Cf. § 72 of this Cap. Cordatus No. 450.

But let the papists pass away, who despise marriage so much and love whores mortally to the point of nonsense; but I want to die as a lover of the married state.

**A lewd woman is a man's greatest heartache.**

(Cordatus No. 674. 675. 676.)

I regret the fate of the good man M[atthäus] A[urogallus], 2) who has a very lewd wife, and yet does not want to divorce her. If he complained, we would divorce him. Although she is not a public adulteress, yet, being lewd, disobedient, doing nothing according to his will, going about wherever she pleases, she thereby gives signs of adultery against herself. It is a very miserable thing to have an unfaithful spouse and to suffer a public rival, that hurts. For it is said that the peacock cannot suffer his equal and cannot see a rival. That is why he drowns himself when he sees his image in the water.

These are very glorious words of the Holy Spirit [Prov. 31:11]: "Her husband's heart may rely on her", with which he describes the friendliest intercourse and fellowship between the spouses, which is not found among others. It is therefore an evil sign when one spouse rejoices at the departure of the other spouse and is terrified by his arrival. Therefore, a noble lady instructed her daughter thus: "Dear daughter, behave toward your husband in such a way that he will be glad when he sees the lace on the house when he comes home again. It is a great deception of the devil that dissolves this so great union and order of God. By natural and divine right the spouses are united and the devil takes both away by hatred and quarrels. Egg, strike todt.

My advice to all who want to be free is that they do not joke when they want to take wives, and do not seek to be joined to them according to the lusts of the flesh and according to heat, but pray, pray. For

2) Professor of the Hebrew language in Wittenberg. Cf. § 73 of this chapter: Goldhahn.

When a wife is taken, one must not go back if it has gone badly, and the wives one gets are dowries one gets. Just pray, it is necessary. Even if a woman is a little bitter, she must be carried, for she belongs in the house.

**10. D. M. Luther's advice on how one should marry, written to a good friend.**

(This 8, at De Wette VI, 417 f., will be printed in Theil XXI. of our edition).

**11. how new husbands are minded.**

(Cordatus No. 1510.)

The first year of marriage makes one think strange thoughts. For when he sits at the table, he thinks: Before I was alone, now I am alone. When he wakes up in bed, he sees a pair of braids lying next to him, which he did not see before. For this reason, women cause their husbands many unnecessary disturbances, no matter how busy they are, as my Catharina first did when she sat with me while I was seriously studying, and she asked me: "Doctor, is the Margrave's Grand Master brother?"

**12) After the betrothal, the wedding and the wedding ceremony should not take place.**

(Cordatus No. 1511.)

My advice is always to proceed to the wedding as soon as possible after the betrothal has taken place. For postponement is dangerous because of the slanderers that Satan instigates, and the friends of both parties usually start something that is not good. I know what happened to me with the marriage of Philip and Eisleben. Just hurry up and get together! If I had not married secretly, all my friends would have shouted: Not this one, but another.

**13. you have to have women.**

(Cordatus No. 1512. 1513.)

In a woman, many good things are seen, the blessing of the Lord, the offspring, the commonality of affairs, and other such great goods that make a man

could press. If we assume that this gender does not exist, then the house would perish and everything that belongs to the household and the world regiment. The world, however, could not do without women, even though men could beget children on their own.

When you look back, marriage is not as evil as when you look ahead. For our fathers and mothers were holy in this order of God, even those who were not yet in the faith, for they had God's commandment of the generation of offspring, and my children see in the same way that I live in holy matrimony as I saw my parents. And marriage, which we approve of in our parents and others, we often detest in ourselves, deceived by the devil, and if we consider it rightly, we see in marriage truly divine things, why then do we despise it in ourselves?

**14. praise and glory of the marriage state, that it is a brunnqnelle of all other divine stands.**

Lucas Cranach, the older, had abconterfeiet M. Luther's housewife. When the panel was hanging on the wall and the doctor looked at the painting, he said: "I will have a man paint it and send these two pictures to Mantua to the Concilium, and have the holy fathers, all assembled there, ask whether they would rather have the married state, or the celibate state, the unmarried life of the clergy? Now D. M. Luther then began to praise and extol the married state, saying that it was God's order, and without the state the world would have long since become barren and desolate, and all other creatures would also have been created in vain and for nothing, for they were all created for the sake of man; there would have been no order and states in the world. Therefore, when Eve was brought to Adam, he was full of the Holy Spirit and gave her a glorious, beautiful name, calling her Heva, that is, a mother of all living creatures. He does not call her his wife, but a mother, and adds the appendix "of all the living", Gen. 3, 20. There you have the highest treasure, honor.

and adornment of women, namely that they are fons omnium viventium, the fountain source and origin, from which all living people come. These are short words, but it is a wonderful encomium. And neither Demosthenes nor Cicero could ever have spoken of it so gloriously, but the Holy Spirit is the orator here, who shall declare and speak thus through our first father, Adam: and because this doctor and orator thus gloriously defines and praises the married state, we may justly cover up everything that is frail in a woman. For the Lord Christ, the Son of God, also did not despise the married state, but was born of a woman. This is no small praise of the married state. Therefore St. Paul also saw and praised the married state, when he says 1 Tim. 2, 15: Salvatur Mulier per generationem filiorum, si manserit in Fide: "The woman becomes blessed through childbearing, if she remains in faith, and in love, and in sanctification, along with discipline."

#### 15. God preserves the marriage state.

(Cordatus No. 1522 and No. 1533.)

God has made a cross over the marriage state, which is great, and also keeps over it, although the pope and the devil are enemies of Him, and in the marriage state one nourishes oneself better than outside.

It is quite certain that God has been an enemy of the papacy from the beginning, for He has deprived it of the fruit of the womb. We would not have received this blessing of the body if God had not placed in us the instinct for the woman that makes children.

#### The marriage state is God's blessing.

(Cordatus No. 964. 965.)

Although the women are icy, my wife violates this rule, since she is now quite hot in her illness. It is a poor thing about a woman, but by this she is highly exalted when she gives birth to children. For childbearing is God's gift, indeed, Jacob says [Gen. 33:5] that they are his children whom God has given him. And so marriage is also a blessing of the Lord, God has given his "Benedicite".

[He spoke about it in Genesis 1:28. The world does not see this, it only sees the difficulties in marriage. That is why the bet does not say "Gratias" after that "Benedicite" of God.

The woman is called in the holy scripture [Ezek. 24, 16] "the delight of your eyes". The Hebrews say that no one will be found who can interpret the first chapter of the first book of Moses correctly, 1) because it is the light of the whole Old Testament.

#### The marriage state is necessary, and one cannot do without it.

(Cordatus No. 1035.)

It is very good that God does not want marriage to be broken, for otherwise it would perish and cease, the care of the children would be put in jeopardy, and the household would fall, and after that the world government and religion would also be neglected. However, marriage is that of the household, world regiment, religion.

Foundation 9 of religion.

#### 18. unpleasantness and burden in marriage.

(Cordatus No. 1103-1106.)

The whimsical ways of women, the crying of small children, the greater expenses, burdensome neighbors, and the like are the causes that many have no desire to marry and would rather be free than submit to the bondage of such evils.

Although the papists hate the married state because of its difficulties, they have never hated fornication, but rather loved it most of all, and this contempt, or at least this too little reverence for the married state, seems to be derived from the fathers, for absolutely none of them has written anything worth mentioning about marriage, and, like all monks, they see nothing in marriage but the lust of the flesh, since in fact nothing is more common in marriage than constant tribulation of the flesh. St. Augustine also did not speak very reverently of the marriage state.



The fathers and all those who have been in the celibate state have avoided lust as a drop and have suddenly plunged into a whole sea of lusts and evil desires. We find only one passage in Augustine in which he speaks beautifully of marriage, saying: If anyone cannot live chastely, let him take a wife and come confidently before the court. Then he also said that it also belongs to the forgiveness of sins, if someone takes a wife not for the sake of progeny (perhaps because he cannot hope for it from a barren woman), but for the sake of necessity, and that because of marital fidelity. The good fathers could not say: Because of the faith in the word.

God, after His great mercy before the last day, restored the marriage state, the authority and the service of the word, and caused us to see that they were His ordinances, which until then had only been thought to be His fool's play vi8]. Marriage was considered a kind of custom, authority was considered either a happiness or an oppressive burden, but not of goodness; on the other hand, the service of the word was contemptible compared to the ceremonies.

**Original sin makes the married state contemptible, but God preserves it.**

Doctor Martin Luther said: "It is a strange thing that the peccatum originis is so powerful that everyone is so hostile to the conjugio, and yet we are all born in the conjugio. Where would we be if the conjugio were not? Sapientia carnalis does not belong there. Look at all the books, they do nothing but vituperate the conjugium and pick out the incommoda: there they use all their rhetoricis and art: not, like Cicero, who teaches in rhetoricis: Incommoda dissimulanda et tegenda, et commoda amplificanda esse. That is why I love Ciceronem; et esse necessarium Praeceptum, how else would one obtain peace in the world? That is why the devil deals with it, and works very hard to bring us back to whoredom; or, if one is in marriage, that adultery may take place. This is what we see. Quia Conjugium est opus Dei, that is why he is sorry for him. That now the Con

jugium be preserved, that is simpliciter miraculum orbis, as our Lord God otherwise preserves Oeconomiam et Politiam. How soon otherwise would a citizen have slain the mayor, or a servant have strangled his landlord!

**20. matrimonial matters do not belong before the parish priests and preachers, but before the authorities, who shall rule on them.**

(Cordatus No. 1610.)

The pastor of Zwickau 1) writes to me about marriage cases, I want to give him a good sow, that he wants to involve me in these matters, which belong to the authorities. For these are external matters that have to do with dowry and inheritance; what is that to do with us? We advise such people [in matrimonial matters] only when it concerns conscience, and now the authorities want to impose these matters on us, and, what is more, if they dislike our advice and judgment, they do not carry them out, even if they are good. We are shepherds of consciences, not of bodies or goods. No one should take upon himself the complaints of others; they will do it without us.

**21. and there will be two One flesh.**

(Cordatus No. 287. [No. 1819.])

The two will be one flesh [Gen. 2:24, Vulg.] This is understood bodily and civilly, for the woman says of the man and everything that belongs to the man that it belongs to her, and the woman comes from the man and vice versa. 2) But in the children they are not one, except by inauthentic use [catachresin].

**22. man and woman is one body.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1270.)

Correctly answered my Antonius ]Lauterbach], since he sent. 2) was to pre-

1) M. Leonhard Beter. Cf. Luther's letter to him of Jan. 18, 1535; Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 704 s.).

2) The meaning is: At creation the woman is taken from the man, later in marriage the man from the woman.

3) After Leisnig, as Diaconus, 1533. Seidemann: Lauterbach p. 7.

He was reprimanded by the bishop of Meissen's bailiff [praefecto] that he was not allowed to preach because he was not an ordained priest [and the bishop did not want to accept him; 1) because he answered that he was ordained by his wife (who had been a nun), with whom he was one body. This was an answer worthy of such a bishop.

And thereupon he told a shameful story: That there had been a glutton, who had gone out every day to eat and drink, and had lived on a whim, but had left his wife at home to suffer hunger and grief: when he had come home, and the wife had complained that she had neither food nor drink, he had also mocked her with the proverb, saying, "Are you not full? have I eaten and drunk all day today, have you not tasted it? are I and you one body? Now she also came here, 2) and went away from the house for a day, and cooked no food for the man, nor left him any money to drink, but she ate and drank in another place. Now when she came home again, and the man wanted food and drink, she said: Is it not enough that I have eaten? are not husband and wife one body? and mocked him again.

**23. daughters shall be provided with money, but sons shall be provided with fiefs, and in the**

**Remain heir.**

(Cordatus No. 582.)

It has been the advice of wise and wealthy people that daughters capable of marriage should be provided with money, but sons with fields, meadows and houses, and if this were not done, the inheritance of the sons would be torn apart. Therefore, the property should be left to the sons.

**24. an evil woman of the greatest plagues one.**

(Contained in Cap. 37, §148.)

1) There is an omission in the Latin manuscript, which is well completed by Dr. Wrampelmeyer.

2) In the editions: "Well, she was here too" 2c.

**25. take a rich wife.**

(Cordatus No. 1005.)

Matthäus] G[oldhahn] 3) has taken a wealthy wife and sold his freedom. I also like it when my Käthe drives over my mouth, because I don't let it win much more than a muzzle.

**26. the weighting of the marital status.**

He who takes a wife, said D. M. Luther, he must not be idle, for he is a burden to him: just as keeping oneself chaste and being pious, apart from marriage, is not the least challenge, as those know who have tried and experienced it. On the other hand, the unpleasantness and burden of marriage is intolerable to people. That is why the wise pagan Socrates gave a good answer to the man who asked him if he should take a wife: Whichever of the two you do, you will regret it.

Ah, in paradise, if man had remained in innocence, it would have been a lovely and merry thing about the marriage state: there would not have been such a heat and rage, but another kind of our flesh and blood; but we are so poisoned by original sin that there is no state on earth, which is established and ordered by God, who is not repentant, who is in it. This is the fault of our original sin, which has corrupted and devastated the whole of human nature. And indeed it seems to me that the sweetest life is a mediocre household: to live with a pious, willing, obedient wife in peace and unity, and to be content with little, to be satisfied, and to thank God 2c. And when he, D. Martinus, said this, he looked up to heaven and said: Oh, dear Lord God, how will you make it right, so that it may please us?

**27. that men cannot do without the marriage state.**

Doctor Martin Luther once said: "As little as one can do without eating and drinking

3) This resolution of "M. G." in the original receives the greatest probability by comparison of § S and § 73 of this chapter.

It is also possible to abstain from women, because we cannot express ourselves from them through natural desire. The reason is that we are conceived in the wombs of women, nourished in them, born, nursed and educated in them, so that most of our flesh is women's flesh, and it is impossible for us to completely separate ourselves from them.

### 28. a good or dissolve marriage.

(The first paragraph of this § in Kummer x. 381. sLauterbach p. 162.)

Marriage is God's gift, and by the nature of this intimate love. - He mentioned his marriage. If I had wanted to marry fourteen years ago, I would have chosen the wife of Basil, Anna 1) von Schönfeld. I have never loved my [wife] and have always suspected her of pride (as she is), but God has willed that I show mercy to the abandoned, and by God's grace I have been granted the most happy marriage.

Ah, dear Lord God, marriage is not a natural thing, but God's gift, the most sweet and lovely, yes, chaste life, above all celibacy and living alone without marriage; if it turns out well: but if it turns out badly, it is hell. For although they (the women) are commonly capable of all the arts of captivating a man by weeping, lying, and pleading, they can twist it finely and give the best words; but if these three things remain in the marriage state, namely fidelity and faith, children and fruits of the womb, and sacrament, so that one considers it a holy thing and divine state, then it is a blessed state at all.

Oh, how I longed for my loved ones, as I lay deathly ill in Schmalkalden! I wept that I would no longer see my wife and children here. How painful such separation and divorce was for me! Now I believe that in dying people such natural inclination and love, as a husband has for his wife, and parents for children

1) In Luther's missive to Leonhard Koppe, dated April 10, 1523, she is called Awe von Schönfeld.

is the greatest. But now that I have been restored to health by the grace of God, I love my wife and children all the more. There is no one so spiritual who does not feel such an innate natural inclination and love: for there is a great thing about the covenant and fellowship between husband and wife.

### 29) What is due to wives from the deceased husband's property under Saxon law.

Saxon law, 2) said D. M. Luther, is all too strict and harsh, as it decrees that after the death of her husband, a woman shall be given only a chair and a skirt. But this is to be understood thus: Chair, that is, house and farm; cam, that is, food, so that she can also maintain herself in her old age. One must pay servants, and annually give them their wages; yes, one gives more to a beggar.

### 30. Becoming married should be done thoughtfully, not suddenly, out of fervour.

Doctor Martinus was once angry at the disobedience of his virgin, whom he had in his house and nursed, and ordered that she should be chastised with a good shillelagh, so that she would forget her manhood; for it would not be advisable for young people to be freed so soon in the first heat and suddenly. For if they had atoned for the folly, they would soon regret it, and no lasting marriage could remain; but when they now come to their perfect years, then they may marry, but with God's counsel and their parents' knowledge and consent, properly, as befits; otherwise the little dog Reuel comes, which bites many people; just as Stöltzchen, the little dog, also damages many people.

### 31. having many wives or husbands in succession.

Saint Jerome writes, 3) that in Rome there was one who had one and twenty wives in succession, and she 4) twenty husbands: she had nineteen husbands before.

2) Cf. Cap. 66, § 43.

3) This narrative in other relation Cap. 30, § 34.

4) In the output: "one".

and he had twenty wives. Now the friendship on both sides wanted to see which one would survive and prevail over the other. The woman died first; then he followed the corpse, had a little wreath on his head, and had her buried with pipes and drum, with a great triumph, as if she, the old hag, had now survived and retained the victory. This is what D. M. Luther said about those who soon forget their wives when they have died.

## 22. Of agreement or disagreement between spouses.

Doctor Martinus went to a princess 1) Anno 1542 and wanted to try whether he could reconcile her again with her lord. When he returned home, he said: "Dear God, what effort and work is needed in matrimonial cases! How much work it takes to bring a husband and wife together, and how much more work it takes to keep them together. Adam's fall has thus very much damaged, corrupted and poisoned human nature, so that it is most unstable, running now and then like quicksilver. Oh how good it is when married couples go to table and to bed together: even if they sometimes purr and murmur, that need not do any harm; it does not always happen like clockwork in marriage, it is a fortuitous thing; one must surrender to that.

Adam and Eve will have been chewing on each other for nine hundred years, and Eve will have said to Adam, "You have eaten the apple: You have eaten the apple. Adam, in turn, will have answered: Why did you give it to me? Because they will have seen in such a long time of their life without doubt quite a lot of evil and a lot of misfortune with heartache and sighing in their marriage state. All of which came from their fall and disobedience, and therefore caused them to have to look at it with sighs and tears. It must have been a strange regiment, as the first book of Moses is also strange.

Then one of them said to the doctor, "If a woman did it to a man now, he would

it would be difficult to forgive her. D. Martinus said: "If she did it, as a fool, what would he make of it? Martinus said: "If she did it, as a fool, what would he make of it? Therefore this is a blessed man who has a good marriage, although it is a strange gift. Then the doctor said: This is a martyred man, whose wife and maid know nothing in the kitchen. It is prima calamitas, ex qua inulta mala sequuntur.

## Marriage should be approached in the fear of God and prayer.

(Lauterbach, Sept. 18, 1538, p. 133.)

On September 18, Luther recounted some annoying examples of the marriage of the daughters of Philipp M(elanchthon), Lucas C(ranach) and Hans L(uft), which their daughters had committed evil. Oh, dear Lord, they do not pray. They only do this difficult thing brazenly and go about it without fear of God. That is why they are rightly punished by an unhappy marriage. That is why the epicurist D. Pistor insolently ridiculed our church wedding, that we insist on prayer in marriage. As if one should not pray about such things. He is an old fool, but will hardly change his ways, according to the saying: "He who is not beautiful in his twentieth year, not strong in his thirtieth, not wise in his fortieth, not rich in his fiftieth, should not hope for it. Age is no defense against folly. Like the bishop of Brandenburg, who was of low birth and attained his bishopric by drinking. After that, he was puffed up by great court, wanted to be held and called princely, hold princely dances, did not think that he had been a scribe. There is a great difference between nature and art, and a born prince and a made one.

## 34: The freedom of spouses in the Old Testament.

On the day of Martini D. M. Luther celebrated his birthday, to which he had invited many learned gentlemen, D. Jonam, D. Caspar Creuziger, Phil. Melanchthon, and others. Before dinner that evening, M. Ambrosius Bernd publicly advertised for his, the Doctor's,

1) Margaretha, daughter of Prince Joachim I of Brandenburg, wife of Prince Johann of Anhalt. Bindseil' II, 346. cf. § 80 of this Cap.

1) Magdalene, that he would give her to him as a spouse, as he had promised him before. There spoke D. Martinus said: "Dear Mr. Schösser and Gevatter, here I have the virgin, as God has given her to me and bestowed her upon me, whom I hand over to Him: God grant His blessing and benediction, that they may live well and Christianly with each other. So all were happy and in good spirits.

(The following in Lauterbach, Nov. 10, 1538, p. 162.  
The last paragraph Nov. 10, 1538, p. 164.)

Afterwards he spoke of marriage betrothals and the privilege of a new bridegroom, to whom also the very strict Moses was favorable, so that he gave him the privilege to be free from all services for a whole year (Deut. 24, 5.). This was not done in vain, so that this status, which God has ordered by nature and divine right, and which is held in honor by all the fathers, would remain intact, and yet the pope has wanted to change it with his fictitious vows. I marvel at the majesty and power of the devil, who has opposed this most glorious divine order under the pretense of chastity and vows, as if all Christians had not vowed chastity in baptism, according to the sixth commandment, and as if chastity could not be other than in virginity, since the number of virgins in heaven is greatest. For many more virgins die than women. All who die before the twelfth year have been without evil desire. God has set this state (marriage 2) to ward off fornication. But the Papist celibate state does not swear chastity, but swears marriage. What followed from this, we have become well aware of. After that he added this advice that before the engagement the matter should not be told to many. If many people get in the way, it is dangerous. And after the engagement one should not postpone [the wedding] for long. And he told the case of the engagement of Philipp Melanchthon, that even very respected people

1) "Muhme" here in the meaning: sibling, sister's daughter. Cf. Cap. 3, ä19. Magdalene Kaufmann.

2) sxxum in the original is probably an error. Perhaps sxxum i.e. which is ordered in the sixth commandment, the marriage.

whose bride would have been miserably slapped in a lying way. It is not good to talk much about it. You have to ask God for advice, pray and then go ahead soon.

Concerned about the wedding and the invitation of the guests, he said to the bridegroom and the bride: "Be of good cheer, it is none of your business. We consider the incidental things, but you are the main thing [substantia]. For everything is up to the two persons in this matter. It comes to us to consider it, and then to bed. Oh God, that it would remain with your order and creature and that one would not think of doing it better; we have well come to know how it was done better.

### 35. praise of the marriage state.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 22, 1538, p. 176; the last paragraph, Nov. 25, p. 179.)

On November 22nd, the bridegroom Ambrosius (Berndt) had a secret conversation with his bride 2) Luther smiled at him and said: "I am surprised what a bridegroom should have to talk so much with his bride. Whether they could also get tired of it. But one must not vex them. They have a letter of right above all law and custom. custom.

Then he began to praise the married state, saying that it was God's order and the best and holiest way to live. Therefore, it is right to begin with the best ceremonies, because of the cause, God, who wants man and woman to live together. He who wants to make it better, let him be well aware of it. Even if the woman is a weak vessel, she has the highest honor of motherhood, because all men are conceived, born and nourished through women. From them comes the exceedingly lovely offspring. This honor of motherhood should rightly cover and outweigh all the weaknesses of women, and a pious husband should say: Since we have received the good, why should we not bear the evil? So also the Roman law is very favorable to the marriage state, and gives many privileges to women, since it takes them into consideration because of

3) Magdalena Kaufmann, Luther's sister's daughter.

of the offspring, as also Paul 1 Tim.

(v. 14.) Says: "I will therefore that the young widows be free and beget children. That is why all laws have had their purpose in offspring. So it is a rule in law: If someone bequeathed a thousand guilders to a virgin in his will, so that she would remain a virgin, she had the right to claim the bequest, even if she married. In short, it is a high estate if it is good; if it is not, then a man should rather choose death than have a visible devil at his side. If someone has the gift [of chastity], he gives thanks to God. Christ, Mary, John the Baptist were without marriage. The pope wanted to impose this rare gift without grace in general and wanted to make it better. When he was asked if Paul had been a husband, he answered that it was likely that he had been a husband, because the Jews used to marry early and yet lived chastely. For chastity concerns virgins as well as widows and married people, as the letter to the Hebrews teaches (13:4): "The marriage bed is to be kept undefiled." But the celibate state is actually only for virgins and unmarried people.

The bride is always called first. That is the German way of talking, like cheese and bread. Cheese must also come first. Well, I will help with God to arrange this wedding, perhaps the last one. And he ordered that the schoolmaster with his musicians be ordered to the other day, for in the great crowd the music would have no place. For the belly has no ears.

#### **God Himself has ordered and preserves marriage.**

Marriage is the most beautiful order, because it is instituted by God, by whom it is also maintained. But the godless state of the pope is only a violent suppression of nature; since human life, which is otherwise very poor, laborious and short, is inclined to beget children. When a woman has had children for twenty years, she is finished.

#### **Marriage is the most noble state after religion.**

Marriage is the noblest estate on earth according to religion, for many reasons: but people, like cattle in the field and the world's crops, flee from it for the sake of personal misfortune; who, because they want to escape the rain, fall into the water. Therefore only go up confidently in the name of the Lord, and give yourself under the cross. Here one must look more to God's order and command, for the sake of generation, to beget children. And though this cause be not, yet it should be remembered that it is a remedy against sin, and to ward off unchastity.

And he was angry with the jurists, who acted most strictly according to their canons and decrees, against their conscience: did not want to give way to God's word, defended secret engagements, against natural, divine and imperial law. Nor shall their canons be right. On the other hand, no one should be forced to marry, but everyone should be free to do so and answer to his conscience, for no one can be forced or compelled to love a bride.

#### **38. blessing of the marriage state.**

The best blessing of the married state is the children, which may never have happened to Duke G[eorg's] children, who impregnated the most beautiful princesses with dirt. The Elector, Duke John of Saxony, said: "The greatest blessing would be if children were pious and feared God. However, everything that is good in marriage is nothing other than the vain blessing of God, which no one recognizes except those who fear God and must purchase everything on the market.

#### **Marriage is God's gift if the devil is an enemy.**

Marriage is a beautiful, glorious gift and order, confirmed with two kinds of love: one that is natural and good; the other disorderly and evil. But the devil, who is an enemy and destroyer of marriage, does not destroy it alone

The love between husband and wife is not only disorderly, but also natural. That is why the ancients taught their children: "Dear daughter, behave toward your husband in such a way that he will be happy when he sees lace on the way back from the house. 1) And if a man lives and lives with his wife in such a way that she does not like to see him go away, and he is happy when he comes home, then it is well.

God," he continued, "does not change marriage as he has ordained it, but preserves it; only in the conception and birth of his Son he has changed it. Although the Turks believe that virgins also conceive and give birth, they are not surprised that Mary became a mother and yet remained a virgin, for this often happens. But such faith does not come into my house.

#### 40. from the devil's tyranny against the spouses.

One reads in the histories, 2) said D. M. Luther, that two young married couples had loved each other dearly and got along with each other quite well. Now the devil would have liked to make them disagree, that the same married couple had not loved each other so much, and comes to an old whore, to a wicked washy woman, and offers her a red pair of shoes, where she would make the married couple disagree. The old hag accepts it, and first comes to the man, and says: "Listen, your wife wants your life. The man says, "That cannot be true; I know that my wife loves me dearly. Nay, saith the old woman, she loveth another, and wanteth to slay thee: and so make the man afraid of the woman, and do all evil. Soon the old hag also went to the man's wife and said, "Your husband does not love you. And the woman answered and said, I have a good husband, and I know that he loveth me. Then said the old maid, Nay, he will take another: therefore come before him.

take a shearing knife, stick it under the pillow and strangle him. The woman believes it, gains a suspicion, the mad poor fool, to the man, believes the old evil sack. The man is hard on the woman, and when he learns from the old whore that his wife has hidden a shearing knife under the pillow, he waits until the woman falls asleep, finds the shearing knife and strangles the woman. Then the old woman comes to the devil and demands the red pair of shoes. The devil handed her the shoes on a long pole, was afraid of her and said: "Take it, you are worse than me. This made the old woman's evil tongue, and that husband and wife easily believed evil speech, which they should not have done; therefore it is said that husbands and wives should pray diligently in their married state.

What do the evil tongues of the lawyers do, who also set people on each other? how will they fare? They will also get a red pair of shoes.

#### 41 Each one takes its equal.

Marriage is best among equals. An old man and a young maiden do not go well together. But the money does something. Just as an old man boasted of all his treasure and showed it to the young maid. The servant let him like it and said to him: Dear maiden, he has this much more. At last, when he was also troubled by the cough, the servant said: "He, my lord, has this much more at night.

#### 42: An old man and a young girl. (Cordatus No. 73.)

When an old man marries a young woman, this is called killing the old man in a civil and natural way.

#### 43. nature corrupted with carnal lust.

O dear Lord God, how great disorder and weakness is in our flesh and blood! Before marriage we are in heat, and want to become senseless after a wife; but after the wedding we will be in love with her.

1) Cf. the second paragraph of § 9 of this Cap.

2) The same story Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 391, § 132.

tired and weary. And above and beyond such temptations are many more fierce and severe ones. St. Jerome writes a lot about the temptation of the flesh. Ah, it is a small thing! the female in the house can help this disease. Eustachia could have helped and advised Jerome. God protect us from the high temptations in the first table, which concern the eternal, since one does not know whether God is the devil or the devil is God. These temptations are not temporal.

#### 44. forbidding marriage is against nature.

What is the point of condemning marriage, which is naturally right? As if one wanted to forbid eating, drinking, sleeping 2c. Let this be far from us, for what God has created and ordained is not at our discretion to accept or forbid. We will not master God, or put Him to shame, as has been experienced so far.

#### 45. which is the office of each spouse.

Every person in marriage should do his duty as he should do it: the husband should earn, but the wife should save. Therefore the woman can make the man rich, and not the man the woman: for the penny saved is better than the penny earned. Thus to be righteous is the best income. I remain cheap in the register of the poor, said D. M. Luther, because I keep too many servants.

#### 46. question.

D. M. Luther asked: Whether a bishop would also like to take a virgin as his spouse, and thus live with her in the virgin state? as Joseph did with Mary, who after all was of a holy life; and thus primarily diligently looked to Christ, and waited for his bride, the church. And perhaps, he said, this habit came from the fact in the Netherlands that every new and young priest had to choose a maiden for himself, whom he considered his bride, in honor of the holy state of marriage.

But I would like to ask the papists: Why they are so bold, and may the marriage

What do you mean by that? Do you mean that I should reject the natural right and God's order, and accuse and blame it as an impurity? Now I would like to learn from them what kind of impurity it is. Has God also created impurity? For although marriage is defiled by original sin, yet one should not blaspheme such God's ordinance. As Gregory says of marriage: To avoid greater sin, one must allow lesser. He puts these words clearly in the decree. And Jerome writes that St. Paul forbids marriage and dispenses with it for the sake of the frail nature; but he does not command it, for it is an evil thing.

Dear, see how the holy fathers are so cold about God's order, calling it sin and evil. The Lord Christ, the Son of God, the most chaste, thinks much more highly of the marriage state, and is more favorable to it, since he says: "For God's sake a man shall leave his father and mother. And again: "What God has joined together, let not man put asunder," Matth. 19, 5. 6.

How can a mortal man and a poor maggot thus despise and revile God's creature and work? The poor wretched people do not know that one should honor, love and value the marriage state: even though it is marred by sin, and all kinds of evil lusts are involved, it is still God's order and foundation. And Squire Pabst says: that conjugal works may not be done without sin. Therefore, refrain from abandoning such a union and tearing it apart.

But the holy fathers were also people. How St. Gregory is dry and cold enough in his Easter sermons! says nothing about history and its custom, use and fruit.

#### 47. children are blessings of marriage.

D. M. Luther looked at his children and said: "Oh, how great, rich and glorious a blessing God is in the state of marriage! What joy is shown to a man in the offspring that are numbered by him, even after his death, when he now lies and lies down! This is the most beautiful and greatest joy, which Muhme Lena takes away from me before.



**48. from the digamia.**

I am surprised, said D. Martinus, that the jurists are so much annoyed at the priestly digamy, when one takes another wife after the first, second, third, 2c. They think that such a one has no more power to preach and to administer the sacraments, since Solomon had more than a hundred, even a thousand wives at one time, and wrote such a book, which all lawyers are not able to do. So we want to bind God's word to the persons. Since we can suffer in the papacy that a sacristan or chaplain has had sixty cooks and attendants, and twenty puserons.

The lawyers interpret the little word whimsically, if one takes a widow 2c. Oh, how there is such a great lack of understanding and ignorance in the human heart that it cannot distinguish God's commandment from man's statutes! One, the other, third, fourth 2c. Taking one wife after another is marriage, and not against God; but fornicating and committing adultery, which is against God, shall not hinder. The poor people do not know what digamia is. Lamech was the first to have two living wives at once; Jacob four: and yet they were holy servants of God. But from such examples of digamia no rule can be made in our time, nor do such examples apply to us Christians, because we live under our authority and use our worldly laws, according to the teachings of St. Paul.

Anno 1539, the 16th of April, was spoken of the church servants, who after the first death had married another 2c. The church was in the process of being restored to its original state. Then said D. Martinus said: "Then I ask you, whether a digamus, who has married another woman, is also in the state of blessedness and a Christian? Since he is not rejected from the church and the anointing of the Holy Spirit, why should he not be considered a church servant, even if the stinking Chresem does not come to it? Satan is always looking for angle woods, arguments and wooden ways against God's order: because he cannot prevent marriage now, he invents questions about the digamia and other useless things.

**49. of king Solomon's many wives.**

One of them told D. M. Luther over the table how a book was to be printed in Leipzig in which the Bigamia 1) would be approved; D. M. Luther answered nothing to this, but sat as if he were in deep thought. Finally he said: "I often wonder how the Rex Arabiae could have seven hundred wives. Then one of [the] table companions asked, saying, "Doctor, what do you think of Solomon's wives and concubines, since he has had three hundred wives or queens, and seven hundred concubines or concubines? And the text says: "The number of virgins that were in his court was not counted"? To this D. M. Luther: One must pay attention to the fact that the holy scripture wants to indicate how many females Solomon had to maintain and feed daily; because that he had three hundred queens, these were his poor girlfriends from the family of David, who all found themselves to him, and he had to feed them in his court, exceptis Concubinis et reliquis Famulis, as he also had to feed four and twenty thousand men every day, in which the women were not counted. It is as if one would also say of the Elector of Saxony that the Elector has many wives: for he has first of all his wife, then several princesses in the women's room, then many noble maidens, item, a court mistress, then other maids and seamstresses. If one now wanted to say: The Duke of Saxony thus has many wives at court; it does not follow that they are all his wives. And how could it be possible that all these women would have been King Solomon's wives while he was asleep? Reason teaches that it cannot be. Solomon first had a wife, whom he had married when he was eighteen years old, for he had married very young; for they were very strong people. I believe, he had already had strength in the eighteenth year of a man in the thirtieth year. Then he married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who is the other. Since he

1) Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1577.

When he is old, he takes three ammonite wives. Otherwise, if he had had three hundred wives and a new wife every night, the year would have been over and Solomon would not have rested a day. This cannot be, because he had to rule. The regiment does not suffer, much deal with women. In sum, when one says that Solomon had many wives, one means that Solomon had a large number of wives.

Then one of them asked the doctor, "Did Solomon feed the four and twenty thousand court servants in one place? He answered, "No, he had fed and paid them from time to time throughout the kingdom. Just as if one said: The Elector of Saxony feeds twelve thousand men every day: there one does not understand it: at his court, but now and then in the offices, as at Wittenberg, Schweinitz, Locha, Torgau 2c.

After that, one of them asked 1): "Do you read anything about Solomon's resipiscentia in the holy scriptures? He answered, "No, but the saying is in there about him, quod obdormierit cum Patribus suis; therefore he considered it that he had been blessed. For this word brings it with it. For it is not written about Absalom and Joab. The Scotus has the Salomonem simpliciter damniret.

Concubinage was left to the Jews in the Law of Moses, so that the poor widows and virgins might have victum et amictum in concubinage and be fed. This was not done for the pleasure of the Jews, but was annoying and burdensome to them: they had to do it out of great necessity, not ex libidine, nor out of avarice; but when one came to great honors in a family, or otherwise became rich, all his friends adhered to him: he had to feed them. Coacti igitur sunt, plures habere uxores, necessitate consanguinitatis et promissionis. And the Jews will have become tired enough of them, and will have wanted that they had only one or none at all. God had promised the Jews that he would multiply their seed as the stars in the sky and as the sand in the sea. To fulfill this promise, they took many wives.

1) Cordatus. Cf. Cap. 13, § 51, at the end.

Item: That the patriarchs, also the judges and kings of the people of Israel, as Gideon, David and Solomon, and others, had many wives, they had to do this out of great necessity, because of the promise. For Abraham and Isaac had the promise from God that they would become a great nation. After that, where a rich friend or cousin was, there the poor friends and little ones ran, and he had to free them, so that they would be clothed, fed and cared for.

#### 50 The papacy is hostile to marriage.

(Except for the last paragraph Cordatus No. 1674. 1675.)

Begetting children is not in human ability, but I believe in God the Father, the Creator of all things.

The monks and papists shun marriage, not to avoid evil desire, but for the sake of discomfort, and although they imagine that they are very chaste through their celibate state, yet their hearts and words are far divorced from one another. Hence Paul very appropriately says [1 Tim. 4:2.], "So in glibness are liars," speaking otherwise than they have in their hearts. Daniel has beautifully pictured them [Dan. 11, 37. 38.]: he has the god Maosin 2c., which has been the fair that wears gold. And he shall stand in evil desire [after wives], which is the celibate life. These are the two pillars on which Samson makes himself. If we would allow these, harmony would come easily. But we cannot, because on these two pillars stands the Antichrist.

Item: Satan has abominated the marriage state, which is God's order, by means of the papacy. For Cyprian writes in the booklet de Singularitate clericorum, I., that spiritual, consecrated persons should be something special; if he hears a woman speak, he should flee as from a serpent that hisses or whistles. Thus, if one fears fornication, he must fall into silent sin. As St. Hieronymo would almost have done.

#### 51. thanksgiving of D. M. Luther for the marriage state.

(Cordatus No. 1367.)

When I am with myself, I thank God from the bottom of my heart for the right knowledge of marriage.

I am convinced that this is the best way to protect the Catholic Church, especially when I compare it with the lewd celibacy of the papists and the vile vices of the Italians.

**Matrimonial matters belong before secular authorities.**

(Contained in Cap. 27, § 29.)

**53. what marriage is.**

Marriage is a perpetual and ordained union and covenant of a man and woman; or, is an ordained cohabitation and attendance of a man and woman, according to God's order and command; or, of two covenants among themselves according to God's order. Two, I say, not many. For God thus says Genesis 2:24: "And there shall be two in one flesh." For many persons in one marriage is against the natural law. So St. Paul says Rom. 7, 2: "The woman is bound to the man because she lives."

**The first two pages of this book are devoted to the subject of marriage.**

The cause and founder of marriage are primarily God's commandment, appointment and order, and is a state established by God Himself and personally visited by Christ, and honored with a glorious gift. For God said Gen. 2, 18: "It is not good that man should be alone." So the wife should be the husband's helpmate, so that the human race may be multiplied and the children brought up in honor of God and for the benefit of the land and the people. Item 1 Cor. 7:2: "To avoid fornication," that we may keep our bodies in sanctification. And the marriage state is pleasing to God, for St. Paul compares the church to a bride and bridegroom, Eph. 5:25 ff; therefore beware and take care not to look at 1) money and goods; 2) great lineage and nobility; 3) nor fornication. Ah, what can one say? Marriages preserve the human race, so that it remains for ever.

**55. what to consider in marriage.**

In marriage, consider these things: 1. God's commandment; 2. the Lord's confirmation; 3. Christ's worship; 4. the first blessing; 5. the promise made;

6. society and community; 7. the examples of the holy patriarchs and archfathers; 8. secular laws and order; 9. abundant benediction and blessings; 10. the examples of malediction; 11. St. Paul's preaching; 12. natural law; 13. the nature and manner of creation; 14. practice of faith and hope.

**56. praise of a pious woman.**

(This section contains the Proverbs of Solomon, Cap. 31. 10-31, somewhat modified and paraphrased).

**The woman is the wife of the house.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 18, 1538, p. 33.)

That evening Luther was at the wedding of Hans Luft's daughter. After supper he accompanied the bride to bed and told the bridegroom that he should keep to the common course and be the master of the house when the wife was not at home, and as a sign he took off his shoe and put it on the four-poster bed that he should keep the mastery.

**58. for what the marriage state is used.**

Before the fall of Adam, the marriage state was instituted for God's service, praise and glory, that the world might be fed by man: but after the fall, since our first parents transgressed God's commandments and sinned, and sin was grounded upon us, it was ordained as a remedy to control and ward off lust and fornication to some extent.

**59. praise of a good marriage state.**

(Cordatus No. 22.)

Of his Anirathac 1) he said he held her higher than the whole kingdom of France and the reign of Venice, first, because she was given to him by God as a good creature of God, and he, in turn, was also given to her; second, because he heard here and there of other women much greater faults than were found in her; third, was superfluous cause in her that one should love her, because she did not break marital fidelity; furthermore, that she was Mother

and one that would soon conceive and easily give birth 2c. If a husband often considered this, he would easily overcome the disunity that Satan usually caused among husbands. 1)

#### 60. virgin girl.

When a virgin who had thrown an iron was spoken of, and she was entrusted to another who took her for a virgin, Luther said, "This is called eating the cherries and hanging the basket from one's neck.

#### 61. Marriage is to be entered into with God.

In the marriage state these things are: 1. that one naturally desires the other, has lust and love for him; 2. begetting children; 3. attendance and faithfulness, that one keeps faith with the other; and yet the devil shall tear it so that nowhere is there greater hatred and enmity. This makes us raise all things out of presumption, without God's counsel.

But a God-fearing young man who wants to marry should talk to God first and say: O God, give grace to this. But this does not happen, all the masters are imprudent, they looked at great important things out of presumption and out of their own counsel. What shall our Lord God do in this? Let the man be false, who is almighty and a creator, who gives it all. Therefore, dear fellow, do as I did: when I wanted to take my wife, I asked our Lord God with earnestness. You do the same, you have never asked him seriously.

#### 62. marital status hostile and spiteful.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 14, 1538, p. 150 f.)

On October 14, one said of the fornication of the courtiers, who impudently asked for whores here and investigated in the houses. He answered: Oh, how the devil hates the connection between man and woman. What is permitted is unpleasant. We seek

1) This § is from the as yet unprinted ooll6ota 6x eolloH. of Veit Dietrich, x>. 69. In the margin Veit D. has added "Ooräatus sxserslpsit". (Cordatus has written this out.) (Wrampelmeyer.)

the forbidden. (Ovid. Amor. II, 19, 3. III, 4, 17.) This is the aim of all comedies, that marriage is abhorrent to men, but they seek fornication, and he who goes to the bath goes in a dream and is not wise. The superstition of celibacy has probably helped in this. St. Jerome wrote a book against Jovinian in a very tasteless way about widows who break the first faith, as if they were not allowed to marry, since the following text clearly insists on it (1 Tim. 5, 14.): "I want the young widows to be free." Likewise, what Paul says (1 Cor. 7, 1.): "It is good not to touch a woman." From this Jerome soon concludes: "So it is evil to marry. Since Paul says "evil" i.e. burdensome or troublesome; but he explains it: worthy of condemnation.

#### 63 The Concubinate of Princes.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 24, 1538, p. 120.)

Afterwards one spoke of the princes secret marriage, which would be a right marriage, but not confirmed with princely splendor, that the same children also would not have helmet and shield. And there seems to be a certain similarity with the side marriage of the patriarchs, who also begot children with other women, but they did not become heirs.

#### The world will soon tire of the marriage state.

When someone once wanted to excuse the wild and desolate life of the young journeymen with fornication at Luther's table, Luther answered and said: "They thus learn to despise the female sex, even to abuse the female images, if they were not created for this purpose. He then began to speak of the state of marriage, saying, "It is a great thing if a man can always love a maiden, for the devil seldom allows it: if they are apart, he cannot bear it; if they are together, he again cannot bear it. As it is said: Nec tecum vivere possum, nec sine te. That is why it is necessary to pray diligently. I have seen many pairs of married couples who were in such a passion that they wanted to devour each other for love, but after more than half a year they ran away from each other again. How

that also said to Lucas painter. It is true, it happens thus, the devil rushes together in illo ardore, that they cannot pray; primo ardent in Sexum, deinde frigent et oderunt. In a town near Wittenberg there was a couple of married people, as beautiful as one could hardly find in four "principalities": they also came together in such heat, but over a year she became a whore and hung on to the worst unfaithful, and he became a knave and hung on to the muddiest sacks, so that it was a disgrace. Why? One did not pray. The devil won the game. That's why my landlady in Eisenach said, when I went to school there, "There is no better thing on earth than a woman's love, to whom it may be given.

#### 65. unity between spouses.

It is a special great grace when the spouses are at ease, and such unity is the enemy of the devil.

#### 66. children of matrimony fruits.

(Contained in Cap. 5, § 19.)

#### 67. question. 1)

One of them asked D. M. Luther: If a young man marries an old woman who has passed away without children, is it a proper marriage? He answered: "Why not? but I would like the words of blessing in marriage to be left outside: Grow and multiply. But I do not like to make ceremonies and orders. For once begun, there is no end, and one always follows another, as has happened in the papacy.

#### 68 What discourages the marriage state.

The following deter people from marriage: 1. poverty; 2. age; 3. profession or status; 4. contempt and ridicule; 5. eternal alliance; 6. the evil ways of the spouse.

#### 69. children should not be prodded too hard.

One should not prod the children too hard; for my father prodded me, once so much that I fled him, and was grugged to him, until he accustomed me to him again.

1) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 219.

**The court shall decide whether matrimonial matters are to be judged and pronounced according to imperial and secular law.**

Christ, said Martin Luther, approves and confirms the authorities, Matth. 22, 21. Rom. 13, 1. ff. 1 Petr. 2, 13. 14.; therefore it follows that marriage, if the authorities allow or otherwise approve in certain degrees, which is not against God's word, is a true marriage.

#### Why Moses so diligently describes the marriages of the patriarchs.

The Holy Spirit knew well that the wickedness of human nature would abuse the female sex, namely for fornication, according to their lusts, not for marriage; therefore Moses also wrote so much and diligently in the first book about the marriage of the archfathers and the begetting of children, so that some holy monks also rebuked this, as if he had had nothing to write but about such female matters.

#### 72. good marriage. 2)

(Cordatus No. 450.)

A very great grace is to have a wife to whom one can entrust one's affairs, who is a mother of children 2c. Käthe, you have a pious husband who loves you; let another empress be, but you thank God.

#### 73. pious spouse.

A pious wife is a companion of life, a man's comfort; for it is written Proverbs 31:11: "A man's heart relies on her." And the good man (gold rooster) 3) shall thus be afflicted? I would run away!

In marriage there should be love and lust, because the sex of the person brings love: nevertheless the devil can tear it apart, so that all attractions and enticements are lost.

#### Marriage should be started with prayer, like all things.

To whom God gives a wife, He also gives to create, gives seed and children, even the

2) Another redaction of § 7 of this Cap. Cordatus No. 638.

3) Cf. p 9 of this Cap.

Thriving in addition. But we looked at everything without prayer, like the Dölze 1) his bill, and H. Metsch his wall building. As they lift it, so it goes out.

Whoever can love his wife, who is given to him by God, and again, a wife can love her husband, that is a great grace and gift of God.

#### 75. women wisdom.

(Cordatus No. 35 and No. 38.)

He laughed at the wisdom which his Catharina thought to have, [and said:] God created man with a broad chest and narrow hips, so that the seat of wisdom would be spacious with him, but the privy, where filth is expelled, he made small for him. This is just the opposite with the women, therefore the women have much uncleanness, but little wisdom.

Again he laughed at his Catharina because of her much talking and said: if she wanted to preach, would she send so many words ahead in prayer? But the women would either never preach, because they did not pray before the sermon, or God, tired by their long prayer, would prevent them from preaching.

#### 76) Women can talk well. 2)

(Cordatus No. 39.)

Women have by nature the art of speech which men must acquire with great difficulty, but this is true only in the home; in the worldly realm their art of speech is of no use. This is what men are made for, not women.

#### 77 Of the disobedience of women.

(Cordatus No. 96.)

If I had one more thing to do, I would hew an obedient woman out of a stone, otherwise I despaired of all women's disobedience.

#### 78 A strange, ghastly marriage hall.

(The same history is told again Cap. 18, § 2, and quite extensively in the interpretation of the 1st book of Moses. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. II, 1003 to 1006, §§ 48-50.)

#### 79 Whether one may take his brother's wife.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 10, 1538, p. 7.)

On that day and at that hour came Günther von Bonau, a sequestrator, who asked the doctor for advice about a marriage case, where a nobleman of his beheaded brother, Christoph von Drebschitz, 3) had impregnated his wife, left behind with three children, and desired her for marriage, but he had forfeited the prince's grace, and would be punished with death, if he was seized. He answered: "We cannot allow such a thing without violating God's word. It would be admitted to us by the pope, but with a curse on the conscience and on the body. I would rather that both parts repented, separated and surrendered to the punishment of the Elector, so I would ask for them and write to my gracious Lord.

#### 80. of a high person who left her spouse.

A princess left her lord and husband out of her own boldness and departed from him. If I (said D. M. Luther) had been in his place, I would not have seen through my fingers for so long, but would have forced her with dry strokes, according to the advice of her brother and all blood relatives.

It is a great disobedience that is full of annoyance. I told her enough in German until she became hostile to me about it. She gave me twenty articles, which I read through, and said to her: She should burn them and not let anyone see them, or she would lose honor and glory; and if there was anything in it, she should suffer it with patience as a Christian.

Finally I said: "Madam, you will not shut up all the people so that they do not speak evil of you; but they will also accuse you of being an adulteress. Even if you are pious in honor, the example is not unlike adultery.

1) Hans von Dolzig, Marshal of Saxony.

2) The same content is § 141 in this Cap.

3) Kummer p. 7 has Dobisch, with the marginal note: "has been judged at Schweynitz near Jessen 1533." Whether Draschwitz? (Seidemann.)

**81. by King Henry in England.**

(Contained in Cap. 45, § 46.)

**82. question: Whether a man, from whom his wife has run, may take another?**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 19, 1538, p. 116. The last paragraph p. 151.)

Sixth question. Whether a man whose wife had committed adultery, or had run away from him, could marry another during her lifetime, since the second marriage would not seem to be a marriage, but fornication and adultery. He answered: Paul, 1 Cor. 7, expressly answers that this second marriage is permitted, since he says (v. 15.): "But if the unbeliever divorces, let him divorce. The brother or sister is not bound in such cases" 2c. There he apparently allows another marriage. See the comments on this passage. Afterwards he told a case in Eisenach, where the woman did not want to live with her husband and often left without any reason; finally the man was allowed another marriage, but the guilty party was forbidden.

On October 15, a marriage case was brought forward: A groom had committed a fatal blow before the wedding and had fled to an unknown place. Was the bride free of him? He replied: it is a secular matter and he is civilly dead. If the defendant can be civilly reconciled, then marry her in the name of the Lord. 1)

**83. another case.**

(Lauterbach, Oct. 15, 1538, p. 151.)

Second case. A notorious adulteress finally took the household utensils and fled with her adulterer. He replied that she was to be summoned, the matter interrogated and then divorced. Such matters actually belong before the authorities, because marriage is a secular matter; with all its circumstances, it is none of the church's business, except as far as it is a case of conscience.

**84. question.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 10, 1538, p. 164.)

[To the question, if someone kidnapped a virgin whom he loved with her will, whether he sinned, since no wrong is done to the one who consents? he answered: The violent act of kidnapping is not to be referred to the person who consented, but to the will of the parents to whom the wrong is done.

**85. cause of divorce.**

In the presence of the ecclesiastics and chaplains at Wittenberg, a divorce of marriage was discussed before the visiting judges, namely in the following case: Ten years ago, a soldier, a warrior, had been put in prison because he had wounded someone severely: But he broke out of the tower, ran away, left his wife with a heavy body; after two years he had become the executioner's servant, and demanded his wife, crying, so he wanted to get the clothes and what she had from her, and kill the child. But since she would not go to him, they were both cited before the authorities. There she appeared; but he remained disobedient outside, and has not been seen in eight years, nor is it known where he is. Finally, the woman became a boy and gave birth to two children.

The husband was publicly cited, but did not appear. The woman brought a public confession from the people with whom she had served after the husband had left her. They gave her good testimony in their conscience that she had kept well, quietly and conscientiously with them, and knew nothing but everything good about her, except these cases. Finally M. Philip examined her, asked her about her conscience, and said: That the bond of marriage was indissoluble, which no man could nor should break; that she should report whether she had perhaps given the man cause to run away from her: she would be considered more guilty than the man, because of the adultery she had committed 2c. And let nothing be right with her, notwithstanding how innocent she was, saying, It is not so to jest with marriage: as it is written, Matt. 19:6, What God hath done is not so to be done.

1) This section is immediately followed by the following §.

Man shall not put asunder that which he hath joined together. See that you have and keep a good conscience. And when she was departed with her succor, the bargain was consulted. And Philip said, Because the man is such a fierce, wild man, and hath left her so long without cause, and hath become disobedient, but she is presumed innocent: lest she fall into greater sin and dishonor, I hold it that we acknowledge her free and undone; and asked the assessors, the other lords, and the diaconos for their objection. They all let them have it.

When the woman came in again with her witnesses, he, Philip, said to her, "See that your conscience is clear; but because you are considered innocent according to the testimony of the witnesses, we recognize and absolve you, not by our power and authority, but according to God's judgment and the saying of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7:15: "If the unbeliever divorces himself, let him divorce himself; the other, innocent part is not caught in such cases." Our Lord Jesus Christ preserve and keep you, amen. And they gave the woman a written testimony and farewell.

#### 86. from degrees.

M. Luther was asked: Whether Duke Moritz of Saxony's order of marriage, to be free in the third degree of unequal lineage, would be right and Christian? The doctor said: "As far as conscience is concerned, it is neither sin nor wrong before God, since Moses also allows the other degree. But nevertheless the inequality in goods and inheritance will cause confusion. For H[Duke] M[oritz] permits the nepotes, nephews, siblings, but the Elector permits the pronepotes, the other siblings, to marry each other: but in the Electorate, inheritance is not permitted in the third degree. H[erzog] Moritz and his husband are in the other degree as sibling-child.

#### Children shall be married with the prior knowledge and advice of their parents, and how far away.

In 1539, February 1, Luther had a lot to do with societies and letters, and said: "Today is a letter day, and we are going to have a letter day.

Unwillingness: these affairs (the matrimonial matters) secretly steal our time to study, to read, to preach, to write, and to pray; but I trust that the consistoria are arranged, primarily for the sake of the matrimonial matters. At that time, he also talked a lot with D. Basilio, that many, countless cases of marriage occur, which must be moderated and judged not from described rights and laws, but from the circumstances, according to equity and the concerns of pious, God-fearing, understanding people: because one finds many parents, especially stepfathers, who are not too green to their children, want to forbid them marriage, without any cause. The authorities and parish priests should look into this and help to promote marriage, even against the parents' will, according to the circumstances.

Summa, if they are young people, and love each other, which is the substance and the essence or reason of marriage, it should not be refused without great important causes; But we are to follow the example of Samsonis, and the children are to report it to the parents, especially now, in the time of the Gospel, when the marriage state is in great esteem and honor, not in such contempt and abhorrence as in the papacy, when one did not act according to equity, but according to laws, straight as they were prescribed; They were allowed to freely give the bride to one and take her away from the other, so that she had to be legitimate with the first one she did not have, and an adulteress with the other one she had. Therefore, in such cases one must look more to the conscience and consider the circumstances, according to equity and the knowledge of pious, godly and honorable, loving people, not according to sharp rules and laws.

#### 87. Children shall marry with the consent and advice of their parents, and how far.

Anno 1539, February 12, D. Basilius M[onner] asked D. M. Luthern for his concern: How one should deal with the secret betrothals, which were considered strong out of disobedience, without prior knowledge, advice and consent of the parents: whether one should tear them apart, or otherwise punish them in the body with imprisonment, or in the bag arbitrarily?



D. M. Luther answered and said: "The jurists and canonists in general are of the opinion that the substance and the essence of marriage is the bridegroom's and the bride's consent, but the parents' power and authority is only an accident, an incidental thing, without which the marriage can well be; therefore, the substance, the essence, should not be destroyed or resisted for the sake of the accident, incidental thing.

The same I know well, that consent is a substance and the foundation of marriage: for where there is neither love nor consent, there must be an unhappy marriage. I will easily allow you, and am content that the same substance remain, according to our opinion, be it sin as it may. But I beg you not to involve me in this business. If you want to punish such disobedient children with imprisonment for a week or four in the tower, and thus deter them, you will not achieve anything with it, for youth is so unbridled, impetuous and wild that it cannot be subdued nor governed with temporal punishment. A bachelor in heat may well consider himself in prison for a quarter of a year, if only he can use his will and have it. A good meal is worth hanging, they say.

I put the case that if the parents' authority is nullified and annulled in matrimonial matters, then anyone who burns with love will be free to do so without counsel, thoughtlessly, in such a fervor, and will not ask about the punishment of imprisonment that he must suffer. And if he would succeed finely: if one would desire his wife and blood friend, since they have betrothed themselves to each other by their mutual consent, it would have to be allowed and permitted.

But someone might say, "Such a betrothal with blood friends is not allowed, because it is also forbidden by law. Answer: If you want to dissolve the betrothal with blood friends according to human law, why should one not rather dissolve and annul secret betrothal according to divine law? according to the fourth commandment: Honor your father and your mother 2c. Which commandment is much more glorious, and far, far more

is preferable to all human rights, laws and orders.

Let us not make a joke of our parents' authority, power and obedience, which even the pagans have made a joke of: as St. Ambrose finely describes and highly praises the saying in the Greek poet Euripide, where the virgin says: "To betroth me, and to marry me myself, is not in my power, it has no authority, reason or right; but it is with my parents, with whom it may be sought, if and to whom they will give me, then I am satisfied 2c. Likewise also the holy Scripture says, Jer. 29, 6: "Take wives for your sons, and give husbands for your daughters" 2c.

Therefore, a young man who wins a pious, honest, God-fearing maiden in breeding and honor should report this to his parents if it is necessary for him, and say: Dear parents, I would like to have this maiden as my husband, if it is your advice and will; if not, it should be nothing, and I do not want to do it.

But that the lawyers pretend and put on the Canonem, and say: That the parents' authority, advice and will may well be there for the sake of honor, but not out of necessity, that it must be so: for the consent of those who want to become married to each other is the substance that is necessary; but the parents' will is an accident, an accidental thing that happens only for the sake of honor and honor, but does not make, nor prevent the marriage.

It is a godless canon, and the canonists' delusion against God is like an arbiter who walks along in the first heat and nonsense, not asking much about respectability. Thus the parents' authority, prestige, power and obedience fall to the ground, and young people are given room to do everything in their power, and the door and windows are opened to innumerable annoyances, which cannot be controlled or warded off by any laws.

Summa: If the parents' authority and power falls, neither the conscience nor the body can be advised or helped. So far I have held the trial that I may advise the conscience more than the body, by God's word and according to the order of divine right, and I conclude straightforwardly

And so, since you lawyers, by the power and authority want to make bad: to blame and condemn the other's of human rights, dissolve and annul the marriage in judgment and opinion; they think they want to do better. closer degrees, how much more can it be done by the As he says in Terentio: Me regem esse oportuit: I authority of God's command? Well, you will have to should be regent 2c. But if they were to rule once, they deal with it. If you despise this method and short way, would probably become aware of it. For such things are you will have innumerable cases: all of which cannot learned from books, but only from experience and easily be met and done, if the parents' authority, practice. If one takes it in hand and tries it in the power and obedience are preserved, so that a father regiment, then we see how God puts us in the has power to interfere. But I do not want to serve or regiment, who are nevertheless unfit for it. And every approve of those rude, disobedient parents who, for pious, righteous Christian learns from experience that the sake of their own enjoyment, want to prevent the he is unequal, unskilled and a fool for the profession in honest marriage of their children, as stepfathers, which God has placed him, that only God is wise, that guardians and others do.

His rights and designs are incomprehensible. As if God Before sexual intercourse, one should look wanted to say: You are guilty, and you should be diligently beforehand and consider carefully whether obedient to me, let me be God, and govern everything. it is to be done and permitted; what happens Thus, one should look only to His word and revealed afterwards, after sexual intercourse, must be allowed will.

to happen. For even if you recognize marriage as After that he said about the marriage case that strong and permit it before carnal intercourse, you will happened with David; and asked D. Martinus D. still have to deal with what has now been Basilium Monnerum, then his table companion: accomplished. God help you, I will let you do it, but do Whether the same case could be defended by the not involve me in it, or I will overthrow your human lawyers now? For thus it is written 1 Sam. 18, 17. ff: rights with God's right. God has created a male and a Since Saul had entrusted his eldest daughter Merob to female, who should and must be with each other as David, she was given to him by her will, according to He has ordained; that is, according to His will (which her father's authority and power, and a betrothal was He has given to the parents) they should come made, which is a true marriage, but before the marriage together and marry. These are terrible times, which she was given to another, namely to Adriel, by Saul. Is cannot be governed by laws.

this not adultery?

#### 89. marriage trap large and strange.

After that Saul gave David another daughter than Michal, who loved him, who confirmed the marriage

Among all the cases in the world, the marriage with David by sleeping together, attending and loving cases are the most and the greatest, as they are her; and yet Saul went to give Michal to another, innumerable, various and strange. For new and new namely Phalti, the son of Lai of Gallim, 1 Sam. 25, 44. errors occur every day, both before and after Is this not adultery enough, since David takes two intercourse, which cannot all be included in and with sisters, and after Saul's death he takes Michal to certain rules, but must be well considered and himself again, perhaps in the hope to get the kingdom considered according to equity and circumstances, of Israel through her? 2 Sam. 3, 14.

and judged and discussed according to All this is vain adultery in our ears and eyes, and knowledge of pious, honorable and God-fearing no jurist could judge the case 1) and the words. So on people, otherwise, and without that, it is impossible to advise and help all such cases. As some presumptuous, proud smart alecks and wiseacres might otherwise presume to do, who do everything

1) So Stangwald instead of: "could she in that case".

The cases occur in many innumerable ways, even in a single marriage; therefore, one may well have respect for them in the consistory. The pious king and prophet David undoubtedly had much great misfortune with these two wives, Saul's daughters. In his old age, he was entrusted with the maiden, the Sunamite woman, who warmed him and was never recognized by him, 1 Kings 1:2, 3.

Item: D. M. Luther asked D. Basilium: Whether a man who has a wife who is sick and infirm in all respects, so that no one can help her, and she is only a living carrion, as if she were dead, since he could not do without a wife because of rutting, should be allowed to take another wife. He answered and said: "The laws do not allow it easily, although some cases may occur in which they allow a man to have a concubine, a concubine and a concubine. But it happens rarely, and not without great important causes.

Then said D. M. Luther said, "This is dangerous, for if one were to admit and allow a marriage to be dissolved for the sake of extreme illness, and allow another to take its place, then many causes could be devised daily to break up the marriage.

#### 90. from the third degree.

A woman had two husbands in succession. From the first she had a son, from the other a daughter. This son desired to take a fine stepsister, who is related to him in the third degree: Is the question whether it is permissible? Thereupon spoke D. Luther said: "We have made this deal secret to the Elector. In the fourth degree we allow it, but in the third degree we do not want to admit it; not for the sake of conscience, but for the sake of the evil example among the stingy peasants, who would also take their next blood friend for the sake of good. If they were allowed the third degree, they would be accustomed to marry in the second degree. If there are enough virgins, why should they be left behind?

Moses commanded that the rich should take those who were nearest to them, so that the poor may not

remained seated. Therefore, David and Solomon had many wives for the sake of their poor next of kin blood friends, so that they would also be cared for and fed.

But now our miserly peasants, and those of the nobility, want to take their closest blood friends for the sake of good, since the poor, miserable butchers are not considered, nor provided for; therefore we forbid these degrees as political and secular, for the sake of necessity. But the pope has forbidden them out of pure hypocrisy, and for the sake of money he dispenses and allows it.

But if someone today wanted to take a poor maiden in the third degree out of mercy, we would allow it. As far as conscience is concerned, we would easily allow and permit the third degree, but not without a bad example and great annoyance. Otherwise there are enough virgins.

#### 91 Cognatio Spiritualis.

After that, he said of spiritual kinship and friendship, which is called "spousal relationship," to bring a child out of the baptism, which in the papacy prevents marriage: that is fool's work, because in that way one Christian should not take the other, because they are brothers and sisters among each other. It is the Pabst's money net. And he said that marriages, which are made for good, commonly bring and have malediction and cursing; for the rich wives are more whimsical, proud, obstinate and negligent, who consume more than they bring.

#### 92. admonition D. M. Luther's admonition to marry those who are weakened.

Anno 1539, April 11, Luther interrogated a marriage case in his house and tried whether he could reconcile bride and bridegroom so that the deal would not come before the Consistory: showed the bridegroom that he had held a public engagement with her, and had previously been imprisoned on suspicion of having committed fornication with her, and promised the council that he wanted to take her in marriage.

At last he said to him: "You crept to her secretly at night, not for the sake of prayer, and although you may not have weakened her, she is nevertheless suspicious and disreputable in the clamor that her wreath has withered. If you do not take her, you will have an evil conscience and no happiness. Beware, dear fellow, of an evil conscience; you do not yet know what kind of evil worm it is; it will gnaw and bite you all your life long, even if you become a richer and more honest free woman.

### 93. cause of divorce.

Doctor Martin Luther said: There are only two reasons to divorce a marriage: The first, adultery, should be tried and diligently done, so that they may be reconciled again, and the guilty party well scolded, and a good sharp text read.

The other cause: If one runs away from the other, and comes again, and runs away from him again. Such boys commonly have quandaries, who take wives in another place, after two years they come again, and when they have impregnated them, they run away again, without their will, one should lay their heads before their asses.

The laws forbid that a woman should not be free again in five or seven years, but this imperial right applies only to men of war. For at that time warfare was hereditary and not arbitrary, as it is now; that is, a father who was a man of war inherited it on his children, who often had to go to war against their will. Now the coarse asses, the canonists, want to put on the rights that are directed and given to other times and causes, and say: so it is written in the book; and do not look at this time, since both, the trade and the law have fallen, and are much changed.

They do not do otherwise, as if now a Justinianus and Roman emperor wanted to rule Constantinople according to our rights; or, if someone wanted to force with commandments, if the Elbe ran out at a place, and he wanted to stake and dam according to his opinion and prescribed laws elsewhere, wanted to be guided not by necessity and opportunity, but by the Scriptures and books.

### 94. question.

Whether a child born in the eleventh month is a legitimate legitimate child, whether it can also happen naturally? Answered D. M. Luther: I have had this case twice, that the woman gave birth to a child after the husband's departure in the eleventh month. It makes heavy thoughts, I could not believe it. Therefore, in such a case, amicable action must be taken, so that one can be persuaded with good words that, for the sake of our Lord God and peace, he, as a Christian, will refrain from something, and let him prevail, so that the wife will not be disgraced and dishonored, or at the least be held suspect for it. Rights have no place here. Just as if a man did not find his bride pure, a brat for a virgin; here one must only act kindly with good words, out of love, the law has nothing to do with it.

### How secretly or openly cohabitation makes a marriage.

It was said how his servant should have escaped, who was in the city shouting with a maid, as if he had slept with her: would have been lured by her into the house and irritated, since she also had a bad rumor; said D. Martinus. Martinus said, "Let him stay here, especially because it is still secret, and since he would have recognized her immediately if it had not happened in marriage, he is not bound; someone can still become a fool about it. If it is secret, they may get along secretly, but otherwise she must become a whore in public.

Therefore they shall confess it secretly. But if it is done in marriage, and she is impregnated, he must take her. Therefore, they should be advised: If it is done, let it be done; keep your consciences safe; but beware of evil examples and anger, so that we may live chastely and carefully. Not like the pope, who wanted to free and rid his priests of suspicion. If a priest was found alone with a woman in a suspicious place and was seized, one should remember and say: They would have prayed with each other. This teaching of the Pope requires great faith.

### 96 New heresy in the state of marriage.

It was thought of the marriage case that a new heresy arose, namely, that neither should demand the marital duty from the other, because it would be sin. Then said D. M. Luther said: "Satan brings innumerable errors into the world when we leave God's word and do not stand firm over it. Is it not shameful that one wants to sin here in God's order, since one otherwise sins with fornication, adultery 2c. unashamedly, without all shyness? And if St. Paul would not have warned this with clear, expressed words, then guilty friendship would also become sin, for he writes clearly in 1 Cor. 7:2: "For the sake of fornication let every man have his spouse," not only for the sake of the children. And v. 4, 5: "The woman is not powerful of her womb, but the man: the man is not powerful of his womb, but the woman. Do not deprive one of the other" 2c.

### The first step is to determine whether a parish priest should take care of the marriage.

When M. Luther was asked: What should the pastors do and how should they behave in marriage cases, whether they also want to express such unwillingness and effort? I advise all things, he said, that we do not take such a yoke and burden upon ourselves. First, because we have enough to do in our office. Secondly, marriage is none of the church's business; it is a temporal, secular thing apart from the church, and therefore belongs before the authorities. Thirdly, that such cases are innumerable, very high, wide and deep, and bring great vexation, which would bring shame and dishonor to the gospel. For I know how often we have been disgraced in this matter with our counsel, because we have allowed secret betrothals to prevent greater evil, that they kept it only secretly, lest an example be made of it, which the others followed.

But they deal with us unkindly, dragging us into such evil things: since it turns out badly, the blame must be ours. Therefore, let us leave this matter to the secular authorities and the lawyers, who will take it as their own.

If they do well, they are all the better for it; only the pastors should advise their consciences from God's Word, if it is necessary; but as far as disputes are concerned, we will let the lawyers and the Consistory fight it out and carry it out.

D. Christianus Beyer, Saxon chancellor, wanted to tell us theologians that we should hear and examine matrimonial matters, consider them, and await the judgment of the lawyers, who should then speak. I did not want to do that, but they should hear and wait for our verdict. Although M. Phil advised me and M. Cellario that we wanted to serve the poor torn church in such cases for a while.

### 98. of clandestine betrothals and how they are to be punished.

The secret engagements were thought of, which the jurists wanted to punish with expulsion, and in the Leipzig Synod it was decided that they should be expelled and disinherited. Then said D. M. Luther said: "I do not praise this, it is too coarse, the lawyers may defend it; but one should not look through the fingers of those who thus secretly betroth themselves.

### 99. from the words: de praesenti et de futuro.

Magister Johann Holstein raised a question: If two were engaged to each other *verbis de futuro*, as if I said: I will take you; whether it was to be understood by the future? Then spoke D. M. Luther: These are words that are to be understood from the present; for the word *volo*, I will, means and indicates a present will; indeed, all conditional vows and promises are to be understood from the present, when the condition is taken away and ceases, as when a companion says to the matzo: Over two years, when I now come again, I will take you. These words are to be understood by the present; for when he comes again, he is obliged to take them, and it is not in his power that he may change his mind and will in the two years. If the future and' secret engagements were forbidden, and not allowed, so that they should not be valid at all, but

If the law were to be dead and ineffective, many evils would be prevented and would occur, and you lawyers would have enough to do with matrimonial matters, since the cases are innumerable.

D. M. Luther complained very much about his sister's son's disobedience and hurt him that he had engaged himself without the advice of his friendship; therefore he said: I will write a strong letter to the virgins' parents.

#### **100. Whether one spouse should divorce the other for the sake of religion?**

In response, Martin Luther said, "No, because secular and political ties are not severed for the sake of religion.

One of them ran away from his wife because he had committed theft. The woman was put in prison, and since she said she knew nothing about it, she was released from prison by the request of pious people, and soon went to another country and married another man there. Now the question is: Whether it is also a proper marriage, and if the man who took her gets an evil conscience about it, how he should be advised and comforted? Luther answered and said: "If the woman could have followed the man, whether he is a thief or not, she should have done so; but because the man ran away from her, she is excused for having married another, and he who took her may well have a good conscience.

#### **101 D. M. Luther's concern when one spouse runs from the other.**

If a woman runs away from her husband and stays outside for a year, he should not take her again, because a woman must stay with her husband, should not run to and fro after fornication, and leave her husband's children sitting on his neck; the same is also true of a man. That would be my concern.

If a fornicator is advised 1) to take a wife in marriage, and the father is against it, he will not confess it; then I, D. Martinus, say: The father should use his paternal authority according to Christian love.

Why has he not raised and governed his son differently, so that he would not have become a whore hunter?

#### **102. of three divine estates.**

Three kinds of estates are ordered by God, in which one may be with God and a good conscience. The first is the household; the second is the political and temporal government; the third is the church or priesthood, according to the three persons of the Trinity. First, you must be in the household, either a father or mother, child, servant or maid. Secondly, in a city or country, a citizen and subject, or an authority. For God created mankind to be friendly and peaceful, to live together in discipline and honor. Third, that you be in the church, either a priest, chaplain, churchman, or other servant of the same, if only you have or hear God's word.

Therefore I pray you, that after my death you will be most diligent and strict about the marriage state, that it may be left free, both laymen and priests, and everyone who is skilled, has desire and love, so that there may not be monasticism again; for God created male and female to be with each other 2c. And says: "What God has joined together, let not man put asunder", Matth. 19, 6. And yet the papists say: the marriage of priests is not right.

#### **103. common life is the safest.**

(Contained in Cap. 4, § 47.)

#### **104. difference between marriage and fornication.**

Marriage and fornication are so similar to each other as far as the work is concerned that they can hardly be distinguished; for intercourse is one and the same, begetting children is one and the same: only they are distinguished in that in marriage is God's word and ordinance or order. For God has ordained and blessed marriage, but fornication has neither God's word nor ordinance.

1) See Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, Col. 812 f. I, it. ä.

God has forbidden it, maledicted it and condemned it. Also, people feel God's blessing in marriage; as the common saying goes, "If only a pious man takes a pious maid, they will be well fed.

### 105. stepchildren.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 14, 1538, p. 166.)

It was said that marriages are dangerous and unhappy where there are stepchildren. Luther said: Stepchildren 2c. Yes, if the mother or father is pious, it must suffer.

### 10b. The Pabst's punishment of those who have broken the marriage.

The punishment so that the pope has condemned the part of married couples who have transgressed is evil and unjust, namely, that the man who has broken the marriage should not demand the owed marriage duty, but perform it, because thereby cause is given to fornication. I would not have them bear the punishment with a stain of shame, that they should be given only water and bread; or the like.

### The following is a list of the laws that apply to matrimonial matters.

Doctor Martin Luther was asked: To whom do matrimonial matters belong, and by what laws should they be judged and decided? Then he said: I think that they belong before the lawyers; for if they judge and pass sentence on father, mother, children, servants, etc., why should they not also judge the life of the married couple?

But that they pretend that one should not judge and speak according to imperial laws in marriage matters, because it is written Matth. 19, 6: "What God has joined together, let not man put asunder" 2c. Know that when the emperor and the authorities in their laws and ordinances divorce marriage, it is not a man who divorces it, but God. For "man" here means a common private citizen who is not in government office. So also God says: You shall not kill; there he bequeaths it, not to the authorities, but to common people, to whom the sword is not commanded.

In such cases, when my conscience was troubled, I have often counseled according to the Gospel, and admonished such persons that they should not reveal such my judgment or misgivings, nor make them reproachable. And I said: Seal it; if you cannot keep it secret, then bear your danger: publicly I will not judge and sentence you in this way, because I have no execution.

But the saying: "What God has put together" 2c., has the meaning and the opinion that the word God does not mean God in heaven, but His word, namely, to be obedient to the parents and the authorities. What else should God be? God does not put together what is done without the will and consent of the parents. And what I command my daughter and call her, she commands and calls God. If there are no parents, then the closest blood friends are in their place. Therefore, in this saying, God is called God's Word.

Now, if my daughter is free without my will, and is secretly betrothed without my knowledge, such a betrothal divorces God: and if she knows my will, she knows God's will. For God has said it. What you humans do to them, God does to them. As is seen in many sayings in the Scriptures; as when Christ in Matthew said to the Pharisees Matt. 19:4, 5: "Have ye not read, that he which made man in the beginning made man to be male and female, saying, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the two shall be one flesh" 2c.? since Adam said: "For the authority of the parents is a divinity, because they sit here in the place of God, as his governors; as also the authority. But the world calls God happiness, when they say that God has put together; that is, the fury and the mad fury of love.

### 108: Whether the appearance separates the marriage, D. Martin Luther's concerns to Joachim von Weissbach to Reinersdorf.

(This § is Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 220, no. 208; and vol. X, 964. In the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 812.)

**109 D. Martin Luther's concern, since one impregnated a maid.**

(This § is Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, col. 812 f.)

**110. whether one may take his deceased cousin's wife in marriage, D. Martin Luther's Concerns to U. Spalatinum.**

(This 8, a letter of Luther to Spalatin, Latin in De Wette, III, 554, German, VI, 114, will soon be printed in our St. Louis edition in the XXI part).

**111: The Consistorii of Wittenberg's ruling in a marriage case in which a farmer impregnated his deceased wife's sister and then took her in marriage.**

1) Our kind services before. Honorable special good friend! We have received your angry case, namely that a farmer's husband impregnated his deceased wife's right biological sister, and subsequently took her in marriage on the instructions of the priest, who is also now to lie with the child in weeks. Since our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony and Burgrave of Magdeburg, has ordered you to be informed of this, especially with regard to the penalty in the law, we, as the ecclesiastical judges, report, after the advice of the theologians, after consideration of the case, that the marriage in this first degree is neither permissible nor to be tolerated. Therefore, such matrimony is declared unlawful, and such persons are to be confiscated from each other, also for the sake of their practiced fornication and for the disgust of others, and arbitrarily imprisoned for several weeks, and the child produced is to be fed and nourished by both parents. Because the priest there, without advice and instruction from his proper authorities and ecclesiastical superintendents, has contracted and indulged in the marriage to such a forbidden degree, the punishment of imprisonment shall be imposed on him for eight days. Rightfully, by right.

**112. of secret betrothals, and of parental violence.**

Secret engagements, said D. Martinus, should not be valid at all; although our lawyers would have liked to preserve them. Parents, however, should not force children to take those they do not want; and again, they should allow and permit them to be free, and help them to do so, if they are manly and mature, and should not prevent them from taking children of honest people, if the persons have a desire for each other. We once gave two together here against the parents' will, but she was poor and would have gladly taken him; but the father would not, for he said he must have them in the house; so I said to him, "There are many maids here, so you may rent one. And I gave them together in the name of God.

**113. of degrees in matrimonial matters.**

When M. Luther was asked: In which degree would one take the other? he answered and said: In the fourth degree one may take the other, since they have not otherwise recognized themselves in the flesh; for since this has happened, the third degree must be allowed, in which it is also allowed to great lords. But for the sake of the peasants it should remain in the fourth degree: for they would soon imitate it and make an example of it. Therefore, the third degree should not be permitted to them.

Sibling children are in the other degree than Isaac and Rebekah. From the person who is furthest away, one counts the degree; namely, if I am in the fourth degree, I may well take one who is related to me in the third or other degree and is a friend.

I believe that the apostles had not so much to trouble as we preachers have now: for the Jews had their certain term and measure, how far they should free; but the wicked merchants trouble us much. I also do not believe that there is anything in law that is more unpleasant than marriage matters. That is why the bishops have not studied anything, because they have been so overwhelmed and burdened with affairs; therefore it is good that we have established a consistory.

1) Cf. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 704 f.



**The following is a summary of the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure.**

It was asked whether the guardians had the same power in matrimonial matters as the parents? Then said D. M. Luther: No, because the guardians are not the flesh and blood of their wards, and they do not increase the property, but should only preserve it. The closest blood friends, as brothers, cousins 2c., should be preferred to the guardians and they should be consulted. However, this should be done, the guardians should be welcomed; if they do not want to marry honestly, their authority and power are no longer valid. If the marriage is lawful, they shall allow it to take place and shall not hinder or oppose it, if they have not been welcomed before.

**115. question.**

One should not burden oneself with other people's sins or make oneself a part of them: everyone has enough to do with his own sins. So I did not want, said D. M. Luther, Abwesens D. Pommers, the parish priest, D. Hieronymo Schürf the sacrament, 1) because he did not want to take it from the other chaplains, because they had had two wives after each other, which is not so great as when a monk takes a nun in marriage. But it is vain wickedness with the people.

Then he said, when he was asked, "Whether a priest could in good conscience give in marriage those who had engaged themselves to each other without and against the knowledge and will of their parents, which the jurists recognized and confirmed as right? To which D. Martinus said, "He should not do it in any way, since he does not consider it to be a marriage, and so he has taught it publicly. He let the jurists give together, who have recognized the betrothal for right.

**116. from running away.**

We, said D. M. Luther, we hold it thus: If a man or woman run away from each other, we do not wait more than a year, if he or she has a good testimony. But one shall

1) Cf. cap. 19, z 12.

In this, also look at the circumstances well and consider", that is to be done well with us. No divorced or divorced person comes back into the country, because my most gracious lord keeps a hard and firm hold on it, and that must be so. If we do not have the person, especially if we know for certain the place where he is, and he does not want to compare and appear, then we proceed and continue. And that one does not allow secret engagements, we have helped many consciences with that.

**117: A strange case and D. M. Luther's concerns about it. M. Luther's concerns about it.**

There was a schoolmaster at Frankfurt on the Oder, a learned, godly man, who had turned his heart to theology and preached several times to the great amazement of the audience. But his wife, who had a hopeful spirit and courage, would by no means agree that he should accept it, saying that she did not want a priest. Then the question was asked badly what the good man should do, whether he should leave his wife or the preaching ministry.

Hereupon first said D. M. Luther in jest and laughter: If he has taken a wife, as you say, then he must do as she wishes. Soon after that he said, "If there were a right authority, it could force the widow, because the woman is obliged to follow the man, and not the man the woman. It must be a wicked woman, yes, a devil, that she is ashamed of the preaching ministry, in which the Lord Christ and the dear angels have been. This is what the devil seeks, that he would gladly defile and blaspheme the office of preaching.

I would speak to her if she were My wife: If you want to follow me, say soon, no or yes. If she said, "No," I would soon take another and let her go. It is because the authorities are not there with the execution, and do not stop over the preaching ministry.

**The Pabst's excuse why he forbids the marriage state.**

The pope, said D. M. Luther, "He has renounced the married state, and at the same time wants to apologize for it.

He pretends that he does not forbid it, because he says, "I do not force anyone to become spiritual," and therefore he thinks that he does not forbid them to marry. Yes, it follows publicly and irrefutably: since he forbids marriage to the state, which we cannot do without, he also forbids it to the persons who enter into it.

(The following at Cordatus No. 1160.)

If a person has a concubinam and cannot validly marry her in public, then they are still rightful spouses before God if they have given each other the marriage vow [votum]; however, there is an annoyance in this.

**119 D. M. Luther's Concerns about Divorcing for the Sake of Running Away: Whether the Innocent may again free, to a church servant at N.**

(Letter to the preacher Simon Wolferinus at Eisleben. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1614, no. 8. De Wette V, 686. This letter will be printed in its entirety in the XXI volume, because the beginning is missing in the X volume. Volume is missing).

**120. question.**

(This concern is in Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 1222, No. 791, § 2.)

**121. another case.**

(This concern is in Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1229, no. 797.)

**122 D. M. Luther's Citation in Matrimonial Matters.**

(This citation already communicated in our St. Louis edition, Walch X, Col. 746 f.). Dit. L)

**Another citation of D. M. Luther.**

(This citation to Hans Schwalb, June 22, 1538, at De Wette VI, 200. will be printed in the XXI volume of our edition).

**124 D. M. Luther's Concerns about Common Women's Houses, to D. Hieronhmm Weller.**

This § is Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1306, no. 858).

**As one has lived, so shall he fare.**

(Cordatus No. 1650.)

Even if a fornicator takes a respectable wife, he will still have enough to deal with, for God avenges fornication. He does not give [for this reason] that you say: A wife is necessary to me, a wife I will take; a paternoster must first be taken for help, and not only because of need, but also for companionship in life one should take a wife. And because of chastity [i.e. ability to remain celibate] this is my judgment, that he who has this gift from God must be completely free from all rivers 2c.

**126. question.**

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 63.)

**127th Women's Regiment.**

(Cordatus No. 1079, 1080.)

My wife can persuade me as often as she pleases, for she alone has all the rule in her hand. I gladly concede to her the entire rule in the household, but I also want to have my right inviolate and complete, and women's regimentation has never done any good.

God made Adam the lord of all creatures, but when Eve persuaded him that he should also be lord over God, she corrupted everything. This is what we have to thank you women for, when you lure men with cunning and deceit.

**128. women.**

(Contained in Cap. 43, 859.)

**129.. Love between spouses.**

It is the highest grace of God when married couples love each other warmly, always for and for. The first love is fruitful and fierce, so that we may be blinded and go up like drunkards: then, when we have slept off the drunkenness, righteous love remains in the godly, but the wicked have remorse.

**130: Of made love through little drinks.**

(Lauterbach, July 21, 1538, p. 101.)

D. Jonas and D. Balthasar (Loi) told a marriage case, how someone had loved a girl in Leipzig fiercely and promised her marriage, but finally it was found out that she had given him a love potion, that she had made love to him, and after that, when he had been set right by another woman, his love for her had ceased. Then Luther said angrily: "Why do you tempt me in this quite obvious matter? The verdict is this, that he should marry her, or clearly show his authorities the circumstances that he has been deceived by the love potion. If we allowed the excuse, everyone would justify himself if he was sorry. Ah, one should not thus joke with these things. If someone feels like a man, let him marry and not tempt God. That is why the maiden has her way, so that she may give him the medicine and not cause defilement and adultery. After that, he lamented the horrible defilements in the monasteries, with which the brothers were attacked almost every night, so that they did not dare to celebrate mass the next day. But since such a large number of masses, which had been imposed and assigned to us, were missed because of our excuses, the prior came out with it publicly and allowed that everyone could and should say mass, even if he had had pollutions. For the sake of the shameful pollutions, all monasteries and convents should be destroyed, where idle people are fattened in good living and are daily stimulated only to these impurities by intoxication and indolence. Dear God, protect us from this abomination and let us remain in the holy state of marriage, where you are lenient with our weakness.

**God holds above the marriage state.**

When M. Luther was asked by some preachers about a case in marriage, he said: "That marriage is governed and preserved by God, we see publicly. For although the rights, both divine and human, of the authorities and ecclesiastics are earnestly

We see, however, that the courts and consistory are nowhere diligently appointed in marriage cases: for secular authorities do not punish adultery, indeed, they strengthen it, do not now help pious, faithful, Christian pastors, as they ought to do. Therefore, if God did not govern and preserve the marriage state, there would be endless devastation and disruption. And here one should ask God to protect and preserve His gifts, the marriage state, discipline, respectability, church, secular and domestic government. He will undoubtedly do this for the sake of His dear Son, our Lord Christ.

But in the case of which you have written to me, you have our clear, simple and Christian answer; namely: That it is the duty of the priests to counsel the consciences of poor Christians. Therefore, if Jacob is a pious, God-fearing man, judge freely, if you are well informed of the matter. And we wish and would like the council to help you, and to keep your judgment and knowledge, discipline and honesty seriously.

**132. that the holy fathers in the church also had carnal desires, which is why they called the Cölibatum should avoid and flee lonely life.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 24, 1538, p. 41. The second paragraph is another redaction of Cap. 24, § 7, and therefore omitted here; likewise the last 6 lines of this same).

After that he said a lot about the tyranny of the celibate life, how great a burden it would have been. Augustine, when he was already very old, complained about nocturnal defilement. Jerome in anguish beat his heart with stones, but he could not beat the virgin out of his heart. Franciscus made snowballs. Benedictus lay down in the thorns. Bernard tore himself to pieces and tortured his body in such a way that it stank horribly. I believe indeed that also virgins have temptations and rutting, but if there are also rivers and pollutions, it is no longer the gift of virginity. There is from God the remedy of marriage given and to be taken. There have been such high people in it than we are. Peter had a

Mother-in-law, therefore also a woman. Likewise John, the brother of the Lord, and all the apostles were married, except John. Paul counts himself among the unmarried and widowed, but it seems that he was married in his youth, according to the custom of the Jews. Spiridion, bishop of Cyprus, was married. Bishop Hilarius had a wife, because from his exile he wrote letters to his little daughter that she should be obedient and learn to pray; he was with a rich man, who told him that if his little daughter would be pious, he would bring her a golden skirt. So childlike he writes to his little daughter. I am surprised that the holy fathers had to struggle so hard with these youthful temptations and did not feel the high [spiritual] temptations in such great offices.

### 133rd Treasurer.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1101.)

Eunuchs have more rut than all, because the desire does not pass by the cutting, but the ability. I would rather put on two pairs than cut out one. He said this on the occasion when a Waldensian had cut himself as a young man, but about which he grieved as an old man.

Phil. Mel. said: That in Greece fornication had become so great and prevalent that celibacy, living without marriage, and virginity had been so highly exalted and vowed. Then said D. M. Luther: Terentius is very chaste in these things, he still wants to have the married state. Philip said, "Yes, Doctor, he also insists on marriage, and does not want anyone to be a virgin and free from weakness, just like Moses.

### 134. you can't do without women.

Without sin, said D. M. Luther, one cannot do without wives, one must have them. Marriage, however, is God's order and creature; therefore it is not the devil's permission if a man loves a pious maiden with honor and desires to marry her. Satan is the enemy of the state, therefore dare it in the name of the Lord, on his blessing and creation, if it is necessary for you.

### The marriage state is necessary, 1)

(Contained in Cap. 43, §17.)

### 136. D. M. Luther's prayer for his marriage state.

Dear heavenly Father, since you have placed me in the honor of your name and office, and have also called me Father and honored me, grant me grace and bless me to govern and nurture my dear wife, child and servants in a godly and Christian manner. Give me wisdom and strength to govern and educate them well; give them also a good heart and will to follow your teaching and to be obedient, amen.

### 137. children bind the marriage.

(Contained in Cap. 5, §19.)

### 138. despisers of marriage.

The wellspring of all fornication and immorality in the papacy is, said D. M. Luther, that they condemn marriage, the most holy state. M. Luther, that they condemn marriage, the most holy estate. For all who despise the marriage state must fall into shameful, abominable fornication, even so that they "change the natural custom into the unnatural custom," as St. Paul says Rom. 1:26, because they despise God's order and creature, that is, the woman. For God created woman to be with man, to bear children and to manage the household. Therefore they take their deserved wages cheaply, despising marriage. And, as St. Paul says, they received the reward, as it should be and is due because of their error, in their own bodies.

Therefore, I wish that such despisers of divine order would become serpents and basilisks out of men and die with them. Therefore, good to him who likes the marriage state. It is indeed sinful for commit fornication with a woman or to weaken virgins, as far as his own work is concerned; and it is natural and human, since man is corrupted by original sin. But to believe that marriage is instituted by God is an article of faith.

1) Similar content Cap. 43, § 13.

I have taken a wife, also for the reason that I could to the window and jumped out to the castle, so that defy the devil, to the shame of fornication in the she remained dead. Now there is a dispute and the papacy: and if I had none, then I wanted to take one question is asked, "May she also be pardoned? now at my age, even if I knew that I could not beget Luther answered and said: She hated, it should have children with her; only in honor of marriage, and in won a better outcome, and not have turned out that contempt and shame of the shameful fornication and way: she would not have done it to strangle herself whoredom in the papacy, which is very great and and put to death, but meant, she wanted to get away horrible. Pope Leo remained dead, because he had to with it, and to have saved her chastity and virginity do with a boy, and died over it. O the abominable thereby. It is thought that it was the king of Fr. disgrace of the Most Holy Father.

### 139. wicked woman.

(Contained in Cap. 37, § 148.)

### The parents love against the children.

(Contained in Cap. 3, § 60.)

### 141. women's office, for which they are ordained.

Women, said D. Martin Luther, they speak of housekeeping well, 1) as masters, with sweetness and gentleness of voice, and so that they surpass Ciceronem, the most eloquent orator: and what they cannot accomplish with eloquence, they attain with weeping. And to such eloquence they are born, for they are much more eloquent and skilful by nature in dealings than we men who attain it by long experience, practice and study. But when they speak outside the home, they are useless. For though they have words enough, yet they lack and are deficient in things than which they do not understand; therefore they also speak of them in a slovenly, disorderly, and desolate manner beyond measure. Therefore it appears that the woman is created for housekeeping, but the man for police, secular government, for wars and judicial affairs, which have to be administered and led.

### 142. an example of female chastity.

A virgin, when she was forcibly led by her mother to the king's son for a loose woman and a whore, she posed as if she wanted to prepare herself for trade, went

1) The same content is § 76 in this Cap.

### The first of these is a book on the subject.

Since there was talk and discussion about miraculous, strange, tremendous births that sometimes come from women, Martin Luther said about a woman who had given birth to a child like a rat mouse, who had run around and wanted to crawl into a mouse hole under the bench. Luther said: "This is an argument and an indication that strong thoughts and the powers of the mind and spirit are so great and powerful that they can also change and transform bodies.

But one said he could not believe it; yes, said D. M. Luther, you do not yet know what the powers of the mind are. And when one asked whether such monsters should also be baptized, he said, "No, for I consider them to be unreasonable animals that have nothing but life and can move and move like other beasts. When another asked, "Do they also have a soul?" he said, "I do not know, I have not asked God about it.

### 144 Diligent study drives away looting.

Henningi's syllogism and final speech was this: It is not possible, who studies diligently, who must be pious. With this, said D. M. Luther, he wanted to indicate that righteous students do not run after women nor stain themselves with fornication.

### Fornication follows false teaching.

All false doctrine is tainted with fornication and whoredom, said D. M. Luther. For what were the pilgrimages in the papacy an-

What else does the pope do, but that whores and boys could come together there? What else does the pope do, but that he defiles himself with fornication without ceasing? The pilgrimages have been the most fornicated. There one looked for fine situated oerter, beautiful funny mountains, green trees, Brunrien, water, woods 2c.; there one found together.

The pagans have held marriage much more honestly than the pope and Turk. The pope is hostile to marriage, the Turk despises it. But it is the devil's habit to be hostile to God's works. What God holds dear, as the church, marriage, the police, he is hostile to. He would like to have fornication and discord; for if he has these, he knows well that people will no longer ask much about God.

#### 146. what the marriage state is based on.

What the marriage state is, one must see and learn from the epistles of St. Paul, not from the Gospel, for the latter says little about it. Marriage is best confirmed and established in the seventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, which some, especially the monks, think is against marriage.

#### 147: Why the pope is beating up on marriage.

Licentiate Amsdorf came to me once in the beginning of this matter, spoke D. M. Luther, and said a fine speech, which I have kept because of him, for he is a faithful man, and dear to me; namely, he said: Why does the pope give chastity, and forbid marriage? for fornication and adultery is forbidden before.

#### 148. the first love in the marriage state the fiercest.

(Contained in Cap. 4, § 2.)

#### 149 Marital relationship.

There is no lovelier, friendlier, nor more blissful kinship, communion, and companionship than a good marriage, when husband and wife live with each other in peace and unity. Again, there is nothing more bitter, more painful, than when the bond is broken, separated and divorced: after which, when the children die, it is death; which I have tried and experienced.

**Believing that marriage is God's order and creature is a strange thing.**

(Contained in Cap. 4, § 22.)

#### 151 Cause why a pious woman should be favorably loved.

(Contained in Cap. 43, § 59.)

#### 152 De clandestinis Sponsalibus.

The canonists say, said D. M. Luther: Sufficit consensus. This is probably in the text, but is not desiniret: Quid aut qualis. The text speaks relative, also de publico consensu et pactione sponsaliorum, et quando hoc fit cum aliqua solennitate. How do they want to prove that he speaks de privato consensu?

It would be quite necessary in causis matrimonialibus, that now and would be heroicissimi and sapientis-simi determinatores. Otherwise, the world would be full of sophistry, fraudes and doli.

#### Women and virgins are to be honored, not defiled.

Doctor M. Luther said of those who wrote invectives and defamatory notes and wrote against women and virgins that they would not go unpunished. For according to imperial law, such would be worthy to be beheaded, for they disgraced other people: if one of the nobility did so, he would certainly not be a nobleman by nature and kind, but a bastard, who was struck from the kind of honest nobility, who asked neither for mother nor sisters, and disgraced them. For he who reviles priests and virgins is sure to be disgraced.

Women and virgins, though they have defects and faults, are not to be reviled publicly, neither in words nor in writings, but are to be punished in secret. There is much infirmity in women; therefore St. Peter says from God's mouth that there is a weak instrument in the female sex. 1 Petr. 3, 7.

Then he turned and said, "Let us talk about other things.

#### 154: Luther's public exhortation and serious admonition against fornication, addressed to the students at Wittenberg.

(This scripture is included in our St. Louis edition Walch, Vol. X, Col. 686 f.).

### The children should be brought up with reason.

Doctor M. Luther said: If children are bad, do harm and mischievousness, so they should be punished, especially if they learn to exchange and steal; however, one must also keep a measure and *ἰμειχλια* in the punishment: because what *puerilia* are, as cherries, apples, pears, nuts, one must not punish so, as if they wanted to attack money, skirt and box; then it is time to punish seriously. My parents kept me very hard, 1) that I also became very shy about it. My mother once pushed me for a small nut, so that the blood flowed afterwards; and their seriousness and strict life, which they led with me, caused me to run away to a monastery and become a monk; but they meant it very well. Sed non poterant discernere ingenia, secundum quae essent temperandae correctiones. Quia,, one must thus punish, that the apple is with the rod.

It is an evil thing, if for the sake of the hard punishment children become grudging to their parents, or pupils are hostile to their preceptoribus 2). For many unskilled schoolmasters spoil fine ingenia with their rumbling, storming, striking and beating, if they do not deal with children in any other way than as an executioner or cane-master with a thief. The lupizettel; item, the examina, legor, legeris, legere, legitur, cujus partis orationis, these have been the children's carnificinae. Once before noon at school, I was struck off fifteen times in a row. Quodlibet Regimen debet observare discrimen ingeniorum, one must push and punish children, but at the same time one should also love them; as St. Paul also teaches to Colossians in the third chapter, v. 21, where he says: "Fathers, do not quarrel with your children, so that they do not become fainthearted"; and to Ephesians in the 6th chapter, v. 4, V. 4: "Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, but bring them up in the discipline and admonition of the Lord."

1) Cf. cap. 43, § 69.

2) Cf. Cap. 67, § 1.

### The blessing of D. Luther over a child.

(Cordatus No. 1081.)

Go to sleep, dear child, and only be pious. I will not leave you money, but I will leave you a rich God. Only be pious.

**157 A Latin, so D. M. Luther ordered his children to learn. M. Luther commanded his children to learn, so that they might fear God.**

Memento Dei Creatoris tui in diebus juventutis tuae. And is this the opinion:

Dear child, gladly hear God's word And your parents' warning and command, Because you are fresh and young.

That is eternally healthy for you here and there.

Item, D. M. Luther once said over the table that a father had admonished his children to study diligently, and had recited these two verses to them, which they should well remember, namely:

Dear child, learn well and you will be full of good chickens.

But if thou learnest evil, thou must eat with the sows out of the vat.

### 158. paternal care of the children.

(Composed of Cap. 3, § 60, and Cap. 49, § 3, first paragraph.)

#### The marriage state is mocked by betting people.

Doctor M. Luther said about tables in 1540 that the world was now becoming so godless that many people did not consider fornication and adultery to be sins. Therefore the bishop of Lünden said to M. Philipp Melancthon: "I am very surprised that you are so insistent on the marriage state, when all other nations mock you about it. And said D. M. Luther: "So it is, we must be Lot, whose soul was tormented day and night in Sodom. We must allow ourselves and our matrimony to be mocked, when we have gloriously emphasized and praised it with our sermons, writings and examples. But there is an epicurism in the German country, which comes from Italy, and we Germans are even being led astray by it.

one. And such epicurism rules in Turkey, too, that no one asks anything about the marriage state, but everyone takes as many wives as he wants, pushes them away and then drives them away again, or sells them and swaps horses with the wives, because they do not know what the marriage state is. But we have helped the marriage state back on its feet with our books.

I am very much afraid that in twenty years all good books will be banned, that none of them will be remembered in the pulpit, and that only pious hearts will keep the pure teaching of the divine word. Our dear Lord Jesus Christ help us, he alone is honest and takes care of us; the others mock us, as they mocked Noah before the flood when he built the ark, and as the Sodomites mocked Lot, and they mocked the prophet Isaiah with outstretched tongues. In the same way, Annas and Caiphas considered Christ's teaching to be a mockery, just as our Moguntinus] still ridicules our teaching, knowing full well that it is the word of God. Well, we must pray, God will find the mockers, veniens venie with the punishment, et non tardabit.

#### 160 On Adultery. Two kinds of adultery.

Doctor M. Luther once said that there are two kinds of adultery: The first is spiritual, before God, where one desires another's wife or husband, Matth. 5, 28. No one escapes from this. The other is physical, as John 8:4, a woman in public adultery. Such is a shameful vice, but yet it is regarded in the world as an honor. And a good man once said to me, "I would not have thought that adultery was such a great sin, for it is a sin against God, against the government of the land, the city and the house, and an adulteress brings a strange heir into the house, and deceives the husband.

#### 161. cause of adultery.

When one at Wittenberg had broken the marriage, there asked D. M. Luther's housewife

1) D. i. the Mainzer, Cardinal Albrecht of Mainz.

the doctor and said, "My dear sir, how can people be so wicked and stain themselves with such sins? Then he answered and said, "Yes, dear Käthe, people do not pray, so the devil is not idle; therefore we should always pray against the devil of whores: Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

And said further to his table companions: I consider that if God had commanded that a woman should admit whoever came; and again, a man who came; then one would have grown tired of the lewd life very soon, and would have sighed very hard for the married state. For: Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata. Item: Quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet, acrius urit.

I am not surprised about a young journeyman, because where fire and straw lie next to each other, it is very soon ignited; item: Children are children, if you bring it so close to them. But I praise M. Philippi M. blood friends one, whom he admonished to beware of fornication; then he said, I will take me a wife, then whores and other people's wives shall remain well before me. So a bachelor should also remember to take his own wife and avoid fornication.

#### 162 History of how a woman's adultery was concealed by her husband.

In the county of Saxony, a nobleman's wife, said D. M. Luther, has married her nobleman's servant. Now the other servant notices this adultery and secretly reveals it to his lord, who was very frightened about it and at first did not want to believe it; however, he consults with the same servant how he would like to seize the adulterer. Then the servant says: "We want to find out how: Let my servant pretend that he is going on a long journey, since he will not be back in a few days, so the servant and the woman will soon find each other. Now the lord follows the servant, and stands as if he wants to travel far over the field; but order with the maid that he be let in again secretly, and



came home again the first night. He hurried with the servant to the wife's chamber, where the adulterer lay with the women inside. Now the nobleman considered what he would do if he were to commit adultery with his wife in public, that he would come to a great cry in the whole country, and his wife would become quite infamous, also her children would have to have it an eternal imprint. And he thinks of the cunning and handle that he sends his servant down to the house to light a light. In the meantime he knocks at the chamber, and says: Hans, get up quickly, and save your life, roll yourself into your chamber, and lie down in your bed: for, if you will do it, then I will promise you by my noble faith and loyalty that no harm shall befall you. The servant unlocks the chamber, secretly returns to his bed and lies down in it. When the other servant returns with the light, he knocks on the chamber with earnestness, having only a sword in his hands. Then the woman opens the chamber, then the man hurries to the bed, there was no one inside. He looked for the adulterer everywhere under the bed, but he did not find him.

Then the nobleman was very angry and mischievous, and he said to the servant who had revealed his wife's fornication and adultery to him, "Behold, how do you stand with your accusation? Behold, how you have put me, my pious wife and my poor little children to shame, scorn and ridicule! Go, see if the other servant is in bed in his chamber. When he found him snoring, as if he were in a deep sleep, and told the master again, the master said to the same servant, "Behold, here is your reward, and roll yourself out of my house, and do not come back to me. In the morning he also gave the adulterer his farewell.

M. Luther then said that this nobleman, with his prudence and great gentleness, had won over his wife, that she had renounced fornication, and had then lived modestly with her husband, and had also kept his wife and children in honor. Such prudence and wisdom, said Luther, I would not have found in myself, nor could all lawyers have done so.

### 163. the garden brothers' fornication.

D. M. Luther said that the garden brother Hetzer had slept with twenty-four married women. For if a beautiful woman had come to him, he would have said, "Dear wife, you are on the right path, but you are still lacking one thing: You have a hopefulness with you, which you must do away with if you want to become perfect, and that is it, you have never broken your marriage, therefore you are hopeful before another woman. But this is the devil. Therefore, if you want to be perfect, you must not have this hope. With this he deceived many wives. Now when he was to be judged and die, he also went into bus correptam. <sup>1)</sup> For this was

his last word was: HErr GOtt, wo soll ich hin 2c.

In a town close to the Swiss border, where this agitator had been, it finally happened that if someone was found to have committed adultery and gave the authorities only four guilders as a punishment, he went free and became a devilish creature of fornication there. And there the devil set up such a game that once a man came home from the garden brothers and saw something sour. His wife asked him what was wrong with him. He answers and says, "Go out to the garden brothers, and you will find out. When she comes out, the garden brothers are here and fornicate with her. But she comes home again, weeps, does evil, and says to the man, "Oh, what have you done to me? Then he answered, "This is what I wanted, for I have also done it to other women. So he willfully made his wife a whore.

### 164 History of how adultery has been punished.

Because the lewd devil was not respected in that city, and the people mocked our Lord God as an epicure, and set four guilders as a penalty for adultery, they also had to be paid.

1) Stuttg. Leipz. The first edition: ins Teufels Rachen.

And the devil did not celebrate, but caused this misery there: That a rich citizen there, one of the families, suspected his wife of boozing with the servant, and yet could not get to the bottom of it. Now the servant had once taken the master's pants with him into the chamber, and the master came about into the servant's chest, and found his pants therein, and began to deceive him. And because he had a sign, he confronted the woman. But the woman sought the door, and ran to her friends, and bewailed it unto them. And because she had good friends, they bargained with the man and finally invited the woman back. But the resentment would not leave the man's heart. Now it happened one Sunday that the husband sent all the children and servants out of the house and told them to go to church, leaving only the wife and one child at home, whom he considered a whore child. Then the man put a knife to the woman's breast, and she confessed that she had committed adultery with the servant. Then he stabbed her and strangled the child, and he went down to the ground and threw himself out of the window into the street, and snapped his neck in two. When the dead corpse was found on the gaff, it was reported to the council, who had it picked up. There they found a note with a rope tied to his knee, written to the council, in which the man had told the whole story of his wife's adultery, and that he had punished her himself for it, and also that he had given birth to the child so that it would not have to hear the accusation that it was a whore child 2c. Thus the people of the same city were punished for fornication.

This story was told by D. M. Luther in Torgau in 1536, when Duke Philip of Pomerania had a wedding camp there with the Miss of Saxony, and D. Pommer had to say it publicly in the wedding sermon (because D. Luther became ill, that he could not do the bridal sermon), and this story should serve that married couples should beware of the devil, and live in the fear of God, pray diligently, and beware of fornication and adultery.

#### 165 Luther's complaint that adultery is not punished as well as theft.

In the month of February 1546, in Eisleben, D. Martinus Wolf asked Schrenken and Joachim von Barbi, among others, who were eating with him: What is the reason that theft is punished more severely than adultery? For whosoever sinneth against the first, second, third, fourth, fifth commandments, committeth peccatum mortale; but the sixth commandment is not mortale. For we execute a thief if he steals five or six pennies; why then do we not also put to death an adulterer? For adultery is, verily, also a great theft. If an adulterer were punished alive and his head cut off, we would not have so much to do with the quaestionibus of adultery now. Then we come and ask: If the guilty party, as the adulterer, wants to repent, and the other innocent party does not want to accept him for mercy, should the guilty party remain in his sins, or should he be allowed to take another wife? If one lets him, others will want to follow the evil example, and thus one gives cause for much evil. That is why I would like to see an adulterer's head cut off straight away.

Julius Caesar, although he himself was an adulterer, nor did he make a law that an adulterer's head should be cut off. And the doctor said: "It happened in W. that a pious, honest woman, who had four children with her husband, and who had not known anything evil of her before, was taken in adultery. Now the husband insisted so hard that she should be beaten to distemper. That is what happened. After the punishment, I, D. Pommer, Philipp Melanchthon talked with the woman, she should go back to her husband, and the man also wanted to take her back to him. But she did not want to, because the public disgrace hurt her so much, and she left her husband with the children and went astray. But there one should have acted de reconciliatione before the punishment. Here we see how the devil is such a mighty lord of the world. The priest goes straight through; whoever has broken, remains without marriage, and the innocent part is not allowed to be free again.

**166 History, so the Lord D. M. Luther has told at that time, how cruelly God punishes adultery.**

There was a canon in S. who kidnapped the wife of a nobleman in the country, who had several children with her husband, and kept her with him for almost a year. In the end, the nobleman made such an announcement that he found out that she was in S. with the canon, so he asked the city council to open the gates for him and let him take his wife back from the canon, which was done afterwards. Therefore, on Christmas Eve, when all the canons must be in church, he went to the canon's house and knocked on the door in haste. When he came up to the parlor, he found his wife lying in six weeks. Then he says to her, "If I find you here, you whore, is this your faithfulness and faith that you promised me? Get up, you must leave with me. The woman is frightened and says: "Dear nobleman, I am six weeks old, I cannot leave, spare me, it shall not happen again. The nobleman said, "No, you must leave with me." He pulled her out of bed and put her on his horse, which the servants were holding in front of the door, and brought her home: He had a room, a chamber and a secret chamber built for her, and walled her up; however, he gave her enough to eat and drink during the time she was alive; but she did not return to his side, and he went to her every day in front of the prison and comforted her that she wanted to be patient, because she deserved a harsher punishment. This was a wise man who, for the sake of his children, did not want to punish the adulteress publicly. But she did not serve two years in prison, and then she died of grief.

**167. another history.**

In Zeiz, a canon raised a virgin, whom he gave in marriage to a baker. Now the canon came daily to the baker, ate and drank with him, and acted friendly towards the woman. But when the man finally realized what the bell had struck.

then he forbade him the house, that he should abstain from his house and the woman. But the canon did not refrain, but when he noted that the man was not at home, he came away and was merry with the woman. Finally, the man said he was going away to buy grain and would not come back in four days, but he hid secretly in the house, in a place above the stairs, so that he could see what was happening in the whole house.

The canon came back to the wife, was happy with the wife according to his custom. When the man saw the right time, he hurried to their room, found them together, stopped the canon so that he could not get up from the wife, shouted to the neighbors, who soon came to his aid, found the whore and the boys together, and soon sent for the court, which led the canon to prison. But the chapter practiced so much that he got out again, and neither he nor the adulteress were punished. This angered the baker, who sold everything he had, left, and became the enemy of the chapter. For more than two years the adulterer, the canon, went to church in a village. The baker found out about it, fell into the village with twelve men, and stabbed the canon to death. Thus God ultimately punished adultery.

Item: In E. Bishop Hugo studied at Costnitz and married a burgess who had a pious, honest husband with whom she also had children. When Bishop Hugo left, he took her away with him. The burgher then made great inquiries as to where his wife had gone and would have liked to have her back for the sake of his children, but he could not find out. For several years, when the bishop grew tired of her, he chased her away from him. Then she wrote to her friendship and to the man, asking for mercy. When her friendship had long bargained with him to take her back to him, he answered and said, "I will feed her, but she shall not come to my side again. So she went astray all the days of her life.

Wolf Schrenk said to D. Luther: "That in the Voigtland half of adultery four deaths would have happened at once. For since they, the-

Bühler, having been in the parlor with the wife, the man came in with a pig's spear, stabbed one of them to death by the wife; the other two came out to the parlor on a wall, where they jumped down, thinking that they wanted to get away, but they had both fallen on their necks; after that he stabbed the wife as well.

Item: In V. it happened that one of the families booted a citizen with his wife. The man noticed it, pretended to move away, but early in the morning he secretly returned to the house and hid in the dovecote, fasted and thirsted all day. The squire came at noon, panketirte with the woman and were in good spirits, the evening of the same, until they went to bed. When they had all gone to rest in the house, the man came out of the dovecote, would have liked to eat something, came into the kitchen, but found nothing, only a jug of water: he picked it up and drank from it, wanting to quench his thirst. And when he set the jug down too hard in anger and wrath, it clapped so hard that it broke. The woman in the chamber heard this, got up (because the conscientia, she stirred), stepped into a window, called to the maids what was there. But since everything was silent, she went back to the adultero in the chamber. Then the man sneaked into the room, because he had the keys to the chambers. When he saw his harness and a riding crop hanging in the parlor, he took it off and put it on him, and when the harness rattled on him and the woman heard the rattling, she got up again from the adulterer, went into the parlor, and asked what was going on there. But since the man was silent, she went back into the room in the dark. There the man forced his way into her room. When she saw this, she hid under the bed. But he hurried to the bed and struck at the adulterer (who had a pig's spear by him), 1) who also jumped out of the bed and put up a fierce fight. But when he could do no harm to the man, who had a harness over him, and was tired, the man stabbed him, and then said to the woman, "Come out, you whore,

or 2) I want to stab you too. The woman crawled out and begged the man to let her live, she did not want to do it anymore. But when she saw that she could not soften the man, she said: "Dear man, give me time to confess first and to receive the holy sacrament. The man said, "Are you sorry for what you have done? The woman answered, "Yes, dear husband, I am very sorry. Then the man drew his sword and stabbed her as well. Put the adulterer and the adulteress both together and go away. In the morning the adulterer and the adulteress were found lying dead together. Then everyone said, "It has been done to him. Finally, the man returned to the city, but his friends advised him to sell what he had and go to another place for the sake of the young man's friendship.

These histories were all narrated by D. M. in Eisleben in 1546.

#### 168) How fornication has been punished.

Doctor Martin Luther remembered the canons of Naumburg, and said: That they once had a whore of nobility with them, so that they had committed great fornication. When this whore had committed a great deal of fornication and always wanted to be preferred to other honest citizens' wives, the Naumburg council had them lie in wait and catch her in the alley and lead her into the common house. This annoyed the canons, but they soon got rid of her. Now she thought of an opportunity to avenge such scorn and insult on those of Naumburg; and when she was once asked to a wedding and stepped in front of the mirror, began to adorn herself beautifully, the devil possessed her, and was badly plagued by him, and died after three days.

#### Of the priest marriage.

(Cordatus No. 559. 560. 561.)

Marriage is forbidden to priests in the ecclesiastical law [a canonibus], and in the civil law the penalty is added that they shall be deprived of their

2) It seems that this "or" should be deleted.

1) These brackets are set by us.

They should be deprived of their office and become laymen. Away, therefore, with the tyrants who separate such [from their wives] and kill them, deprive them, or at least drive them out of their lands!

In short, by civil law a priest is allowed to marry, but the penalty of deposition is placed upon it; but after that his children are his heirs, because he is out of office. But we [monks and nuns] have to stand by because the law says: "Whoever will take a nun will be guilty of death." According to this, Pommer would be deposed from his office according to civil law, but because this law is not executed, his children are his heirs, according to law, but not in fact. The priesthood cannot stand if the priestly marriage endures.

The pope was very careful when he subjected the laws of the emperor to his canons, so that he would not establish anything against him; but he could avoid that his canons argue against him more than everything on earth, because nobody can suffer the harshness of the canons less than the pope. But he did it very cleverly when he persuaded the world that he was above the Scriptures, so that God himself would not do anything against him, and he won. But since we judge that he is below the Scriptures, he lies down. Gerson writes in three books that he is subject to the Scriptures. He did it so roughly that he can also be judged by the judgment of reason.

#### 170. of a cardinal who took a nun as his wife.

Pope Julius had a cardinal whom he loved very much because of his art and skill. The latter, as he was with a nun, asked nothing about it, let it go to him, and could suffer him with him, whether he knew it well.

But when the Cardinal took her in marriage out of great love, as one had for the other, the Pope wanted to fly off the handle, took the blessing from him, and said: the marriage would be an unclean, unlawful thing 2c. But after that he [Pope Julius] perished shamefully because of his fornication.

#### The celibacy and celibate life of the clergy. (Contained in Cap. 66, § 26.)

#### Causes of the papal celibacy and celibate life.

Doctor Martin Luther spoke of the celibate life in the priesthood, that [it] had a great appearance and that its prestige before the world, and in contrast, the married state had many tribulations, sorrows and displeasure because of the priests' guilt. And he said: "The most noble cause of the priests' celibacy would be that their children and descendants would become poor, abandoned orphans, and the fathers would become stingy, so that their children would also have something to feed themselves on, although they would otherwise be stingy without it. So the pope and the bishops could not have grown and increased except for celibacy and celibate life. The other cause, he said, is that the infirmities of the priests' wives are annoying: for if they punished the vices, the people would say to them again, "Why do they not also punish their wives?"

Therefore, a bishop and pastor and preacher would most need a pious, God-fearing and chaste, conscientious, moral and sensible wife; but they would be very strange. For even for the sake of wicked women, the church servants were removed from office. Thus they have noticed and seen many troubles and mischiefs in the marriage state, by which they are caused to forbid the priests to marry. But to all this, God's order and the unanimous consensus and opinion of Scripture shall be preferred.

#### The pope has killed many thousands of children.

Anno 1536, on January 20, nine children were baptized at once, since D. Martinus, D. Pommer, M. Philippus, and other many excellent, honest people became godparents. There spoke D. Martinus said: "The pope, with his godless celibacy and celibate life, has suffocated and killed many thousands of children, against God's order, now more than four hundred years ago. Our Lord God will gladly repay this a little before the end of the world.

**What the vow of chastity is.**

(Lauterbach, Feb. 7, 1538, p. 25.)

It has been and still is a vain abuse [with the pope]. For what is the so highly praised vow of chastity with its pretense but a cursing and cursing of the very holy marriage state, where every unmarried person contradicts the marriage state with flowery words and conspires the marriage, not for a time, but forever?

**The fathers' misconception about the state of marriage.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 27, 1538, p. 122.)

On that day, much was said about the errors of the holy fathers, who wrote nothing worthy of the marriage state, but rather were deceived by the unclean, celibate life, from which so great abominations arose, and unfortunately did not see that the marriage state is instituted in both the Old and New Testaments. For God has joined a man and a woman. Abraham, a very pious patriarch, had three wives. Christ went to the wedding and confirmed them. Paul wants a bishop to be the husband of one wife, and proclaims future dangerous times when marriage will be forbidden. We see so many sins, incest, fornication, rivers, as the letter of St. Ulrich laments. But all of this is put down by the beautiful appearance of the conjugal life. The first fathers were pious people, they meant it devoutly, but they did not see the evil that follows from it. Oh, if only Christians could still keep the marriage bed undefiled! And those servants of the belly want to bind the bodies and consciences with laws, which, since they are very dangerous, even the holy fathers could not keep with the best will in the world. O dear God, this is what happens when we lose God's word and the article of justification.

**The hypocrisy of celibacy and celibate life.**

(Contained in Cap. 30, § 34.)

**177. horny forbidden.**

At the Concilio of Nicaea, said D. M. Luther, it is strictly forbidden that no one should lust after himself; for many of them, out of great impatience, since they were so troubled by fornication and heat, have lust after themselves by force, so that they may remain skillful and capable for church offices, and may keep the benefices.

Truly, they have been great fools who, with many laws, have taken it upon themselves to forbid lechery, and yet have not wanted to allow marriage, which is God's order and command, to go freely or to be permitted. It is indeed a strange and unfortunate mandate and prohibition not to permit marriage, when the holy man and bishop Paphnutius calls the conjugal partnership chastity.

**178 Fruits of celibacy and celibate life in the priesthood.**

The shameful and harmful superstition of celibacy and celibate life of the clergy in the papacy has prevented many good things, namely: begetting children, the police and the household; has given great cause to abominable sins, and promoted these, as fornication, adultery, incest, rivers, lewd dreams, strange dreams and visions that occur to one in one's sleep. Pollutiones and defilement 2c. Therefore St. Ambrose writes in his Hymno and Canto: Procul recedant somnia et noctium phantasmata etc., ne polluantur corpora.

These trials and temptations were felt by St. Ambrose, who was well tried and practiced with many and various sorrows; what should not lazy, tired, fattened mast-heads, the monks, feel? Oh, dear God, the thing that God created cannot be helped in this way. For what is that different from wanting to force and dampen the natural creation?

**179) At what time celibacy began, and how long it lasted.**

Celibacy and the celibate life of the clergy began at the time of Cyprian, who lived two hundred years after Christ's death.

and fifty years; so that this superstition has stood thirteen hundred years. St. Ambrose and others did not believe that they were human beings like others, although they had toiled and struggled with their trials and tribulations. As his hymn and song indicate: Et noctium pelle phantasmata, ne polluantur corpora.

#### 180. of the priests chastity, or de Coelibatu.

Bishop Albrecht of Mainz said in Nuremberg in 1532 that he would rather omit the Lord's Supper in both forms and do away with the Mass altogether, than that he should let the Cölibatum go. Well, said D. Luther, they do not want to do it with good, but they still have to do it. It is a terrible speech. Our Lord God will practice the Deposuit potentes de sede with them in the Magnificat, God will defend His honor, and they will sing the asses' song, starting high but ending low.

The Bishop of Salzburg had said at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, Anno 1530, to M. Phil. Melanchthon, 1) said D. Martin Luther: Dear Philippe, we know well that your teaching is right; but do you also know, on the other hand, that no one has ever been able to gain anything from the priests? You will, 1) also not be the first.

#### 181. D. Crotus is a blasphemer of the female sex.

(Cordatus No. 1026. 1027.)

Those who blaspheme not only the faults of women but also their marriage with priests are godless boys who also blaspheme the good creature of God, as Crotus does, who meanwhile praises his Mainzer who loves money so much.

People do not have to be despised immediately because of any faults; for we do not despise a beautiful face because the head's shithouse is on it, and God has to suffer that all His worship is done under the shithouse, for it is above the mouth.

1) Cf. cap. 27, § 54 and §137.

2) So Stangwald instead of: they will.

#### 182. fruit of the celibate life of priests, nuns and priests.

Doctor Martin Luther once said in a sermon that he had read that St. Ulrich, sth. bishop of Augsburg, wrote in an epistle or missive and complained: When Pope Gregory wanted to establish and confirm the Coelibatum, and also did not want to allow those to marry who had married before the decree of Pope Gregory had gone out, that the pope then wanted to fish a deep pond in Rome, which was located near a nunnery, and the water from it was drained, then one had found in the same pond at six thousand children's heads, which were thrown into the pond and drowned. These are the fruits of celibacy. And Sanct Ulricus wrote that Pope Gregory was very frightened by this spectacle and repealed the law of celibacy. But the other popes, who succeeded Gregory, re-established the celibacy.

Luther said that in our time it had also happened in Austria that there had been nuns in the monastery of Neuburg, who had been expelled from it because of their ungodly, licentious nature and taken to another place, and Franciscan monks had been placed in that same monastery. When the same monks wanted to build in the monastery, and the foundation was dug, twelve pots were found in the earth, on which lintels had been covered, and in each pot there had been a dead carcass of a young child. Because Pope Gregory did right and well, that he allowed the clergy to marry, and used the saying of St. Paul: Melius est nubere, quam uri; so I say to D. M. Luther: It is better to be free than to give cause for so many innocent children to be strangled and killed.

In Rome, so many foundlings have been born that they have built their own monasteries for the sake of these foundlings, where they are raised inside, and the pope is called their father. And when the great processions are in Rome, the same foundlings all go before the pope.

And said D. Luther: "When he was a young boy, marriage and the married state would have been considered sinful and dishonest, and he would have thought that if one thought of the married life, then one was sinning; but whoever wanted to lead a holy life pleasing to God should not take a wife, but should live chastely, or vow chastity; therefore it was found that when their wives died, they became monks or priests. But those have served the Christian church well who have made a point of preserving and honoring the married state through God's word. For now it is known that it is a holy and delicious good estate when a man and a woman live peacefully with each other in matrimony, even if God does not give them fruit of the womb or children, or otherwise the woman often has infirmities in her 2c.

**That a cardinal in Rome had been legitimate.**

(Cordatus No. 1540 and No. 1538.)

If there is a hell, Rome stands on it.

A cardinal under Julius took a wife whom, because he was forced, he later had to take away from him for a year; but after the year had passed, he took her to himself again. When this cardinal died, the wife wept and lamented that she had lost a righteous and honorable husband who would have been satisfied with a wife. Some Roman citizens cried out: "To the gallows with him! Others said with reference to him: O holy soul!

**184 Doctor Martini Luther's response to a vexatious case brought before him.**

Doctor Martin Luther was once in Leipzig in 1545 in a convivium, where he was accused of a high person's fall and annoyance, and he was very vexed and troubled by it; he answered: You dear noblemen of Leipzig, I, Philippus and others, we have written many beautiful useful books, and have long enough shown you the red little mouth, you have not wanted it; now the N. in Ars lets you see: you have not wanted to accept the good, so you may now see the evil.

And he told the story of Marcolphus and King Solomon, and said, Once upon a time Marcolphus was disgraced by King Solomon, so that he had forbidden him his court, and should come no more before the king's eyes. Now Marcolphus went into a wood or forest, and when it had snowed and a deep snow lay, then he took a foot of a wild animal in one hand, and in the other hand a sieve, and crawled thus with both feet, also with the sieve and foot, like a wild animal, in the snow around, until he came to a cave; therein he hid himself. When King Solomon's hunter was searching for game in the snow, he came upon the trail and saw that such a strange animal had crawled into the same cave. Therefore he hurried to the court and reported it to the king. Then Solomon hurried up with his hounds to the cave to see what kind of game was inside. There was Marcolphus in the hole. When the king ordered him to crawl out, he uncovered his arse and crawled out backwards. Then the whole court became angry with Marcolphus, and the king said to him, "You rogue, why have you done this roguery to me? Then Marcolphus answered, "You no longer wanted to look me in the eye, so now you have to look me in the butt.

And the doctor said, "That's how it is here, too. What you find fault with us, you pick out, but what we do well, you do not want to have. We have finished the Bible, the Psalter, the postillions, and saved you from the papacy; you do not want to see that. Erasmus did the same: what he found in the doctrine of Christ that was reprehensible was heretical, and he emphasized and exaggerated it; but what was good, as beautiful examples of the martyrs and apostles, he kept silent. But what he found in the pagans for beautiful virtue, he emphasized. As he said in a place where he had read Ciceronem de senectute: Vix me contineo, quin exclamem: sancte Cicero, ora pro nobis. This humility the man poured out. But is this not a foolish speech? Should Cicero be holy because he can make a beautiful speech? But what vitia and portenta are for the pagans, there is silence.



he, sola Roma satis portentorum potuerit suppeditare. This is what all our adversaries do: what is evil in us they show off, and what is good in others they keep silent.

Therefore said D. M. Luther: "I do not want to love the devil and all papists so much that I want to worry about it. God will do it well, and I will command these things to Him, according to the saying of Peter 1 Ep. 5: 7: *Jacta super Dominum curam tuam, et ipse te enutriet.* The Lord Christ also had to endure much trouble in the world because Judas betrayed him: how the Pharisees will have rejoiced over this and said: "The new prophet has such companions, what should come of Christ? They would have said the same thing when Christ was hanging on the cross. But those who did not want to see Christ's miracle, had to suffer trouble after that. Whether we must also see such distress, how shall we do to him? God wants the

People vex. If it will now roll on me, then I will give them the most nourishing 1) words, and lick them called Marcolphum in the ars, because they did not want to see him under the eyes. Our dear Sheflemini (that is Christ, who sits at the right hand of his heavenly Father), who stands by us, has probably helped us out of greater distresses. The papists are now like Demea in the Terentio, and I am Mitio; they say: *Meretrix et mater- familias in una domo.* Item, *Puer natus est, indotata etc..* So Mitio speaks: *Dii bene vertant. Sic vita est hominum, ac si ludas tesseris. At dicat aliquis: Placet tibi factum? Non; si queam mutare, facerem libenter, cum non queo, fero aequo animo.* I still miss myself a much Aergers, because that. *Ego sum Rusticus et durus Saxo, et callum obduxi ad hujusmodi.* I command the dear God, *ille conservet Ecclesiam suam in unitate fidei et confessione vera verbi sui.*

1) Perhaps: närrischten. Stangwald: nerrichten.

## The 44th chapter.

### Of authorities and princes.

1. authority is a sign of divine grace.
2. difference among parents and the authorities.
- God punishes through the authorities, who are His servants.
4. authority is founded in natural and divine law.
5. authorities shall keep above their laws and orders.
6. authorities should always remove the evil and
7. authorities and jurists need forgiveness of sins in their office.
8. from where it comes that the authorities sin and do wrong.
9. ungodly princes, ungodly councilors.
10. For the authorities, one should ask.
11. how the authorities should be sent, and by the princes of Anhalt.
12. by Duke Albrecht of Saxony.
13. from King Saul's armor bearer.
- 14) Whether the son, as judge, may condemn the father.

15. Godless authorities can be fine world rulers.
- 16 Regents have enough to do that they may well lose their wit.
17. god, and not laws, receive a regiment.
18. the testimony of the preachers.
19. what kind of people belong to the government office.
20. that government is a difficult thing.
21. servants are commonly masters.
- 22) Why princes and lords do not take away all of their plots and practices.
- 23) How the ecclesiastical and secular regiment had been ordered in Emperor Maximilian's time.
24. that Pilate was a pious man of the world.
25. evil authority harms the subjects.
26. God forgives and changes the kingdoms.
27. that one should give tax and tribute to the authorities.
- The love and obedience of the subjects to the authorities is the highest good and treasure.
29. that princes should refrain from drunkenness for the sake of arousal.

**1. authority is a sign of divine grace.**

(Contained in Cap. 2, §142.)

**2. difference among parents and the authorities.**

(Contained in Cap. 3, § 63.)

**God punishes through the authorities, who are His servants.**

(Cordatus No. 734, except for the Latin.)

The authorities are like a fishpond, but God is the sturgeon, 1) who reaches the fish into the fishpond. When a thief is ripe, he reaches it in, it must be caught. Therefore it is written [Ps. 58, 12]: "God is still judge on earth." Therefore it is necessary that the wicked either come to repentance or to punishment, 1) An outstanding thief, who, at the age of sixty, was seized in Wittenberg, answered the mayor, who asked him in prison: "As we do, so it goes.

Tu supplex ora, tu protege, tuque labora!

Id est:

Sacerdotes doceant; Magistratus defendat et protegat; agricola colat agrum; et reliqui artifices faciant, quod prodest ad conservationem societatis humanae.

**4. authority is natural and divine right.**

That the authority is founded in the fourth commandment can certainly be proved. Cause, obedience is necessary, so is the parents' power and authority also necessary: if then the parents' authority vanishes and the children's disobedience increases, so that they no longer want to be drawn nor to be obedient, then natural law and reason teach that children have guardians to help them draw, then the authorities must be guardians. Therefore the emperor is the guardian of all parents.

God could only by his omnipotence in another way, through another means

He can control and prevent the disobedient children, but he needs the proper means that he has set, namely, the authorities.

Therefore, father shall remain father. If the father's authority and power are extinguished and forfeited, the authorities take his place. But since the authorities cannot or will not punish, the devil comes and punishes. Therefore the saying remains true: What father and mother cannot punish, let the executioner or the devil punish; they are our Lord God's executioners.

But here one wants to say: The father does not have the power to kill the son, therefore the authority should not have it either? Answer: The authorities are the servants of the parents, and the will of the parents is the will of God. He says and commands that disobedient children should be put to death, as there is an expressed command of God in Moses to put the disobedient son to death, even though the father does not want to.

**5. authorities shall keep above their laws and orders.**

Princes and rulers must keep above their mandates, orders and ordinances, otherwise they will be despised. That is why the peasants, burghers and nobles think that if a ruler does not speak himself and give verbal orders, it is not the ruler's word or mandate and command. So it is with our Lord God. When D. Pommer, I or another faithful teacher preaches, the scorners go there and despise it, saying: Our pastor has preached, they do not realize nor believe that these are Christ's words, who speaks through them himself, as he says: "Behold, I send you" 2c. "He that heareth you heareth me," Luc. 10:3, 16. Therefore, if our most gracious Lord will not keep above the visitation, it will be nothing with us.

(The following at Cordatus No. 1165-1170.)

All authorities should rightly love the Gospel and by love kiss it daily, because now everyone can act in his office with a good conscience, which none of them could do under the papacy, since they were taught by the monks that they were (at least) in a dangerous state, because the papists could not distinguish between a private and an official position.

1) In the original "Stark"; the Hallische Handschrift, Bindseil I, 301, "Stürle"; Rebenstock I, 146 b iustruuwntuin; Aurifaber "Störer," likewise Stangwald.

2) Cf. cap. 9, §19.

The executioner had to 1) atone for what he would do to the condemned beforehand. The executioner had to 1) atone, to beg the condemned beforehand that he would do to him as if he sinned who sentenced a guilty person to his punishment.

Since it is the actual office of the authorities to condemn the obviously ungodly, but they asked forgiveness from the guilty because of the verdict passed, it is certainly not doubtful that every authority under the pope did not recognize their office, but their teachers did not understand what Paul says [Rom. 13, 4.]: "She does not bear the sword in vain, for she is God's servant." Therefore, her students did not know it either. GOD commands that the wrongdoers be punished, as I [command] that my disobedient son [be punished], and since these are punished, the execution of his command pleases him, as it pleases me when my son has been chastised. But if someone wanted to beat my son without my command, I would not suffer it.

The Elector Frederick did not like to punish and said: It is easy to take life, but you can not give it back, and therefore the Elector always said: Hey, he will still become pious. The emperor Frederick [III.] was always angry, as often as the cities asked him for jurisdiction (as they used to) every year (annuatim). This art had been taught to them by the monks, by whom, for the sake of their clemency, the lands were filled with evildoers and they ceased to exercise justice.

God, whose mercy extends over all, says after all according to His justice [Ex. 21, 17.]: "Whoever curses father or mother shall be put to death", even at the altar, only the head off, and "You are a righteous judge" [Ps. 7, 12.] and the land shall be cleansed from robbers.

The lawyers with teaching, reading, deciding tear off the heads of the people, without that the executioner must probably keep peace. D. Hieronymus Schurf, a very good jurist and Christian, has not come to the point where he would have had the heart to convict someone with a good conscience.

The preachers are of all the greatest slayers, for they admonish the authorities to be strict in their office, to punish the guilty. I have slain all the peasants in the uproar, all their blood is on my neck, but I point it to our Lord God, who has commanded me to speak such things. But the devil and the wicked who kill are not right. He who considers and knows this diligently has learned something important. Our authorities today know very well how to distinguish between a private and an official person, and they recognize the right they have, but they abuse it very much against the gospel and its servants. This shall not prosper them.

#### **The authorities should always remove and punish evil.**

D. Luther once said that Joab, King David's captain of the field, must have been a free man of war, for he set it. freely on his fist. And having only six hundred men with him, yet he meets with all the people of Israel, and smites them. For he has thought: I have good old men of war with me, who have often been in earnest before, but they are a great people, huddled together everywhere, and marching without all order; therefore he attacks them and puts them to flight, and it is too much for him. But I think that David would not have liked to have been stirred up against Absalom's son to wage war against him, but his captains persuaded him to do so and put him in armor. Therefore he commanded the captains to spare Absalom the boy. But Joab's counsel is the best, namely, with bad boys only down, because they do not become more pious, but they cause one misfortune over another forever.

Once a boy of eighteen was imprisoned for theft. Now the judge and the jury would have gladly released him from the gallows for the sake of his youth and let him go. Then he said, "Go away with me, for I am three years old; if you let me go, I will start stealing again, just as I did before.

1) In the original: The executioners had to 2c.

I have left. Therefore, whoever deserves death should always be put away. And D. Luther told the old saying: A thief is nowhere better than on the gallows, a monk in the monastery, and a fish in the water. And Luther said that he had asked for some from the gallows, that they had been given life, but after a few days they had stolen again, and were hanged immediately afterwards. Therefore Joab's counsel was much better than that of King David.

#### **7. authorities and jurists need forgiveness of sins in their office.**

(Cordatus No. 1252.)

The authorities and lawyers must be strict and necessarily sin, because, since they are officials, they do either more or less in their office than they should; and the same happens to them as to the best craftsmen, who may have the skill to work, but do not have suitable tools with which to practice their art, as a carpenter who has a sharp axe loses all, or at least much, of the work applied to his art. So also the authorities, although they are good and appointed by God, do much evil if the private persons with whom the authorities have to deal are evil. It is no different for preachers when they have somehow deviated from the Word or have given in to their passions, carried away by the very great malice and ingratitude of the mob.

#### **8) Where it comes from that the authorities sin and do wrong.** 1)

(Here a paragraph is omitted because contained in Cap. 26, §30.)

(The following paragraph Cordatus No. 350.)

Ferdinand extorted immeasurable money from his own, but God gave him a blessing similar to that [which those get] who have their handful of feathers. So his money dusts from one another. Thus he is also the first king of Bohemia and the last of the Romans.

1) The beginning of this section is transferred to the previous tz, where it belongs.

#### **9. ungodly princes, ungodly councilors.**

(Lauterbach, June 28, 1538, p. 92.)

It is impossible that where there are godless kings, there should be pious counselors. For the consequence is inevitable: Where the bishop of Mainz is a liar, D. Türk must also be evil. As Solomon says Prov. 29 (v. 12): "A lord who delights in lying, his servants are all godless."

#### **10. For the authorities, one should ask.**

Authority is a necessary order and status in the world, and to be held in honor, therefore one should ask God for it, because it can be corrupted and corrupt, nam honores mutant mores nunquam in meliores: for honor changes life, makes other senses, words, deeds and works, but never or seldom better, become very soon and easily tyrants: for he who rules without laws, and wants to have his head straight, what he thinks and does, that shall be right: he is a beast, worse than an unreasonable wild animal. But a man who rules according to written and established laws is like God, who is the founder of justice.

#### **11. how authorities shall be sent, and by the princes of Anhalt.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1021.)

Today I had a very theological meal [prandium] with the brothers Herren von Anhalts, who are like virgins in manners and modesty and talked about nothing but God's word during the whole meal.

All three brothers, Prince John, Georgius, Joachim, are sincere princes, princely and Christian mind. This is what fine God-fearing parents do, who bring up their children well, and it is a work of the fourth commandment of God, who will also bless them. Ask God that they may remain steadfast in the pure doctrine and not be persuaded against it by other princes and tyrants.

2) Luther was (cf. Cap. 22, § 13) on Nov. 24, 1532 in Wörlitz, together with Melanchthon and Cruciger, with the princes Johann, Joachim and Georg von Anhalt.

They also have a fine glory. For on this hunt they caught three wild pigs and two deer, and in one year they caught fourteen hundred salmon. Prince Wolf did not take a wife, so that they might have the dominion and the land alone. The younger one spoke very well of the holy scriptures, said that Christ alone would be the eternal high priest: this title, name and honor belong neither to St. Peter nor to the Pope. He also referred to the saying of Bernhardi, where he says: "Let humility be the way to Christ, that is, to despair of Himself and of His powers, that is called humility. For they have read through all my books, Zwingels and Oecolampadii.

#### 12. by Duke Albrecht of Saxony.

Doctor M. Luther says a lot about Duke Albrecht's princely virtues, that he was a very fine, modest, modest and sensible gentleman, that he always held his brother, Duke Ernst, the Elector, in great honor, that he always walked several steps behind and beside him, and that he leaned and stooped beside him when they talked to each other.

But that he was a great gambler happened while he was still idle, in no regiment and office. It is said that he played with a rich miller at Nuremberg, who had lost a mill with eleven gears and wheels, down to the last gear. Then the duke said: "This is how one should wedge the plow for the peasants. But fortune, as it is fickle and rolls from one to the other, had again come to [the] miller, that he had regained all his mill gears, with a large sum of money in addition. Then he is said to have said again: In this way, the spur rakes should be abundantly offered to a prince. Both are politely spoken.

#### 13. from King Saul's armor bearer.

The question was asked, "Did King Saul's armor-bearer, who killed him by the king's command, do the right thing? M. Luther answered and said: No, because Saul was not with himself at that time, but in the highest fear and terror.

And he said further: If someone in the torture, when he is questioned, confesses with impatience and great pain that he did not do it, he does wrong and sin, because he does it against his conscience. But the judge who condemns and sentences him for such a false confession does not do wrong, as long as he has sufficient cause for the questioning and is held to account, according to the circumstances, as the law prescribes; as David's action shows, who had him killed again immediately when he brought him the message that he had stabbed Saul in the war against the Philistines and lied about it.

#### 14. question.

Whether the son, who is a judge, may judge and condemn the father, who is accused of wrongdoing before him? Answer: He may well do so, because he is in office; but equity teaches that he should appoint another in his stead.

#### 15. ungodly authorities can well be his world rulers.

(Contained in Cap. 27, § 152.)

#### 16 Regents have enough to do that they may well lose their wit.

If you want the tickle to go away, said D. M. Luther, one should only give it to him. You women can see this in the saying Gen. 3, 16: "You shall bear children with fear. Now that is a thing in itself. But you will learn this from the maidservants and servants, what they do to the masters and wives in the household. But to the man God says, v. 17: "The earth shall bear thee thistles and thorns." I think this is a curse, that we must eat thistles and thorns, that is, must have toil and labor in governing. Therefore, let a young journeyman have honest 1) pleasure at the proper time; when he comes to the regiment, the tickle will probably pass him by. That 2) said the Doctor, since E[rasmus] E[bner] 3)

1) So Stangwald and Walch instead of "marital".

2) In the editions : Da.

3) Stangwald.

The mayor of Nuremberg, who had been cheerful and amusing in his youth, was remembered above the meal, and then came to great trouble and work in the government.

#### 17. god, and not laws, receive a regiment.

A worldly regiment (said D. M. L.) is not maintained by laws and rights alone, but by the divine authority. God maintains it, because otherwise the greatest sins remain unpunished in the world. Just as in theology we punish only the smallest sins. Zwinglius and Oecolampadius, who are great sinners, pass through, and nothing is done with them. Our Lord God indicates in the laws what His will is, how evil should and must be punished, and because great princes and lords do not punish the laws, because they cannot do it, they are too weak, our Lord God will do it once. In this life the lawyers can only catch gnats and flies with their laws, but the great bumblebees and wasps tear through them as through a spider's web, and want to be unpunished. Of this also the pagans, as Cato, have said: *Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas*. Therefore, God must hold sway over the regiment, and they are not protected and preserved by laws and books alone, but by God.

#### 18. preacher's testimony.

It was asked whether an authority also has the power to ask a preacher about adulterers when he has scolded them severely? Answer: No. For an individual's testimony does nothing. What I know, I can prove; what I cannot prove, I do not know.

Item: It was also asked whether the authorities would do right if a poor imprisoned thief had secretly confessed to the chaplain that he had stolen so much that he would be executed, so that they would force him, the deacon, to say what he had confessed and confessed? M. Luther answered and said: "No, as long as God is silent, the chaplain, or the one who heard his confession, should also remain silent. For

The one who confessed it to him did not confess it to a man, but to God, in whose place the priest sits, therefore he should keep it secret. And for the reason that a man's testimony alone is not valid, we do not permit a secret betrothal, for because it is a man's testimony, it cannot prove anything.

#### 19. what kind of people belong to the government office.

The regiment does not include common, bad people, nor servants, but heroes, intelligent, wise and courageous people, who can be trusted, and who look after the common benefit and prosperity, and do not seek their own pleasure, and follow their desires. But how many are rulers and lawyers, even councilors, who think of this? They only make a handling and handicraft out of the authority. Solomon says: A man who can control his mind and break it is better than one who storms and conquers cities 2c. It is a beautiful book, has many fine sayings, *Proverbia Salomonis*.

I would like to wish Scipioni, the honest hero, that he were in heaven; he could rule. To be able to overcome oneself and to break and control one's mind is the highest and most praiseworthy victory. Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony 2c., was such a prince: he could digest a lot and control himself, even though he was angry by nature; but he stuck to himself.

#### 20. that government is a hard thing.

Doctor Martin Luther said in 1546 about tables in Eisleben: That the wise and prudent man, Frederick of Thuna, knight, had once requested leave from Elector Frederick of Saxony; then the Elector would have said: Dear Thuna, you see that governing is a difficult thing, and I need skilled people for it, I cannot do without you: although your age no longer wants you to be at court, you must nevertheless have patience. Just as I must also be patient. For if I will not do it, and neither will you, who will do it? That is why I cannot let you go.

(Here 4 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 66, § 53.)

Item, D. Luther said on another occasion: That young rulers thought they wanted to pick up a jerk like a pebble.

### 21. servants are commonly masters.

One says in the proverb: That in the house (said D. M. Luther Anno 1546) is only one servant, the lord. Item: Princes do not like to be lawyers. For if they would like to be, then all heavy trades would come upon them. That is why they have their chancellors and lawyers, who must bear the burden. For everyone likes to cut the boards where they are thinnest, and one does not like to drill through thick boards. That is why our Lord God comes and casts one into a princely position, like a young journeyman in marriage: he also looks at the maiden from the outside, not knowing what will follow. So it is with the rulers, too. It seems as if it were something delicious, but when you look at it, you see what it is. I do not like to rule; it is not in my nature.

Then M. Philip said: You have Solem. Thereupon spoke D. M. Luther: "I don't ask anything about your astrology, I know my nature well, and I know it. D. Staupitz used to bend this saying in the Song of Solomon in the 8th Cap., V. 12: "My vineyard is before me": God has taken the regiment to Himself, so that not everyone may strut; He says: I will be it alone, I will be king and regent, pastor and priest, husband in the house and wife with children; in sum, I will be it all alone. And that is also right. And it is dear to me that he has taken the reign in all things to himself. For Pastor, Episcopus, Caesar, Rex, Vir et Uxor errant, but he erreth not, and if it had counseled us, we should be proud. Therefore it is said: Quem fortuna nimium fovet, stultum facit, whom fortune holds too well, it beguiles. If one is too happy, it makes a fool of him; for it is impossible that one should not be proud who is well and happy, according to his own pleasure.

Therefore God must make us pastors, priests, fathers of households, rulers, etc., so that the water may go a little into our mouths and we may learn to swim. He does not do that,

then it becomes worse. If then it happens that one says, "I wish I had not become a bishop or a preacher," 2c.; item, "I wish I were a householder," 2c.; and then we cringe behind our ears, "That's right. God cannot otherwise control our wisdom, so He gives us to rule; as He commanded St. Peter to rule the goats, as they say in fables. We must have to govern, otherwise we would not know who we are. So Moses also says: Who am I, Lord, that I should carry the children as a wet nurse carries the children? He was anxious enough about his ministry. It is our Lord God's game, so that he will drive away our pride and arrogance.

(Here 11 lines are omitted-because contained in Cap. 27, § 23.)

### 22) Why princes and lords do not take away all their plots and practices.

The princes do not pray nowadays when they want to start something, but only say thus: Three times three is nine; this is not missing. Item: Two times seven is fourteen; this calculation does not fall short, so it must surely come out. Thus says our Lord GOD: Who do you take me for? for a number that is not worth anything? I must sit up here in vain. Therefore he reverses the account and makes it all wrong for them.

### 23. how the ecclesiastical and secular regiment was ordered to emperor Maximiliani times.

The Emperor Maximilian was a splendid hero, who had received magnificent gifts from God, and was especially a fine, polite, modest man, so that Prince Frederick of Saxony preferred him to all princes and lords whom he had seen or experienced, and said of him: "He would have been capable of infamy and seriousness. When his imperial majesty was once asked about this present world government, he smiled and said: God has well appointed both regiments: the ecclesiastical one with a drunken shitting monkey, and thus meant Pope Julium; then the secular one with a chamois hunter; because her imperial majesty had great pleasure in chamois hunting.

#### 24. that Pilate was a pious man of the world.

Pilate has been more pious than any ruler in the kingdom, outside of those who are evangelical. And said D. M. Luther: I would now name many papist princes who could not be compared with Pilate. He kept the Roman laws and rights rigidly, so that he did not want to murder and kill innocent people who had not been convicted of any wrongdoing. So he also proposed all kinds of honorable conditions that he might release Christ. But when he was told of the emperor's disgrace, he was overawed and abandoned the emperor's rights. For he thought, "It is only a matter of one man, he is poor and despised, no one will take care of him, what harm can his death do me? It is better that one man should die than that the whole nation should be against me.

Then said 1) M. Johann Mathesius to D. M. Luthern. M. Luther: He had known two preachers who had quarreled fiercely about why Pilate had scourged Christ, and that he had said, "What is truth? For one would have pretended that Pilate did it out of compassion. But the other said, "It was done out of tyranny and contempt. Luther answered: Pilate would have been a pious man of the world, and would have scourged Christ out of a great compassion, so that he would quench the insatiable anger and rage of the Jews. And that he says to Christ, "What is truth?" he wants to give so much to understand: What do you want to argue about truth now in the evil life of the world? It does not apply, but you must think about evil plots, and about legalistic actions, so that you can get rid of them.

Luther was also asked: "What would the devil have wanted to prevent Christ's crucifixion through Pilate's wife? Then the doctor said, "That was his concern, that he thought: Well, I have strangled many prophets, and it has become the longer the worse, they are too constant; so Christ is also undaunted and undaunted to death: I would rather that

1) So Stangwald instead of: "would have.... said."

he remained alive, perhaps I could strangle or seduce him over a tentation, so I wanted to do more. He had high thoughts, because the devils are learned. And today we have to argue not against the Italian and Mainzian practices, but against the spiritual mischievousness of the devil. The Holy Spirit must displace this mischievousness, and St. Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, the dear angels, must protect us against the tyrants, otherwise it is lost with us.

#### 25. evil authority harms the subjects.

Doctor Martin Luther once said: An evil authority that acts tyrannically is like a dumetum, that is, like a thorn hedge around a garden: For where one wants to climb through this hedge or fence into the garden, one pricks and scratches oneself, not that the thorn hedge wants to control and defend, that one should not steal the apples and pears from the garden, but that it is the nature and characteristic of the thorn bush that whoever attacks it must prick and injure himself on it. Thus an evil authority also pricks, wounds, torments and oppresses its subjects; not that it seeks God's honor and the church God's dearest, or wants to maintain discipline and restraint and control evil; but that this is the quality and nature of all tyrants, that they make a point of harming people and doing them harm.

#### 26. God forgives and changes the kingdoms.

Doctor Martin Luther once said: Our Lord God should give us (Philippo Melanchthoni and him) as much wealth as any cardinal; for we have done as much in his cause as a hundred cardinals. But God says to us: Let it suffice thee that thou hast not, sufficit tibi gratia mea. If we have the man, we also have the bags. But if we have the bags without the man, it does not help us. Therefore he says: You have enough if you have me.

How does he say to the prophet Ezekiel, Cap. 29, 18. 19. 20.: Son of man, you



You know that Nabuchodonosor has made great efforts before Tyro; I have not yet given him any pay, what shall I give him? I will give him Egypt, that shall be his pay; I will clothe him in it, as in a beautiful mantle. So our Lord God plays with the great kingdoms, as a lord throws a chain around a man's neck.

#### 27. to give tax and tribute to the authorities.

Doctor Martin Luther said that a farmer in Dobraun once said a fine word that always pleased him, namely, that he would gladly do: If he had two cows, he would willingly give one away so that he would only keep the other with peace. And it is true that if a right captain is there, that one has a Matiaschken 1), there one finds well people who give there willingly tribute, so that a land peace is preserved.

#### The love and obedience of the subjects to the authorities is the highest good and treasure.

Philippus Melanchthon once told Doctor Martin Luther over the table: that in his youth he had heard that at an imperial diet some princes had praised the gifts and glories of their principality and country. And the Duke of Saxony had said that he had silver mountains in his country, and thus praised his mine, which at that time gave great yield. The Count Palatine, however, had praised his good wines, which grew for him on the Rhine River. As

1) i.e. Mathiasko, Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. Cf. Cap. 65, § 7.

When Duke Eberhard of Württemberg was asked to say what glory he had in his country, he replied: "I am indeed a poor prince and cannot be compared to either of your beloved, but I also have a great treasure in my principality, so that even if I were to stray and be all alone in the field, I can still sleep safely in the bosom of each of my subjects. I would like to say that his subjects would love him, that he could stay with them and they would do him everything kind and good. They would do him all good and love. And his poor people also took him for the patrem patriae. When the other princes, Saxony and the Palatinate, heard this, they themselves confessed that this was the noblest treasure and good.

#### 29. that princes should refrain from drunkenness for the sake of arousal.

Doctor Martin Luther was once a guest of Duke Ernst of Lüneburg and Duke Wilhelm of Meklenburg. Duke Ernst, as a Christian, godly and wise prince, complained about the drunken and intemperate life of the courts, since they are drunk day and night, and yet all wanted to be good Christians, and did not control the vice of drunkenness: Doctor Luther said: "Princes and lords should do something about this. Duke Ernst of Lüneburg answered: "Yes, Doctor, we will do that, otherwise it would have been a long time coming; Principum intemperantiam esse causam intemperantiae populi. For when the abbot lays out dice, the whole convent plays. Manant exempla regen- tum in vulgus.

### The 45th chapter.

## Of kings, princes and lords.

1. by Margrave Joachim the Other.  
2. princes and lords want to be unpunished.  
3. from a princess.  
4. from a lewd prince.  
5. from another prince.  
6. by Landgrave Ludwig, called the knight.  
7. from the landgrave Philippo of Hesse.

8. another from the landgrave Philippo of Hesse.  
9. by Duke Franz of Lüneburg.  
10. from a count.  
11. from a prince.  
12. of a prince's profligacy.  
13. from the duke of Bavaria.  
14. by Duke George of Saxony.

15 From Duke George's death.  
 16. by Duke Henry of Saxony.  
 17. D. Luther's judgment of great princes and lords.  
 18. pious princes poor people.  
 19. about the death of princes.  
 20. great potentates are our Lord God's deck of cards.  
 21. from the Frankish nobility.  
 22) From King Alphonso, how great lords should love their subjects.  
 Why our suggestions and advices are not correct, especially those of the regents.  
 24. of the roman empire.  
 25. by Duke Wilhelm of Saxony.  
 26. from young gentlemen.  
 27. princes must be the scribes and captains servants.  
 The princes' work is the greatest and most dangerous.  
 29. from the peasants work.  
 30. of the kingdom of bohemia and the churfürstenthum saxony.  
 31. from Emperor Carl the Fifth.  
 32. from the Emperor Maximilian.  
 33. mildness of the emperor Maximilian.  
 34 King Solomon's Court and Order.  
 Why God punishes the subjects because of the Lord's sin.  
 Whether it is better to govern by reason and natural understanding, or by and according to the rights and laws described.  
 37. of the political and ecclesiastical anger.  
 38. by Christierno, King of Denmark.  
 39. of the expulsion of the king christierni.  
 40 Emperor Maximilian's Courtesy.  
 41. courtesy and kindness of Emperor Maximiliani the First.  
 Another history of the Emperor Maximiliano.  
 43. from your King Henry of England.  
 44 King Henry's Divorce.  
 45: The Papists' Secret Plot Against the Lutherans.  
 46 The King of England's Divorce.  
 Whether Thomas More was killed for the sake of the Gospel.  
 48. prophecy of the emperor Carolo.  
 49. unequal fortune of two brothers of great potentates.

The emperor kisses the pope's feet.  
 51. from France and England.  
 52. emperor Carl's virtue and discipline.  
 53 Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony's Judgment of Emperor Carl the Fifth.  
 54 From Emperor Carl's Coronation.  
 55. by Emperor Carl's Demuth.  
 56 Emperor Carl's modesty and long-suffering.  
 57. of the Emperor Maximilian rhyme.  
 58 Emperor Carl's armor against the Turk.  
 59. great lords dimer at court possessed by the devil.  
 60. beautiful order of the roman empire.  
 61. from N. N. Government.  
 62. of the mandate of a king.  
 63: About the move against the Turks.  
 64. from Emperor Carl the Fifth.  
 65: From Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony.  
 66. from his life.  
 67. duke Frederick's symbolum.  
 68: Duke Frederick's Household.  
 69. duke Frederick's wise speech.  
 70. by Duke John, Elector of Saxony.  
 Another one from the Elector John.  
 72. of Duke John's constancy.  
 73 Prince John's diligent action of the divine word.  
 74. Death of Duke Johannis, Elector of Saxony.  
 75 From Duke John, Elector of Saxony.  
 76 From Duke John's death.  
 The first of these is a book by Duke John Frederick, Elector of Saxony.  
 78. of Duke John Frederick's sincerity and constancy.  
 79 Change in the Principality of Saxony.  
 80. court camp at Weimar most convenient.  
 81. princes are equally respected to kings.  
 82nd Duke John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, honorary title.  
 83: Duke Johann Friedrich's virtues.  
 84 Duke Johann Friedrich's clever and sensible, polite and sharp reply.  
 The Duke of Saxony Coat of Arms Interpretation.  
 The first of these is the "Theological Museum", which is located in the city center of the city.  
 87. From Emperor Carl the Fifth.  
 88: From Duke John Frederick, Elector of Saxony.

### 1. from margrave Joachim the other.

(Cordatus No. 492.)

When Pope Clement was accused of being a whore, he answered that it was because Christ was also a fake. When a certain Italian told this to the young margrave, he offered me his mercy and asked me to remain steadfast.

### 2. princes and lords want to be unpunished.

Noblemen and burghers' children, said D. M. Luther, are well drawn, but peasants

and princes want to be unpunished. When the lion feels that his teeth and claws are growing, he no longer plays.

### 3. from a princess.

Des [Fürsten] von A[nhalt] 1) Wife wanted to visit her wife mother, came to Wittenberg, and desired to address D. M. Luthern, although at an inopportune time, and with impetuosity: finally she came unasked, by herself, after supper. The doctor, however, de-

1) Bindseil I, 308.

blamed himself for his weakness, and said: "Madam, I am not very righteously fresh in the year, I am weak and sick either in body or in spirit, one thing after another: I now have twenty stars in my body, as in the sky, I wanted the archbishop of Mainz to have them. Yes, she said, dear doctor, we can't all be pious either. Yes, said the doctor, you of the nobility, in high classes, should of necessity all be pious: for yours are few, and are narrowly drawn; we of low classes and common people are corrupted by the great multitude, for ours is much, therefore it is no wonder that ours are few. But from you, the great families and high classes, we are to take examples, and learn godliness, piety, respectability 2c. With such words, she trotted off on her hoof the same evening.

#### 4. from a lewd prince.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 1, 1538, p. 105.)

Luther said much that evening about the Churfürst von der Mark, who had exhausted himself by excessive whoring, so that he is said to have said: If the joy should last forever here, that he should only have to go from one whore to another and be carried to his beds, he would not desire eternal life. Oh, dear God, how great foolishness and godlessness! He should be tired, especially that old man, but he has been persuaded (as Gauricus, his physician, said) by his soothsayer, the devil's banner, that he should live another fifteen years. In short, he has lived in the greatest impiety, has had a covenant with the devil, he and his father, and has most certainly perished in the most abominable fornication. The righteous will hardly be blessed who believes the word of God and contends with the devil and the flesh. How will this one fare? May God avert it.

#### 5. from another prince.

Since it was said that Duke W[ilhelm] of B[ayern] 1) was engaged in much fornication; said D. Martinus: From idleness comes

1) Thus Bindseil I, 313.

such fervor and nothing good. But if one does something honest that God has commanded, and does it with faithful diligence, then such fire dies and goes out. Oh, they do not wait for their profession with earnestness and in the fear of God, therefore they cannot live any other way.

#### 6. by Landgrave Ludwig, called the knight.

Ludwig the Knight, Landgrave of Hesse and Thuringia, was an angry, fierce lord who was imprisoned by the bishop of Halle on the Gibichenstein: there he jumped out of the window, out of the castle into the Saale, down a high rock, swam through the water, and came away on his Klöpfer swan and escaped. The same, since he had raged against his subjects, at last his spouse set meat before him on Good Friday, in the week of martyrdom; and since he would not eat it, she said to him: "Dear lord, you are afraid of this sin, since you commit and do much more serious and greater ones. At last she had to escape and flee, and leave her children. But before she was up at midnight, she kissed the young master, who was still lying in the cradle, blessed him, and out of motherly love she bit him on one cheek, commanded it to God, and let herself down in a strange way, together with a virgin, on a rope to Wartburg Castle through a large high rock, where her courtier was waiting for her with a carriage, and secretly drove away to Frankfurt am Main.

Finally, however, when he, Landgrave Ludwig, died, a monk's cap was put on him, he became a pious monk, who could well keep his *silence*, so that his courtiers laughed at his dead body and mocked, saying: "Behold, how well this monk keeps his order and silence! As such history was also thought above in the loco "of monks". 2)

#### 7. from the landgrave Philipp zu Heffen.

(The first paragraph in Lauterbach, Dec. 6, 1538, p. 188.)

He praised the landgrave very much, because in a country that is full of forests, felsicht and

2) Cap. 30, §37.

He said that they were sitting there to keep the country clean. He said that they were sitting there to keep the country clean, so that he pursued the robbers from that time on, as his father did, who returned three thousand guilders to someone who had taken them. He destroyed the nearest castle, had the nobles beheaded and said that they were sitting there to keep the land pure. Thus the present landgrave is a man of war, indeed, an Arminius, small in person but mighty in counsel and fortune.

Item: The landgrave is, according to his age, an excellent, joyful prince, who lets him advise and say, soon gives way to good advice, gives way and follows: and if it is decided, he does not delay long and executes it with diligence; therefore he is also, for the sake of such princely virtue, feared by the adversaries. At that time, D. Martinus also remembered the day at Frankfurt, and said: "It must be hard with a serious paroxysm.

#### 8. another from the landgrave Philipp zu Hefsen.

Doctor Luther said of His F. G. that he was a miracle man, who had a special luck and star. If he wanted to fall away from the Gospel, he should obtain from the Emperor and Pope whatever he wanted: but God has so far constantly preserved S. F. G.. The Emperor offered him that he should quietly possess the County of Katzenelnbogen. Item, Duke Georg wanted to make him heir to all his lands and people, and the Emperor would have confirmed, sealed and certified it if he had wanted to fall away from our religion. But he confessed the doctrine of the Gospel, otherwise he could have become the Emperor's and the Pope's dear son. He has a Hessian head and cannot celebrate, he must have something to do: so he does not trust and believe easily. He starts a lot of things, and it goes out to him. It was a great boldness that he wanted to overpower the bishops in 1528. And it was a greater deed that he installed the Duke of Würtemberg and chased King Ferdinand out of Würtemberg. I and Dominus Philippus Melanchthon were called to S. F. G. for this reason against Weimar, and because of his intended war for the sake of

When we were asked about our concerns and advice, we recanted to the highest authority and used our best rhetoric to do so; we asked the authorities not to upset the doctrine of the Gospel with this war, or to add a stain to our doctrine, or to break and disturb the common peace of the land in the empire. Then the F.F.G. became very red and were angry about it, since otherwise the F.F.G. have a very sincere mind.

In the Colloquio at Marburg, Anno 1529, S. F. G. walked in low clothing, so that no one would have taken him for the landgrave, and yet he walked with high and great thoughts. He asked Phil. M. for advice in a matter, and said: "Dear M. Philippe, should I also suffer that the Bishop of Mainz expels my Protestant preachers by force? Philippe answered: "If the jurisdiction of the same places belongs to the bishop of Mainz, then E. F. G. cannot defend him. The Landgrave answered: "I will let you advise, but I will not do it. 1) I (said D. Luther) said at that time to his old councilor, the one from Beimeberg: Why don't you defend your lord and his nobility? Then he answered, "Oh, dear doctor, our admonitions are of no avail; what he does, he will not let himself be taken from it. And when he was about to install the Duke of Würtemberg, His Holiness asked everyone that he would not lead the Hessian land into ruin. Then he said, "Let it go now, I don't want to ruin it for you. He also led it out and paid honestly. He fired four and a half hundred rounds into a castle and won it.

And when a day was held at Caden in Bohemia by King Ferdinando and other princes, and an answer was to be given to the landgrave from there, Duke George of Saxony said to King Ferdinando: "If he could gather a war party to resist him in two or three days, he would not advise peace; but if this could not be done, then peace should be made in all directions. And

1) Cf. Cap. 55, § 8.

Severus, Luther's table companion, then said that Mr. Hans Hoffmann had therefore opposed the king and all his councilors, and had also obtained that peace had been made with the landgrave.

At the Imperial Diet of 1530, he and the other princes of the Augsburg Confession were summoned to King Ferdinand, and he publicly said to the bishops: "Make peace, we desire it; if you do not, and I must go down, I will take one or two with me at the least. The Bishop of Salzburg had said to Bishop Albrecht of Mainz at the same Diet: "How can you be so afraid of the Landgrave of Hesse when he is only a poor prince? Then the bishop of Mainz answered: Yes, dear sir, if you lived as close to him as I do, you would probably speak differently.

And said D. M. Luther: God has thrown the landgrave into the midst of the Roman Empire: for he has four princes living around him, and the Duke of Brunswick, and yet they are all afraid of him. This means that he has the common man attached to him, so he is also a man of war. Before he installed the Duke of Württemberg, he was in France, and the King of France lent him a lot of money for the war.

At another time, D. M. Luther said: "The introduction of the landgrave with the Duke of Württemberg was a great annoyance, because everyone thought that the German land would lie in a heap. For it was a great thing to drive King Ferdinand, Emperor Carl's brother, out of the land of Württemberg, since the pope and all the bishops were so foolish and foolish about it. It is a high risk. But it is he who has led it out. No wise man would have dared so boldly; but when it was begun, he handled it wisely and carefully.

#### 9. by Duke Franz of Lüneburg.

Duke Franz of Lüneburg, even a pious prince, because he had great pains and aches in one leg, is said to have said shortly before his death: All these pains and aches are less than my sins.

#### 10. from a count.

Since it was thought that Count A., 1) who had been tricked by H. M. himself in the castle of H. until the eleventh day, should be reinstated, Doctor Martin Luther said with a sigh: Solomon has well said Proverbs 28:26: "He who relies on his heart is a fool. This count has sinned against God with his cleverness, presumption and avarice. As the Jews were ashamed when they said, "Our soul is disgusted with this food," Numbers 21:5, so this man is also disgusted with the treasure that God has given him; so that it is said, "Nitimur in vetitum, what is forbidden to us, we strive for and want. For either we desire a thing with all our heart and long for it, or what is present and we have all ready, that we utterly despise and are disgusted with it. Thus man's nature and manner is poisoned by original sin. This life cannot be nor exist without patience. Either we died or lived in patience, because this life is a sinful life, full of punishments, plagues, misfortune, misery and hardship, therefore faith and patience are necessary.

#### 11. from a prince.

A prince 2) is said to have said: If I were in the emperor's place and had orders, I would lock up the very best theologians of both parts, Papists and Lutherans, in a house well kept together, and give them food and drink enough for their needs, until they had all united and compared, and decided in matters of religion. Then I wanted to ask them whether they also firmly believed their decrees and what they had decided with each other and, if necessary, wanted to confirm and testify to them with their death. And since they said yes, I wanted to set the house on fire so that they would all have to burn. Then I wanted to believe their decision.

1) Albrecht von Mansfeld, who was appointed by Duke Moritz at Hohenstein Castle 2c. Bindseil I, 317.

2) The Margrave of Culmbach. Bindseil I, 316.

### 12. a prince's desertion.

There was talk of the tyranny of von B[raunschweig], which had now been revealed: how he had captured a doctor, 1) the legate of G[oslar], and forged him into a bathhouse, giving him raw meat to eat and water to drink. After that, he would have finally pegged him to the wall. He, said D. Martin Luther, is supposed to be the patron of the church, a bloodthirsty tyrant, and the idolatrous bishops who have secretly gathered a war party against us. Because they know that the German warriors cannot be used against our princes, neither will those in France. O Lord God, grant us peace, who have so far frustrated the plots and counsels of the heathen and the princes. Would to God that we were grateful and did not forget the works of God. For a while you looked through your fingers as if you were asleep and knew nothing about it. But now you judge rightly, as the 121st Psalm, v. 4, says: "Behold, He who preserves Israel does not sleep nor slumber."

### 13. from the Duke of Bavaria.

The princes of Bavaria 2) have always been proud and hopeful and fiercely hostile to the House of Austria, so that Emperor Maximilian said: If one wanted to boil the two bloods, Austria and Bavaria, in one pot, one would jump out. For they grant the emperorship to the Austrian blood, boast that they are also the wood from which emperors are made. So Duke Wilhelm said.

Under Carolo Magno and Otto, the first emperor, they have always been proud so far, said D. M. Luther. The present emperorship is now up to the fourth member; item, Franconia and Swabia have each retained the emperorship to the fourth member. The German emperors have been excellent heroes, and not such devils and hell-burners as the Roman and the French emperors.

### 14. by Duke George of Saxony.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 464.)

H[archduke G[eorg]] has written a great decree and wants to take it with him to the Imperial Diet. I wanted the emperor to elect him as pope, I think he would grant the bishops and dompffes. The bishop of Mainz would be forced to let two bishoprics go. He would give them better than Luther, because the papists would suffer me more easily as a reformer than him, and the decrees scold the bishops much more than Luther.

(The second paragraph forms the conclusion of Cap. 58, § 3, where it has been transferred. - The following paragraph in its first half is from the section in Lauterbach, July 27, 1538, p. 101 f., which we let follow here in its entirety; the second half of the paragraph was reworked by Aurifaber from Cap. 20, K10.)

The Assembly in Leipzig [Conventus Lipsiensis]. - On July 27, Duke George summoned to Leipzig a large assembly of his prelates, bishops, canons, also the nobles and the committee, and the rumor went out quite generally that Duke George would allow the teaching of the Gospel and the [right] order of the Sacrament, because he wanted to remain with the House of Saxony, his brothers and cousins. Luther replied: I do not believe it. The new newspapers are so good, but my opinion is: Since Duke George of the Papists, the Cardinals sees deceitfulness with the Concilium, which he himself wanted to reform by the decree of the Pope, he did not want his Reformation to fall with him. Therefore, he oppresses his canons, bishops and prelates with the harshest laws, because the old Duke George will come back as he was before the preaching of the Gospel, namely a real enemy of the clergy, who miraculously tormented the bishops, canons and elders. He tormented the bishops, canonists and ebbers miraculously, so that Duke Frederick was forced to step in between. Therefore the saying was spread about Duke George that he was an enemy of the clergy because he was of Bohemian blood from Gersick [i.e. George Podiebrad's grandson from Zdena]; therefore they said: He did not drink it, he sucked it, as if they wanted to say: He is by nature and descent an enemy of the clergy. But after the Pre-

1) Cf. Walch XVII, 1753 ff. - In Bindseil I, 314, he is called Dr. Embeck. Actually his name is Diligshausen.

2) Bindseil I, 314.

When it came to the preaching of the gospel, he wanted to burn himself white. Perhaps Duke George will now reappear in his former form, for he is already so oppressive to some of the elders that our Elector must also protect them from him. 1)

(The following words at Cordatus No. 755.)

[It is said:] The priests and monks have made Duke G[eorg] full, and they will spit into his bosom as a reward.

And he complained to M. Luther about his blindness and blasphemy against Christ, and that he had resisted the recognized truth and had sinned against conscience; and he said: "When I was still in the monastery, I would never have believed that such wickedness should be in people. I wept that the world would soon accept the truth I had recognized; but I learn from the bishop of Mainz and H[archduke] G[eorg] what a herb the world is. Because it does not come from them, it is nothing. Well, I cannot be afraid of those who are so crazy in their conscience that, even if they boast the name of the church before the common man, they still think and believe much differently in their heart. They make true the prophecy of those who say: "Depart from us, we do not want your way, and with our necks erect we are proud. Such people we see before our eyes. And he that speaketh and doeth thus contrary to the word of God and his conscience must again be put to shame with his blasphemies, for he sinneth against the Holy Ghost, is presumptuous, hardened, and controverteth the known truth.

Item: H[Archduke] G[eorg's] committee had written to H. Heinrich, S. F. G. brother, that he required his son, H. Moritz, who was at the court of H. Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony, to come to him first, so they wanted to come and show their F. G. H. G[eorg's] will, because H. G. both sons had died that he had no heirs. Thereupon D. M. Luther said: It is a

Common proverb: He who cannot lift a big stone, let him lie. God sees that he cannot lift the stone. For man may presume to lift it, but God has decreed otherwise. Homo proponit, et Deus disponit, that is, contrarium ponit, he does the contradiction. H.G. wanted to dry up others so that they wither, and make his trunk green and blooming: therefore he gave his oldest son, H.Hansen, the landgravia Fräulein, 2) even a beautiful Fräulein, as a husband. And to H[erzog] Friedrich he offered a Mansfeld Fräulein, 3) Count Hans Georgen's sister. But both young lords begot no children with healthy bodies and beautiful wives. That is why D. M. Luther said: "Because he sees that both his sons have died, he will willingly give himself into it, and deliver the land to his brother, and keep a good will of it, because he cannot take his land with him when he dies.

### 15 From Duke George's death.

In 1539, April 17, George died suddenly of the Iliaca, having been healthy and cheerful the day before in the women's room. He was buried in Meissen without all papal pomp and ceremonies. Doctor Luther used to say that it was too much that he who had held mass and vigils in such high esteem should not be able to partake of them at his last end.

That same year, on May 3, envoys of the princes of Pomerania, who had come from the day to Frankfurt, ate with D. Luther at night: they said that Duke G[eorg] had died at the right time, because the tinder and the fuse, from which a great fire might have arisen, would have been extinguished. Yes, said D. M. Luther, all the papists' thoughts, plans and intentions are directed to this end, that they would have let the church perish even before, if only they had destroyed the Lutheran boys (as they call us).  
Abev

1) Although this entire passage is also found in DeWette's collection of letters, Vol. VI, p. 205, we have included it here because we believe that we are not dealing with a letter, but with a speech by Luther, and share Seidemann's assumption that this redaction seems to have originated from it.

2) Elisabeth, daughter of Landgrave Wilhelm II of Hesse. Bindseil I, 326.

3) Elisabeth, daughter of Count Ernst von Mansfeld. Bindseil I, 326.

God has broken their rights and destroyed their plots: for he is able to remove the mighty from their seats, and to exalt the lowly, and to scatter the nations, as the Psalm says, those who delight in war. He also knows how to put to shame trust in men and princes, as in the 146th Psalm, v. 3, 4, which declares that one "should not trust in princes, for they are men who cannot help, for a man's spirit must depart, and he must return to the earth; then all his strivings are lost. So that we may learn to trust God and follow Him.

And here one sees God's miraculous work, that He can destroy human attempts and practices. For Duke George and his allies had a war against the Lutherans on Pentecost in mind: now God comes and takes him away by death. In his will (said D. Luther) these words are said to have been written: If it could become so good for him, he wanted to give the emperor his land and the treasure, so that he could fight his enemies in the German country with it. That he thus had war in mind and pronounced against us Lutherans, whom he considered to be the emperor's enemies.

(This paragraph for the most part, up to the word: "Mines," in Lauterbach, Aug. 5, 1538, page 107 f.)

On August 5, some lawyers from Leipzig were there, who spoke of the assembly of bishops, abbots and prelates, with whom Duke George alone, without all the magistrates, had consulted and had presented the matter in the most secret manner. But the matter stood thus: Duke George wanted to reform the churches that were under his jurisdiction; since he himself was patron, the bishops [however], his protégés (as Doctor Breitenbach is said to have answered), he still wanted to know where the goods were, if he ever needed them. Luther answered: Duke George will make me pious, so that they would more easily choose my reformation than his. It does them no harm that they, who did not respect the counsel of God and trusted in men, namely in the Emperor and Duke George, are now put to shame. For the council

The suggestions of the Holy Spirit are firm; whoever does not want to believe them must experience them. Even if Duke George praises the canons of the Decretals, but if he also judged the bishops and prelates according to them, he would not be free to break into the church properties, and he would not be a patron of them, but a lowly protégé. But the jurists say that the rights are to be distinguished according to time. So does Duke George, seeking the fifth corner, seeking privilege, since our Elector has equal rights with him in ecclesiastical matters, as well as in the regalia and mines. - But there is no hope that he will cease his raging before the sea dries up. If I had first written for the pope, he would have been against the pope; but because I write against the pope, he fights for him and defends him, for he considers it his greatest wisdom to stand against others and resist them. He may not call our doctrine heresy, but he calls it a novelty.

When H. G. died and the sudden change of the principality took place, D. M. Luther said. M. Luther: "It is a punishment for those who despise the right, true God. Here one sees and grasps how foolish the wisdom of the flesh and of reason is, in those who rely on an old man and poor cripple, because he has now walked daily in the pit. If only he had been as powerful as King Pharaoh was in his kingdom of Egypt, whom the Holy Scriptures, Isa. 36:6, call a reed that breaks when you lean on it, and pierces or pierces your hands. Therefore he who trusts 1) and relies on the help of men must be deceived and disgraced.

George was once very ill, said M. Luther, when his physician D. P. came to him. P. had come to him; a crucifix had been presented to the prince, which he should look at; then he had lifted up and said: "Take that thing away, it makes the gentleman melancholy.

1) I. e. supports itself. Cf. Walch, St. Louis ed., XIII, 2616, z 4: "stähnt"; cf. also Wittenb. Ausg., VII, 358: "stönest."



### 16. by Duke Henry of Saxony.

Doctor M. Luther said that H. G. was an example that should be considered in this last time of the world, since a father with two beautiful, adult and great sons would have gone down in a short time. For when he was vehemently hostile to the teachings of the Gospel, and publicly wrote against him, D. Luther, and also drove many of his subjects from Leipzig and Oschatz and elsewhere into exile and expelled them, and divided his brother, H. Heinrich, nourishingly and poorly with the office of Freiberg and Wolkenstein, and only added thirteen thousand florins to it in the year, which was obtained through Prince Frederick's and H. Hansen's negotiations in Saxony. Luther had prophesied to him that George and his tribe would perish, and said: God will turn the tide, and wither the heir, and let the withered grow by his blessing. For Anno 1537 Duke George's eldest son, Duke Hans, had died. In 1539, his other son, Duke Frederick (to whom he gave a wife, a Countess of Mansseld, whom he had only four weeks, and assigned 24 councilors to him as guardians, for the regiment), also died on the 24th day of Februarii. In the same 1539th year, on the 17th day of April, the father, Duke George, followed and also departed with death, and was buried without all papal ceremonies.

On the other hand, Henry and his sons inherited the Meissen land, which he would have liked to get rid of, and kept him like a Cinderella. For he sent him to the Holy Land, thinking that he should remain outside in the same pilgrimage. After that he sent him to war in Friesland, where he was besieged and captured, and was in great danger of his life. After that he took a vow from him that he should not take a wife. Item, he did not grant the brother a piece of the regalia, so that he also did not suffer him on the coin. 1) Lastly, when his son, H. Fried-

rich had died to him, he wanted to turn the principality over to the emperor and even disinherit his brother H. Heinrich. But it did not help, Duke George had to wither away, even though he had fathered nine children with his wife, the Queen of Poland, as Johannem, Friedericum, Magdalenam, Chnstanam, Christophorum, Annam, Agnetam, Margaretham, and another Christophorum. Nevertheless, the children all died before him except for one daughter, and he followed after, and is now the same as if he had never been in the world.

M. Luther also said, when H. Heinrich had received the homage in Leipzig in 1539 and he, D. Martinus, preached there on the day of Pentecost, and later with the Elector of Saxony, Duke Johann Friedrich, and H. Heinrich, on the 26th day of May, drove out of a wagon at the same time from Leipzig to Grimm, that at that time H. Heinrich had complained a lot on the wagon about H. Georg, his brother. Georg, his brother, and said that he had had no greater enemy in his life than his own brother, for he had wanted him dead, and that in the same 39th year he had also written out to him the yearly money, the 13,000 florins, 2) and had absolved the four towns, as Pirn, Hain, Weißenfels and Eckersberg, which had been assigned to the pledge for it, and punished those of Weißenfels with imprisonment, that they had kept their guarantee according to the prescription. God was still able to miraculously raise up and make great H. Heinrich, and on the other hand let H. Georg's tribe perish with the root.

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 532.)

Duke Henry of Saxony once mockingly said to his brother, Duke George: "Brother, the world is getting strange; but I will stay with the Latin mass, since one can buy one for a penny, because the German mass costs ten villages.

### 17. D. M. Luther's Urtheil von großen Fürsten und Herren.

D. M. Luther once said: "Do the great heads, emperors, kings, princes, bishops

1) This means that he did not have his image, as a co-regent, minted on the coins.

2) D. i. recited.

In so many imperial congresses we do not counsel peace, but rather strife and war; yes, well then, in the name of their God, who drives them in their fierce anger, poems, deeds, 1) counsel, practices and proposals, we will always let them go and perish.

### 18. pious princes poor people.

Princes and lords are poor people, especially if they are pious and God-fearing; therefore our Lord God did not command in vain to honor the authorities and to pray for them.

D. M. Luther once said: There are not poorer people on earth than the princes; and our Lord God has not commanded it so diligently through Paulum in vain: *Orate pro illis, qui in sublimitatibus constituti sunt*. I have not understood it so well, the orare, as in my two Electors and Lords, H[erzog] Johann and H[erzog] Johann Friedrich. They are out of the saddle, they cannot help, even if they would like to; therefore they need the prayer of the Christians.

### 19. princes dying.

On July 22, 1533, M. Luther said over the table to Duke John Frederick, Elector of Saxony 2c.: It is a miserable thing when a prince dies, as when a peasant dies, he has no standing. A prince must be abandoned by all his friends and lords, and in the end must fight with the devil; one does not want to think of living a little more princely.

### 20. great potentates are our Lord God's deck of cards.

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 99.)

### 21st Franconian nobility.

The Franconian nobility has been punished, but if I see our nobility and the Meissen nobility punished, it will be bad.

1) i.e., to keep days, to meet.

### 22. From King Alphonso, how great lords should love their subjects.

When King Alphonso of Arragon had besieged the city of Cajeta 2) and a poor defenseless group of women, children and weak people were driven out of the city, so that the others inside could wait out the siege the longer and fight back, the captains advised the king that he should make an incursion and strike the same group, so that those in the city would be induced to surrender the sooner. Then Alphonso said: "God protect me for this, I did not want to take the whole kingdom of Neapolis and practice such tyranny and despotism: it is not so dear to me, even if it were still so delicious and good. And Duke Frederick, the laudable Elector of Saxony, is also said to have said the same thing, when some advised him to invade and besiege Erfurt; it would not cost more than five men, and they would perish. But he did not want to do it and said: "It would be too much for one man. But nowadays, great lords do not pay much attention to their subjects, just as they do not pay much attention to the men of war. As he said, "The mother of all the soldiers has not yet died. Item: A lot of soldiers are raised with a ton of buttermilk.

### Why our suggestions and advices are not correct, especially those of the regents.

There is nothing praiseworthy and lovely about a prince, except that he speaks freely what his opinion is, and loves those who do the same, saying unashamedly what is in their hearts, where time and necessity require it. There is nothing more shameful in a preacher than to keep his mouth shut and not speak freely what he has in mind and what his opinion is, especially when he is supposed to speak for half an office. God makes fools of both princes and theologians, for he commands them to rule and imposes on them things that are impossible, which no one would take upon himself if he knew it in the first place; and yet he may not refrain from doing so with a clear conscience once he has been commanded to do so and has accepted it. But it is toil and trouble that we are commanded to do much, and yet little is done; it will go nowhere.

2) D. i. Ga "ta in Neapolitan.

This is what our Lord God does, so that he alone may be wise and mighty, and may keep the honor. For if it were according to our words and our plans, as we have thought and done, we would be proud and presumptuous, as if we were so wise, and were the people who could do it. For it is inborn in us by nature that we strive and stand for great wisdom, power and honor, want to accomplish much and make everything delicious.

Well, says God, you are the man who can and does; go, be wise, and do it well; be a preacher and make the people pious; be a lord and ruler and bring the people well 2c. So then go quickly; yes, the crab walk; and the end of the song is called: It is all quite vain. Only God should be given wisdom and honor, we are fools and miserable bumbler with our doings and art.

#### **24. from the roman empire.**

(Contained in Cap. 76, § 27.)

#### **25. by Duke Wilhelm zu S.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 23, 1538, p. 178.)

After that, it was said of Duke Wilhelm of Saxony, who, when he married Anna, the daughter of the King of Hungary, despised her very much and had her imprisoned, because he had with him a very beautiful woman, Catharina von Brandenstein, with whom he went to bed in public, so that the queen saw it. Finally, the queen died of heartache, and he went to the holy land and did enough for his sin. He took the whore as his wife. When one of the court ducks was supposed to imitate him in marrying his concubine, he quickly took another virgin and married her. But Duke Wilhelm, although he was an excellent, well-mannered prince, nevertheless had to pay in the end, as the Psalm (58:12) says: "God is still judge on earth.

#### **26. young gentlemen.**

(Cordatus No. 1429.)

Young gentlemen must have good days until their twentieth year, so that they do not become fainthearted. After that, God comforts them.

When they come into office, their good days are spoiled. An example of this is a tree that is planted in a pot, which is still nurtured and cared for in the open field, but when it grows up [out of the earth], how much it has to suffer! 1)

#### **27. princes must be the scribes and captains servants.**

A prince rules in peace among the scribes, in war he must be servant and servant among the soldiers and thrasons; for he must tolerate and suffer the willfulness, courtiers and tyranny of every captain, colonel and warrior, and must not rebel against them. He has as many masters as he has captains and men-of-war, to whom he must not only give enough, even superfluous, but also give thanks, worship them, carry them on his hands, greet them kindly and be a good companion with them, lying below and above; otherwise he is despised and abandoned.

This is true, especially in our time, when there is neither discipline nor restraint among such people. But if he takes a snatch, that he is exhausted, and has no more money, or is killed, then they go to another, and leave him, yes, let themselves be used against him in wars, and help to overrun him, whom they previously supported and defended. Summa Summarum, he alone bears the title, a servant of the servants of the devil: if he is not also a Christian and prays, he becomes the poorest and most miserable man, of whom one has mercy.

But a prince must have such people, and it is impossible that everything could go right as it should. But even so, this is the most pious prince, who does not want it gladly, nor does he consent to it, but only suffers such companions, yes, must suffer them well, and punishes what he knows and can, so that everything does not go freely unpunished and unbridled, but that one must nevertheless be afraid of the sword. At court, everyone begrudges the other his happiness, and would like to be the first on the board and soar upward.

1) Aurifaber in a marginal gloss places this speech wrongly in the year 1545. No speech, which is handed down by Cordatus, falls later than 1537.

**28. princes work the greatest and most dangerous.**

(Cordatus No. 586. 587.)

If the peasants knew the very great things and difficult cases that the princes have to deal with, they would thank God for their good and quiet position. But they, like sheep and oxen, see only the splendor and the palaces of the same, but they do not see the sorrows. Therefore, they dishonor God, are safe and snore in peace, and harm the people by despising the authorities.

Duke Frederick told the preceptor at Lichtenberg [Wolfgang Reißbusch] step by step and in order that the life of the peasants was the happiest of all civic positions, the burghers bought with great concern and sold at a loss, the nobles had their complaints, but the princes had the greatest worries. The peasants, however, as everything would grow by itself, sell everything they can in the most expensive way, and only to them he gave the highest price [palmam] of happiness. That they give tithes and annual interest, they give for the land and the soil that belongs to the princes. Therefore, let it be true with respect to them what is said: The better the land, the poorer the people.

**29th farmers work.**

(Cordatus No. 588.589.)

The peasants who complain about the arduousness of their labors are lying, for all their labors are very cheerful, if only for the sake of this one cause, that they are full of the best hope, planting, tilling the field, hewing wood and everything else. Suffer not much in food, as the citizens do. Yes, a correct interpreter of the life of the same is Virgil in the Georgicis: O the all too happy peasants 1) 2c.

The peasants do not realize their [happy] lot, therefore God strikes them with this evil, that their servants and maids have it better than the masters themselves, because they do not care about the domestic worries and do the same.

1) Virgil. OkorAiva II, 458: O kortuatos nirräurn, sua si dona norint, ^Zriolas! etc.

not feel, but only their work. My wolf has it better than me and my Käthe. For marriage brings discomfort with it and imposes it especially on the man. In short, the higher the status, the greater the danger. Optat ephippia bos piger; optat arare caballus, 2) No one is satisfied with his fate.

**30 Of the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Electorate of Saxony.**

(Cordatus No. 1455.)

The Bohemians have in the castle at Prague the paintings of all the kings who have reigned so far, and they have a prophecy that when this line of kings is full, they will have no more king. And Ferdinand occupies the last space, so we may expect that evil augury. Also the row of the dukes of Saxony became full with Frederick [the Wise], who stood, so that there was no more room, at the door to Wittenberg [in the castle], and he [Luther] said, this means something: The cuckoo in the Bohemian Forest shall not sing here. 3)

**31. by Emperor Carl the Fifth.**

At the Diet of Worms, Anno 1521, Emperor Carl the Fifth had a swift mandate against my doctrine, Luther's doctrine, issued and posted; on it some learned, faithful men wrote soon in front, after the first line, near his coat of arms on the margin, namely these words: "Some have still had good hope in this Emperor Carl; but how much this tyrannical edict has scared off and turned away the hearts of many pious, honest people from him, that cannot be thought, much less said.

**32. from the Emperor Maximilian.**

Emperor Maximilian is said to have said at a time when he had established an alliance with the Venetians: There would have been three kings in

2) Horat. Dpist. I, 14, 42 - Wols is Luther's servant Wolfgang Sieberger, who is mentioned very often in Luther's Briesen, from 1517 to 1546. Cf. Cordatus No. 631.

3) That means: The prophecy of misfortune, which fits Bohemia, does not apply here, because the second Elector after Frederick already ruled.

He, the emperor, the king of France, and the king of England. He would be a king of kings, because if he interpreted something to his princes, if it pleased them, they would do it, if not, they would leave it. This indicates that the princes would never have obeyed him, but would have done as they wished. The king of France, however, would be a king of asses; for everything that he called his own, they would have to do, like asses, his princes would have to obey. But the king of England would be a king of the people, for what he laid out for them they would gladly do, and would love their lord as obedient subjects.

### 33. mildness of the emperor Maximilian.

The emperor Maximilianus had an amusing man with him, who pulled off many merry pranks, called Kunz von der Rosen. 1) He once walked behind 2) a poor priest and saw that he was carrying a book under his arm: such a book pleased the fool, so he took it from the priest. But when the priest wanted to have his book back, Kunz von der Rosen said, "Come with me, I will pay you enough for the book. When the priest went with him, the fool led the priest into the emperor's parlor. The emperor asked what the man wanted. Kunz von der Rosen answered: "Dear emperor, it is a poor priest, he has left his prayer book in the public house: now he asks for a tax so that he can get his book back. The emperor, however, soon understood Kunz von der Rosen's antics and said: "Oh, what a strange man you are! and ordered ten guilders to be given to the poor priest for worship.

### 34. of King Solomon's court and order.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 26, 1538, p. 121.)

On August 26, Luther said: "Solomon's kingdom was very well ordered; there was also a definite order of expenses, so that he also knew how much was consumed daily by the

all the land in the twenty-four courts, as it is described 1 Kings 4:22: "And Solomon had to have daily for food thirty cores of fine flour, and sixty cores of other flour; ten fatted oxen, and twenty pastured oxen 2c. So all his land was laid up." For those costs do not extend to Solomoni's farm, but to the whole territory. I consider that now under four imperial cities consume daily more in so large expenditure.

### Why does God punish the subjects because of the Lord's sin?

D. M. Luther was asked: Why God had punished the people, since David had sinned? To this he gave this answer, saying: Israel was not pure either, as the text indicates; therefore, when God wants to punish a people, He removes the hand, so the king falls, hence the punishment follows primarily because of the people's disobedience.

### Whether it is better to govern by reason and natural understanding, or by and according to the rights and laws described.

(Cordatus No. 780. 781. 782.)

The natural dialectic we draw from what we have seen and experienced, but the artificial one is learned from rules, and it is better governed by the mind than by laws of art. For the intellect is the soul of the law and the master of all laws. But where are those who have such an understanding? In one century there is hardly one.

Our Prince Frederick governed everything by reason and counsel, and since his brother John was prescribed such, he still could not attain his wisdom. Fabian Feilitzsch is said to have given more reliable answers from reason alone than any jurist. Philipp Melanchthon teaches those glorious arts, but the arts did not teach him. And I put my art into the books and do not take it from the books. One must learn from learned and clever people, but to reach them, one will leave, and theirs are not many. If our prince wanted to have such intelligence as Frederick had, he will not.

1) Cf. Cap. 63, §11.

2) In the issues: before.

The laws belong to the people, the mind is with individuals. Therefore, those are governed and those govern by the laws. And because those who are truly wise by reason are lacking, one must use the laws that wise people have made with their reason.

### 37. of the political and church anger.

Domestic wrath, as father and mother, masters and wives in the house, does no great harm; but the wrath of the authorities, both in spiritual and temporal government, does real harm. For there perish woman, child, country, people, angels, God, and all welfare, even as now, when the wicked are angry with us. Domestic anger is like children playing with dolls.

### 38. by Christiern, King of Denmark.

D. M. Luther had a tablet on which was painted how King Christian of Denmark was expelled. He looked at this painting for a long time and finally said: "Although it is a disgrace to the king, I will gladly have it. For it is an example and teaches that God does not want to suffer pride or presumption, but overthrow; as Mary sings in the Magnificat: "He removes the mighty from the throne," Luc. 1, 52.

### 39. of driving out King christian.

D. M. Luther was asked whether he, the King of Denmark, had also been expelled in a lawful manner. Whether it had been right for him? He said, "They say he was a tyrant; but he did not rage as the bishops cry out against him. He was expelled more from the hatred of the bishops than from just causes. Therefore, because he now hears that the bishops lie imprisoned, he is said to have clasped his hands together, lifted them up and said: Praise be to God that I see that my adversaries have been put to shame; now I will gladly endure and suffer my imprisonment. Thus fornication has done great harm to the good Lord; for fornication corrupts and devastates the land and the people, and nothing good comes of it.

### 40 The Emperor Maximiliani Courtesy.

When the King of Denmark at one time sent a noble legation and embassy to Emperor Maximilian, and the same assumed great honor for itself on account of its lord being powerful, so that the envoy wanted to do the advertisement and the request sitting down: when Emperor Maximilian noticed this, he stood up and heard him standing, so that the legate also had to stand up half ashamed and do his advertisement.

Likewise, when an envoy, in the beginning of his speech and proposal, was frightened and dismayed, so that he kept silent and, as it were, fell silent, the emperor began to talk to him about another deal, giving him time to consider, until he encouraged himself again.

Item, when an insolent beggar asked him, the emperor, for a gift, and called him brother, because they were both of one father Adam origin: he was poor, but the emperor rich, who could help; he said to him, Behold, thou hast two kreuzer, and go to the other brothers also; if they give thee so much, thou art richer than I am.

### 41. courtesy and kindness of the Emperor Maximiliani the First.

(Cordatus No. 1603.)

Maximilian had an unfaithful counselor, who also did him much evil in other ways, and yet he wanted to be just. Once the emperor approached him and said: "What do you think he deserves who is my most trusted advisor and yet unfaithful? He answered without delay: He would be worthy of the most ignominious death. Then he struck him on the armpit and said: I must have yours more. If my duke said such things to me, I would shit in my pants.

### 42. another history.

Otherwise D. M. Luther had told a story about the Emperor Maximiliano, that he once sat and calculated and had a large pile of money in front of him on the table. One of his advisors had stood in front of him, had always looked him in the eye, and had seen whether the emperor wanted to look around or go away, so that he could reach into the money.

would have done. Now, the emperor notices it, and leans against the wall as if he were tired, closes his eyes and falls asleep: soon he is there, and reaches for the florins, wipes his pocket with them. The emperor is silent, and when he finally wakes up, he is standing there just as before. Then the emperor says, "My dear, I see that this money is very pleasing to you; let me see it, take it, and what you take is yours. He does so, and the emperor says, "My dear, let me see and count how much you have been able to collect at once. He counts it. Then the emperor said, "My dear, count the others that you have in your pocket. Then he had to take out what he had first taken and count it, but the emperor left him both.

#### 43. by King Henry of England.

M. Franz Burkart, after he came back from England, rode next to M. Luther's carriage and said how zealous and angry the king was against the pope, that he soon asked him in the first address: whether it was true that the princes and theologians in Germany were divided and ambivalent in religious matters against the pope, as he had heard from truthful and credible people. Then he, M. Franz, had constantly confuted and refuted it, saying that it was impudently fabricated with untruth, and that since the royal dignity knew that it was otherwise, he wanted to be his eternal prisoner together with his fellow envoys and companions. So that he would have confirmed and strengthened the king very much, so that he would have given him free access to him at all times afterwards, and would have talked to him a lot about the Christian Augsburg Confession.

Then D. Jonas said, as Elector John of Saxony 2c. said to his theologians at Augsburg in 1530: "Dear sirs, if you do not dare to preserve it, think that you do not lead the country and its people into harm. But the theologians would have answered: If you, Lord, do not want to stand with us, then let us come alone before the Imperial Majesty and answer for ourselves. Then Prince John said with great zeal and faith in Abraham: God does not want that, do you want to exclude me? I will also confess Christ with you.

#### 44. from king Heinzen divorce.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 795.)

The wife of the King of England, the sister of the mother of our Emperor, was united to him in a forbidden degree, but the Pope, with cunning advice, deferred the divorce from himself to the universities, and seven had decided that the divorce should be pronounced publicly. We, however, and the University of Louvain have given a different opinion. The others cunningly seek the Emperor's disgrace by pushing back his aunt, so that they would do a favor to the King of France, whose sister they want to join to the Englishman. We advised him, however, that it would be more tolerable for him to live in the Concubinate than for him to stir up the country and its people; but at last he repudiated them. 1)

Item, Anno 1539, the 1st of May, came word from England of the Pabst's treachery 2) against the king, who had corrupted the Cardinal Polum, the king's blood relative, and bribed him with promises that he should have the king killed on Easter Day, on which the emperor would have planned and decided to take Calais and all English ports. But this secret practice was miraculously revealed by God. For he had made the secretary senseless, who was washed out of the council in his illness, as an erring delusional person, which

1) Catharine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Jsabella, aunt of Emperor Carl V, had first been married to the brother of Henry VIII of England, Arthur. The pope Clement VII protracted the matter of the divorce, especially, as he pretended, in order not to spoil things with the emperor. The universities, which had decided in Henry's favor, were almost all, but especially Paris, won by great gifts. Luther and Melanchthon, to whom D. Barnes (in Wittenberg under the name of Antonius) had been seconded, spoke in favor of the validity of the marriage. The King of France is said to have contributed a great deal to the consummation of the divorce, so that he turned the King of England away from the friendship of the Emperor altogether. Henry repudiated Catharina in July 1531, and the formal divorce was not pronounced until 1533 by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, after Henry had already (1533) married Anna Boleyn. Cf. Luther's concerns about this marriage matter. Walch, old edition, vol. XVII, 266 (Rebenstock 1, 235 k.) and vol. XXI, 1386, the latter dated Sept. 5, 1531 (Wrampelmeyer.).

2) In the editions: Traitors.

The king took good care of the Cardinal Marcionem 1) and saw him as a traitor, and immediately occupied and fortified all ports and approaches to England in the best and strongest way, so that on Easter Day all cities were in cuirasses and went to the sacrament. There spoke D. M. Luther said: "There will be no end to it; the pope will remember and practice day and night to humiliate this king, just as he does us Germans.

#### The first of these is the "Theological".

There was talk about the secret practices of the papists, which they lead against us through the French and the emperor 2c. Then said D. M. Luther said: "It behooves such high majesties to fight honestly and truthfully, not secretly. Oh, if the high majesties are such assassins, who want to defend this bear wolf, who is dealing with deceit, secretly, without announcement of war, then they will have no more luck, because they are assassins. The prayer of devout God-fearing Christians has been our protection and wall against them, so that their treachery and practices have been revealed and come to light. I certainly believe that God has so far protected me against their counsels and plots, as He delivered Jacob the patriarch from the Scythians, Genesis 35.

When it was said by some who had received writings from England, how the king had once again fallen away from the Gospel, had commanded, under corporal punishment, that the laity should take the Sacrament only under one form, that clerics, monks and nuns should keep their vows, and that their and the priests' marriages should be torn apart; since he had previously done the opposite in all this, but now he did otherwise, to God's displeasure and to the pope's pleasure; said D. M. Luther. M. Luther: "The papists will laugh at this, rejoice and boast, as it is also a great annoyance; but let it go, that it may go as it will, it is the same King Heinz, as I have depicted him in the first booklet, he will well find his judge: his predecessor, the priest, the priests, the priests, and the priests.

1) Maybe Marco Polo?

I never liked the fact that he wanted to kill the body of the pope but preserve the soul, that is, his false teaching.

Item, Anno 1539, den 10. Julii, D. M. Luther thanked God that he had redeemed our church from this annoying king of England, who had desired and sought our alliance with the greatest diligence, and yet had not been accepted; no doubt that God had prevented this out of special counsel, for he has always been unstable and fickle.

I am glad that we are rid of the blasphemous. He wants to be the head of the church in England without means after Christ, which title is not due to any bishop, no matter how pious and godly he may be, let alone to a king or prince. It does not suffer, Christ alone is the only bridegroom and head of his Christian church. The church is not such a small body as the pope dreams. But the devil rides this king to vex and martyr Christ. He killed Thomas Morum, who had offended against God and sinned, even though he had done nothing against the king. He remains King Heinz, but he will soon be put to shame. I am sorry and repentant that M. Philipp Melanchthon has written the most beautiful presations and prefaces to the most wicked people.

#### 46 The King of England's Divorce.

(Lauterbach, May 29, 1538, p. 88.)

On May 29, Luther spoke about the marriage case of the King of England. When he had married his brother's wife, who was the mother-sister of the emperor, he had not been allowed to do so by the pope; but since he wanted a judicial verdict from the pope, since he was ready to keep her or to leave her, a court day was set for him in England. When Cardinal Campegius arrived there and heard both sides, he left secretly without deciding the matter. The enraged king then sought the decision of many universities, which decided the separation, because it was an evil thing.



**The first of these is the question of whether Thomas Morus was killed for the sake of the Gospel.**

(Lauterbach, May 29, 1538, p. 88.)

Luther was asked if Thomas More had been killed by the king for the sake of the Gospel. Not at all, he said, for he was a very great tyrant against the gospel and shed much blood of pious confessors, whom he tortured with strange tools like an executioner. First he examined them with words under a green tree, then he tortured them with questions in prisons, finally, since he was the closest to the king and behaved wantonly against the decree of the whole kingdom, he himself fell under punishment.

**48. prophecy of the emperor Carl.**

(Cordatus No. 641 and 1587.)

In an old book one read that Emperor Carl would subjugate all of Europe, he would reform the church and under him the mendicant orders would fall, and the western beast and the eastern lion would subjugate the whole world. This is what I understand from the Turk and Carl. After this the regions of the barbarians shall be converted. I also believe that they are called Teutons because they are brothers [germani] of the Italians, who would have the priesthood, but the Germans the rule. If this pleases you, let it please you. 1)

We have a pious emperor. He has a wedge in his heart, whoever wants to put it in him. He is quiet and pious. I think he doesn't talk as much in a year as I do in a day.

**49. unequal happiness of two brothers, great potentates.**

(Cordatus No. 833. 868. 869. 923. 986. 987.)

It is wonderful that two brothers have such different fortunes, like Ferdinand and the Emperor. Everyone shouts: Away from Ferdinand

and the emperor! The advice of the former is lost in the wind, but the advice of the latter is happy, because he is innocent and has not stained himself with blood. 2) The former lives and does according to Aristotle's choice. The former lives and does according to the choice of Aristotle, but the latter is governed by the counsel of God. The latter has imposed himself and relies on his wisdom, [but God says]: they have chosen whom I did not want, and I will disgrace their choice. Therefore, he is led there by his will, not by divine impulse.

When I pray that God may give victory to Carl against the Turk, our sins and ingratitude cry out to me against it.

The Pope called Carl to Germany that he should corrupt us, and behold, GOD has preserved us and corrupted the Pope. He has an imperial modesty, does not throb, and GOD gives happiness to his enterprise. "To govern is to see through the fingers." He who cannot see through his fingers cannot govern.

God gives everything to His own in sleep [Ps. 127, 2]. You can see that in Carl. He must have a good angel. By the way, Ferdinand does everything with wisdom, but everything is lost to him, even what he already has in his hands.

God is doing wonders at this time of ours with the two brothers Carl and Ferdinand, because he has given each of them a great dominion, and yet formed them with the most different inclinations and manners. The former is the author of war, the latter of peace. Happiness dwells with the one, misfortune with the other; everyone loves the one, everyone hates the one. 4) Ferdinand has neither money nor favor; wealth and favor flow to him.

Ferdinand wants to take Hungary and keep it with his Spaniards. This will go out as well as the Milanese, since they [the

2) Instead of *mulum, nuilo* is to be read. After that the words "*ssä äsus äioit*" are missing. (Bindseil II, 322.) The words refer to Ferdinand's election as Roman king. (Wrampelmeyer.)

3) In the original: "*RsZnars est älsinaulars*"; qui *n68oit äissirnulark, nssoit inapsrars*. For the translation, see Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 412, § 76.

4) In this sentence the pronouns "this" and "that" are confused in the original.

1) In this section, only the interpretation of the first prophecy about the Turk and Carl, and the last sentence seem to be speeches of Luther, the rest quotes from the book.

Spaniards defended them against the power of the Venetians, the Pope and the King of France. They are protectors, but not faithful. For there every citizen was forced to provide twenty soldiers with subsistence and wages. They play with equal dice with the Turks, and both [Spaniards and Turks] form a garrison not unlike that at Jerusalem. [They] look for the money in wells, hoe where the earth is new, there they dig in, newly whitewashed walls they tear down.

#### 50. emperor kisses the pope's feet.

(Cordatus No. 1237.)

The kings of France and England have fallen away from the pope, and the emperor has kissed his feet again. 1) The [pope] understands the will of the emperor very well, because if the emperor kisses his feet, the pope must lick the emperor again in Ars. But those two kings are Lutheran in taking, not in giving. 2) They seek what is theirs, not what is God's.

#### 51. from France and England.

(The first paragraph, omitted here, is contained in the previous §. The following Lauterbach, Nov. 17, 1538, p. 173.)

After that, it was said of the king of France that he was boorish and made a fool of himself by having affairs with women; the emperor was good in himself, but Spain was tyrannical. Therefore many people say: I am good imperial, but not good Spanish. For these are the cruelest tyrants. Although Bucer claimed that the emperor was a very devious man, so he used only two main rathors. They are great kings and monarchs. David and Solomon have no prestige, have not been great rulers, have a handful of people, so that the books of Chronica almost indicate the number of their court servants and country people.

1) Since Carl V met with Clement VII in Bologna in December 1532. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) The meaning is: they are pleased with the new teaching, provided it gives them cause to seize something.

#### 52. emperor Carl's virtue and discipline.

In 1544, shortly before the French War, when Emperor Carl the Fifth was passing through France and staying in several towns, the King of France gave him a grand banquet in a castle and had a very beautiful virgin from the nobility brought to his chamber in the evening and secretly put to bed. But when the emperor lay down and knew nothing about it, the maiden was so frightened that she trembled. Then the emperor summoned his advisors and asked diligently: Where she was from and what parents she had. And when the maiden had reported and narrated the whole affair in a fine, simple and chaste manner, the emperor sent her home to her parents unharmed and unchanged with gifts and presents, just as she had come to him, and gave her several horsemen to escort her. She, however, the virgin, thanked the emperor beforehand with weeping eyes quite humbly and humbly. When the escorts and horsemen returned, the emperor departed. But not long after that, he had the same castle razed to the ground during the war.

#### 53 Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, Judgement of Emperor Carl the Fifth.

When Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, was seriously asked by one, "What do you think of the Roman Emperor, Carl the Fifth? M. Luther: God has given us this emperor for graces and disgraces. A good, wise and polite answer.

#### 54 From Emperor Carl's Coronation.

The Spaniards' arrogance, presumption and tyranny do not bode well. They are plaguing Italy and intend to become masters of Germany; they would like to lift the German princes out of their regalibus so that they alone can rule and reign.

Emperor Carl was elected by the Electors at Frankfurt, anointed at Aachen and crowned by the Pope at 3) Bononia, for which he did not require any Electoral or German princes, but other Italian and Hispanic princes and lords,

3) D.i. Bologna.

next to and with him, which have presented and led him the flags, regalia and coats of arms of the Elector 2c. Since I stirred it once in my booklet, they were bought up by the Elector everywhere.

#### 55. by Emperor Carl's Demuth.

The people of Antorf 1) had a beautiful tapestry made for Emperor Carl, on which the battle before Pavia, how the King of France was captured, was depicted. But the emperor did not want to accept it, so that one did not cry, he rejoiced in other people's misfortune and misery.

#### 56 Emperor Carl's modesty and long-suffering.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 1, 1538, p. 104.)

On August 1, there was much talk of Emperor Carl's slowness and modesty, which did more good than harm. He answered: It is very praiseworthy to keep the middle road, and this has been highly exalted at all times. But it is difficult to attain it, as Isocrates says: because it is difficult to hit the middle. Therefore it is better to do too little than too much. Maximilian was such a man, and he acted according to his proverb: Keep moderation. For when he had defeated the Dukes of the Palatinate, he tempered his victory with admirable modesty, defended their families and their territory, so that no great change would occur in their descendants. Likewise, when he was preparing for a great war against the Venetians and saw that they had an alliance with the Turks, he made a covenant with them so that he would not increase the evil. The lucky ones have kept the middle road. 2) But there are too many byways. And human nature is all too weak, for it is easily irritated on both sides.

#### 57: The Emperor Maximilian's Rhyme.

Tene Mensuram, et respice Finem hinein, that is, keep moderation, and remember the end. This dictum is finer than Emperor Carl's: Plus Ultra.

#### 58 Emperor Carl's armor against the Turk.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 23, 1538, p. 155.)

On October 23, one said of the Emperor's armament against the Turk, if only it did not also happen against Germany. Philip answered: How, if now Carl's luck was coming to an end? For ten years ago he was pursuing a stag, but when a wolf got in his way, he let the stag go and pursued it, fell off his horse and wounded his thigh so that it became inflamed, and would almost have died. What if he left the stag, the Turk, and attacked the wolf, Germany, at his peril? Luther said: The Lord grant peace and resist the bloodthirsty devil.

On this day Gabriel von Torgau wrote about Jakob: D. Jeckel remains Jeckel. Jeckel does not want to go home, he is an antinomist. Luther said: Christ is well practiced in this fight, because he says (Matth. 10, 36.): "A man's enemies will be his own household." Inward poison does more harm than outward poison to the skin.

#### 59. great lords servant at court possessed by the devil.

They talked about how K. and F. were miserably imprisoned by their rulers, bishops and cardinals. Then said D. M. Luther said: "Therefore, the Holy Scripture exhorts us to pray for the authorities, not so much for their own sake as for the sake of their office, for their courtiers are possessed with devils. Few Joseph and Daniel are found at court.

#### 60. beautiful order of the roman empire.

In 1539, May 16, Luther said of the fine form and order of the Holy Roman Empire: "Since the emperor was elected by the seven princes according to the bull of gold, and that he had given them the justice of the sword and the courts, they may also use it. Item, that one or two princes voice the other concerns. As Elector Frederick of Saxony did when he was elected Roman king at Frankfurt in 1519, but he would not accept anything, but wished and

1) D. i. Antwerp.

2) In the original: Litzäium tsuusrs psati.

He granted it to his cousin, H[archduke] Albrecht of Mecklenburg, since he lived: for no one could resist the Frenchman. After that, Carolum was chosen, not as a king of Hispania, but as a German and Archduke of Austria.

If the spiritual princes, the bishops, were temporal lords, it would be much better and more advisable. But now one prince must bear the hatred of all the others alone: and if the common man were not favorable and kind to him, as Jacob was to the Shechemites, he could not endure it. God sustains him wonderfully.

#### 61. from N. N. Government.

In 1539, June 4, there was talk of a great lord who was raging against the gospel and was planning strange plots. M. Luther said: "He is a poor gentleman, who is a prisoner of the pope and thinks that one could not fight the Turk, if one had first eradicated Christ and his gospel. He is like King Ahaz, who, when he wanted to defeat Assyria, called on the God of the Syrians and Damascus, and the God of Israel was no good at all. And I am surprised that the papists are so bold and cheerful, yes, mad and foolish, and are allowed to execute and execute the sentence, which has not yet been pronounced nor fallen. But, praise God, we still have the advantage that no council has condemned us for heretics. Thus the right define and describe, and say: That he is a heretic who stubbornly defends his error 2c. Which we have never done in our part, but freely displayed testimonies from God's Word and the Holy Scriptures, and gladly listen to the other opinion. But here is effort and work, that we do not have the pope as a judge nor can suffer, but want to make him a part.

#### 62. same mandate.

Doctor Martin Luther was given a printed mandate by a king, in which he seriously forbade that no one should adopt the new doctrine of Luther, which would be the mother and root of all evil. 2c. Then he said: This shall be the reward of this world, namely.

This king wants to drive out Christ, the King over all kings, against whom Cain, all false prophets and teachers, monarchs, emperors and kings, Julianus the Mamluk and others have been running and crushing themselves. Let him leave Christ and his kingdom alone. Let us watch and pray against him.

(The following paragraph Cordatus No. 1144.)

Ferdinand does not suffer misfortunes of a hero, which kings are wont to suffer, as Louis drowned in the water in the war, the king of France caught in the war. He suffers only peasant misfortunes. For at Augsburg he almost fell to his death; in Bohemia he almost perished in the fire; since he went over the ice on the Danube, he almost brought himself to his death. I believe that the cause of all these misfortunes is his own arrogance, in which he does everything. He has a godless heart and grieves over nothing and regrets nothing, unless he is like Esau, who did not grieve because he had offended God with his trade, but over the loss of his birthright. God is not concerned about this.

#### 63: The Turkish invasion.

Let us do righteous penance, pray, and wait for the will of the Lord, for human help and protection is too weak for this. Five years ago (1532 in September), the emperor could have resisted the Turks, since he had gathered a very powerful army on horseback and on foot, from all over the empire, both French and Germans, but he did not want to. Unfortunately, many good people were sacrificed on the flesh bank and perished miserably. Oh dear God, what is more in this life than dying and death! Nothing more than death from youth to old age.

The extreme wickedness of the world, said D. M. Luther, will provoke God to anger, so that he will punish...

1) Louis II of Hungary lost his life in a swamp while fleeing at Mohacz in 1526. - At Augsburg, Ferdinand almost broke his neck during a tournament (Cordatus No. 1126). (Wrampelmeyer.)

We have to take hold of it by force, even against His will and unwillingly, because nothing will help anymore, we continue with our sins, ingratitude, contempt and distortion of God's word, and persecution of His faithful servants, without ceasing.

Unfortunately, I am worried that things will not go right. For the Spaniards' tyranny and courtly rule, because they cannot force the Germans nor bring them under their yoke, will hand us over to the Turks and subjugate us: So we Germans are good fellows, we drink, we eat, we break the windows, we tear down the ovens, we gamble away a hundred, or a thousand, or even more florins in one evening, and meanwhile we forget about the Turk, who can be at Wittenberg in thirty days with a bunch of light horses, he can besiege it: for he is, as the prophet says, and like a desolation before him.

Unfortunately, I am worried that we will sleep through it. The treachery is great; I am worried that the twenty thousand men and the fine artillery have been deliberately betrayed to the Turks. It is not customary to lead such large armies into the field. Maximilian kept it safe in Vienna. He looks at me as if he should say: "The gun is a gift to you, kill what cannot escape. It looks not unlike treason. For they are all still asleep, but the Turk keeps watch with all diligence, tries everything he can, both with public force and secret practices.

If he were to proclaim publicly that everyone should be free from all tribute and burden for three years, the common people would gladly surrender to him and accept him willingly for the sake of liberation. But when he gets them in his clutches, then he will exercise his tyranny and deal with them as is his custom. For he takes away the third son from each of them. He is always the father of the third child. It is indeed a great tyranny, but it concerns the princes most of all.

#### 64. by Emperor Carl the Fifth.

In 1545, June 11, the emperor was said to be angry and hostile to the Gospel.

1) Cf. Cap. 75, § 2.

would be. Then said D. M. Luther: "I have always held the emperor suspicious, although he can feign and hide behind the mountain. For he must also do it; cannot be so free as a preacher, who is like a castor, 2) he can soon turn. A regent cannot do this with his following witness; however, in the meantime, he takes a break and takes the bishoprics, Utrecht, Liège 2c. There the nobility should watch. I have tried hard that the monasteries and princely convents would not be torn apart, but that they would be preserved for the poor of the nobility, but it will not be. .

I almost despaired of him when he looked at and pursued the truth he had recognized and heard so often in the imperial congresses. The verse in the other Pfalm, v. 1. 2. will not stop: "Why do the heathen rage, and the people speak in vain? The kings of the land rebel, and the lords counsel with one another against the Lord and his anointed." David lamented it; Christ felt it; the apostles wept for it; so do we now feel it. Therefore St. Paul teaches and says 1 Cor. 1, 26: "Not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called." Let us call upon God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and pray; it is of great need.

#### 65: From Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony.

Doctor Martin Luther said at one time: That Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, birthday was St. Anthony's Day Anno 1463, on which day he used to sacrifice annually as much Rhenish gold florins as he was ev years old. Such offerings were given to U. Spalatinus, his chaplain and court preacher, for a long time. And when His Electoral Grace died, he still received an annual income of one hundred and thirty florins, that he had a salary of four hundred florins. This Elector provided well for his court preacher.

(A paragraph is omitted here. We have transferred the first half of it to Cap. 21, § 6, where it belongs; the other half is contained in the same §).

2) Who has only One horse in front of the cart.

**66. from his life.**

Prince Frederick has been a wise, understanding, skillful and his lord, who has been very hostile to all ostentation and hypocrisy and glitter: that is why he has not had much to do in 1) women's rooms, because he was a chaste lord. He did not have a wife.

**67. duke Friedrichs, Churfürsten, symbolum.**

Tantum, quantum possum. That is a rhyme prudentis principis, considerantis vires. And since his advisors and those of the nobility wanted to persuade him to take the Duchess of Jülich, he sent D. Staupitzen there to see her. He recanted her person to the Elector and said: She did not rhyme with him. So he left his free one in line. And said D. M. Luther said: Oh, dear God, great lords, kings and princes are poor captives. A citizen and a peasant may free whoever he pleases, but those may not free among themselves. Our present lord, H[archduke] Johannes Friedrich, is a pious, God-fearing and chaste husband. There is great virtue in him, he loves his spouse and is chaste. Which is a strange gift in great lords, kings and princes.

**68: Duke Frederick's Household.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1639.)

When a spirit of stewardship, government and heroism is united in a prince, it is indeed a great gift of God. Such a man was Frederick, who, according to the gift of grace bestowed upon him, was a statesman and a hero. According to Claus Narren's advice, he also became a steward, for he himself was a castle owner 2c.

He kept sharp accounts with his bailiffs, stewards, administrators and servants. When he came to a castle, he ate, drank and fed like another guest and paid for everything. So that the officials would not have to apologize afterwards "and could say that so much had gone out and been consumed with the prince. Hence it also happened that he gave his

1) In the editions: with.

'Lande left a great treasure and stock. But now the pits and soil are unoccupied enough.

This Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, died Anno 1525, May 5, lived 62 years, 3 months, 9 days, and almost 4 hours.

**69. duke Frederick's wise speech.**

(The first paragraph contained in Cap. 46, §1, therefore omitted).

His Electoral Grace once said: "I see and experience that the property of princes is not that of those who deserve it and to whom it should be given cheaply, but to whom it is bestowed. Emperor Sigmund also said the same thing. For once he was riding through water and his horse (to speak with leave) stumbled in the water, and a servant started and said: "This horse has the nature and character of its master, the emperor, because it stumbles in the water, since there is water enough before; so the emperor also gives a blessing and a gift to those who are rich enough before. When the emperor heard this, he answered: Great lords' goods and gifts are not for those who deserve them, but for those to whom they are given; and that this is true, you shall know it as soon as we come into our court camp. As the imperial majesty dismounted from his horse in the castle, he ordered that two wooden boxes be prepared for him, one full of gold and the other full of lead of the same weight. He summoned the same old servant, who had complained in the water that his master did not give him anything, and set the two boxes before him, saying, "One is full of gold, the other full of lead; now take whichever one you want, and it shall be yours. The servant felt and tested both cans, and because they were of equal weight, he grabbed them and caught the one that was filled with lead. Then the emperor said, "You see that it is not my fault that you do not get anything from me.

Luther also said of Prince Frederick that he collected with bushels and spent with spoons; that is, he would have been exact and frugal, and would have kept house. But now the opposite is happening at the courts.

Item, H[erzog] Friedrich zu Sachsen, Churfürst, said D. M. Luther, said at the Diet of Worms, Anno 1521: I do not find a Roman church in my faith, but a common Christian church I find in it.

To the Locha near Wittenberg, Phil. Melancthon once said to D. Luthern over the table, there was a stag in the village, which was tame and ran every year in the month of September into the forest in the stag rut, and in October come home again, and the whole year otherwise remained in the little town. He did this for many years. But in 1525, when Prince Frederick died, the stag got away and was not seen again, because he had lost his master, so he did not want to stay with a new and different master.

#### **70. by Duke John, Elector of Saxony.**

(Cordatus No. 635. 636. 637.)

Doctor Jonas said: I mean, Doctor, you insult God in the Psalm [2, 1<sup>^</sup>: "Why do the heathen rage", which I sent to Augsburg. To which I replied: What prophet has not scolded? Job was very patient in the beginning, at the end he became very impatient.

The more miserable it was in the Old Testament, the more mighty were the prophets, as in the days of Jeremiah 2c., who spoke wonderful things to God.

I think my lord of Saxony would have been an Ezechias in the Old Testament, if it had come to that. For when he consulted me as to whether he should consent to the twelve articles of the peasants, and I answered that he would not consent to one either, he was gladly satisfied with this and added only this: God has made me a prince and has given me many horses. If he will not let me stay, I will gladly ride with eight or four horses. This is what he said to me.

#### **A different one from the Elector John.**

(Cordatus No. 1608. 1609 and No. 136.)

Of the elder prince John, he said that the greatest disobedience of all his own could not move him to impatience (ge

He always said: "You will be better in time. But he had this restraint from his youth, persuaded by the monks and from their sermons, which taught him that a prince must be kind and patient, not angry, gentle and merciful, not punitive, and imposed on the prince all the duties of a private citizen. He could no more discard these habits than I can discard the whole monasticism.

When some attacked Mag. Lucas [Edenberger], the teacher of the younger prince [Johann Ernst zu Sachsen], out of hatred, he, who is now Elector [Johann Friedrichs], replied: "I like this man, and if only such a man had been granted to me, or if only Spalatin had not been taken from me! By the way, Colditius Mexius Croßner from ColdiA has not done well for me. Hereupon the older Duke Johannes said: Now the youth easily comes to a scholarship, to which we could not reach with the Casus and Tempüslehre. My son has written me a Latin epistle and pleases me well, and asks for a stag, which I sent and shot for him myself, and wants him to study. He can easily learn to hang two legs over a stallion.

When Duke John of Saxony had received letters from rebels from three parts of his territory at the same time, he said: "If God does not want me to be a prince in the future, as he has allowed me to be until now, then let his will be done. I can also be another person 1). 2)

#### **72. from duke Johannis, Churfürsten, constancy.**

(Cordatus No. 800.)

If at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg Duke John had not shown unchanging constancy, all his advisors would have let it go, for they all thought of means by which the Emperor's favor could be preserved, and mixed up the grace of God and the grace of the Emperor.

1) I.e., a private citizen. (Wrampelmeyer.) 2) Cf. § 70.

people, and he is said to have said: I would not have our scholars look at us, but speak and write what is right, and do not make umbrellas. 2) To the judgment that the emperor had proclaimed and the threats of many, he said: "There are two ways: to deny God or to deny the world. Let each one think which is best. And this was a great proof of his steadfastness, that when the emperor forbade preaching, he would rather go away than suffer this prohibition. In short, our prince stood firm against all. It is impossible to describe all things, they are too high and wide 2c.

**The first time, the first time, the first time, the first time, the first time.**

This Elector John of Saxony always had six noble boys with him in the chamber, who waited for his body. They had to read the Bible to him for six hours every day, as he listened diligently. And even if His Lordship often fell asleep because of this, when he woke up, he still remembered and retained some beautiful saying from the Bible.

S. Electors are also accustomed to have writing tablets with them during the sermon and to rewrite the sermon with their own hand from the preacher's mouth.

(The following at Cordatus No. 1094.)

The Duke of Saxony alone resisted the election of the Roman king, because the Golden Bull stipulates that a king shall not be elected during the lifetime of the emperor. Ferdinand did not care about this, and all the gates of Cologne were immediately manned with guards; but John Frederick had left earlier. But the Emperor's restraint was so great that he did not even mention the contradiction with a single word, since he always writes something to the Prince about faith, religion, unity, and so on.

**74. Death of Duke Johannis, Elector of Saxony.**

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 753.)

The Elector John was a man without all bitterness and constant, in many ver-

1) I.e. feints, fencing tricks.

searches. He died in peace in 1532, on August 16, at Schweinitz Castle, as I believe, hit by a blow. It seems to have been a miracle that none of his children or other relatives were present at the hour of his death. He lay in the death throes for a whole day, namely from the tenth hour of the day until the tenth hour 2c. He had made his will two years before, in which he most recommended the University of Wittenberg to his son. 2)

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 754.)

It is said that the emperor at Augsburg, after hearing our confession, said: "He would like to see this preached throughout the world. Duke George, however, said that he knew that there were many abuses in the church. If the pope changed them, he would like to suffer, which he did, but he would not accept anything from the lost monk. That is why it is said that Wolf von Hohenwerk said: "If God would let his word be preached by princes, counts and the nobility, they would all accept it. But he will not let this happen and will not let his word be sealed by them. He takes fishermen, Peter and Andrew, and shepherds like Amos, the prophet.

When Duke John, the Elector of Saxony, was buried, Luther said: "The bells ring much differently than usual when a friend dies who is dear to him. Our Scharrhansen have had desire to rule. They have it now, may see that they do it well.

In our prince there was great piety and kindness, in Duke Frederick great wisdom and understanding. If the two princes had been one person, it would have been a great miracle. Duke Frederick sat and let him deliberate, closed his eyes, had a writing tablet and recorded the deliberations of each of the councilors in turn; at last he gave his opinion, since the voices of the two princes were in agreement.

2) Although instead of this one paragraph there were more than two full columns in Aurifaber's table speeches, we had to omit them, because what was given in them was quite obviously formed from what was given here by all kinds of later additions.

3) Here we have omitted "it".



came to him and decided: So this, that 2c. Council cannot exist, from this and the causes, because this and that would come from it and take place.

### 75 From Duke John, Elector of Saxony.

(Cordatus No. 855.)

When the Elector of Saxony [John] was hunting for the last time, no game wanted to come in or wait. Thereupon he said: Well, that should mean something, that our little animals thus flee against their habit. The virtue of this prince was great and he despised the threats of all his enemies.

### 76 Of the death of Duke John.

Alas, said D. M. Luther, when he saw Duke Hansen, Elector of Saxony 2c. die, how a great prince dies there so lonely, that not a son, cousin or friend has been with him, when he passed away! The physicians say: the *spasm* (cramp) has strangled him. Just as children are born without care, live without care, and die without care: so our dear prince, Duke Johannsen, will feel on the last day as if he came from the Lochish heath from the hunt, will not know what will happen to him; as Isaiah says Cap. 57, 1. 2.: "The righteous is carried away, and lies down in his chamber and in his bed of rest.

### The first of these is a book by Duke John Frederick, Elector of Saxony.

Since Duke Johann Friedrich, the Elector, was remembered, who had been well plucked and plucked by the nobility and sequestrators for five years, would have had to pay an apprenticeship; D. M. Luther said: His father would have diligently warned him. M. Luther: His father had warned him diligently, he wanted to be careful and diligently guard himself, so that he would not be given to such birds and little snapping chickens nor come into the hands; and he said: Elector Hans had said to me, D. M. Luther, in Torgau in the chamber: My son does not know the people yet, but he will learn to know them. As if he wanted to say: I have learned it from experience; but because princes and lords without the help of the nobility do not know the people.

If they can rule alone, they must suffer something from them and not want to have everything so straightforwardly, especially what is not contrary to God and the conscience. A bad 1) householder without servants cannot rule his house alone, much less can a prince or king rule his principality or kingdom alone. Emperor Carl had eight chancellors at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530.

D. Gregorius Brück told me, said D. M. Luther: He had not seen a man who could forgive so heartily as H[erzog] Johann, Elector of Saxony.

### 78. from duke Johann Friedrichs, Churfürsten, sincerity and constancy?)

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, Oct. 7, 1538, p. 144.)

He praised the sincerity and constancy of the Elector, who hated lies exceedingly and yet until now had seen through his fingers in his office. I hope that he will now wake up. As it happened to the Elector Frederick when he was young and very poor at first. Since he then looked at the registers and order himself, he became very rich and was not allowed to borrow from the treasurers.

Duke Johann Friedrich, Elector of Saxony, is angry by nature, but he can break his anger and sense, that it is a miracle; is Germany's salvation, a God-fearing and understanding prince, he has his five senses, God keep him for a long time, amen.

Our Lord God has thus wrought the game through our present prince, that it has never been so hard as with him, because he has the reign, although all men comforted him evil. But the emperor's heart is in God's hand.

If my most gracious young lord comes into the regiment, then scribes, chancellors, scholars will count for nothing, Junker Scharrhans will be all and practice tyranny: since the good lord thinks much differently, it will go well. But such assumed ignorance will overthrow him. God make it well, the lice are even in the

1) I.e. simpler.

2) Aurifaber: This virtue was also demonstrated by the noble hero and Christian knight in his custody (imprisonment) with free confession of the right, pure doctrine at Augsburg, 1550.

Grind; not for the sake of grind, but for their sake. We writers do not understand it, but the Holy Spirit understands it. Whoever does not want to understand it now, let him take it from the wall.

#### 79 Change in the Principality of Saxony.

Our principality," said D. M. Luther, a great misfortune will happen. You shall become aware of such a change in a short time and see that it will be called a change. There is a very great paroxysm and ghastly further present: Satan tries all his strength and power. If it is to be, I will push out the bottom of the barrel. In the time of Noah and Lot the people would not hear the voice of the pious fathers and preachers, until they heard the voice of the flood, and in the destruction of Sodom fire, brimstone and pitch.

The Elector of Saxony asked M. Luther if there was not a nun with him who wanted to become free and married; he had collected five hundred guilders from the abbess of Niemeck, with which he wanted to equip her. 2c. The pious lord was so mild.

#### 80. court camp at Weimar most convenient.

Weimar, said D. M. Luther, is the most distinguished office, where the Elector can keep house most comfortably and easily, which he also praised above others. For there he can keep his court camp with three hundred horses year and day with a daily income, which Torgau cannot do.

#### 81. princes equal to kings.

(Cordatus No. 773.)

The reputation of the Electors is very great, because they elect the Emperors. Yes, they all write to the kings: Ew. Liebe, nicht Ew. Gnaden, because they are like kings.

#### 82 Titulus Johannis Friderici, Electoris, Ducis Saxoniae, sub cruce militantis, ab

**Ecclesia sibi inditus, 1548.**

(This § is neither a table talk, nor by Luther, therefore omitted).

The first of these is a book on the history of the Duke of Saxony, John Frederick.

Verily, said D. Martinus, we have a prince, with many fine gifts of

God is gracious: he has a chaste mouth, one hears no unseemly nor dishonest and lewd word, nor cursing from him; loves God's word, likewise churches and schools; carries a great, heavy burden, and that alone; keeps faith with what he promises, and now begins to look at the yarn of those of the nobility, notices what they deal with and what they have in mind. The other day, he gave one of his advisors a leave of absence, who had to leave the court from that time on, because he had gone against the prince's orders and had given the court marshal bad, useless words. He would like to see everything well, but he cannot change everything, nor can he change it soon. He has one fault, that he likes to build and drink, although such a large body wants something more than a small one; and, as they say, before he waters the walls, I would be full. Otherwise he works like a donkey. But he has drunk all he wants, even if he has had strange guests, he always reads something before he goes to sleep, especially in the Scriptures. If we do not pray diligently for him, we would not be pious. Above other expenses, which are large and heavy, he has added a thousand guilders annually to the university and given interest. The priest has two hundred guilders annually, and sixty bushels of grain, so the prince has given him another sixty guilders allowance because of the lecture.

#### 84 H[erzog] Joh. Friedrich's clever and sensible, polite and sharp answer.

(Cordatus No. 885.)

Since the papists say that this refers only to the priests: Drink from it all, so they say in general that this also refers to the priests: Ye are clean, but not all, that is, the priests. 2)

#### The Dukes of Saxony, the Electors, Coat of Arms Interpretation. 2)

The two swords mean seriousness, that one should keep strict and hard over the right; the handles in the white field indicate goodness and

1) D. i. networks.

2) In H, Cap. 19, § 32, which we have omitted, this word is really attributed to Luther. The superscription here is of course false and fictitious.

3) Cf. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 1344, z 23.

Grace; the points against each other in the black field mean that one should first hear before one judges.

**86. from H[erzog] Johann Friedrichs, Churfürsten zu Sachsen 2c., diligence, schools and university to reformiren, to arrange and to promote.**

(Lauterbach, Oct. 13, 1538, p. 148.)

He praised the sense of the Elector that he would be inclined to promote the studies. That is why he also came here to confirm the reformation of the university and the lecturers, so that they would give their lectures more often and with greater care. I also let myself think that he has rightly told J. S[chenk] the chapter, because he is already humiliated, although he does not yet want to appear as if he has done wrong, but wants to be disgraced with witnesses. Let us pray for our Elector that he will preserve the church and the studies. For this small little university is, as it were, the foundation of pure religion, that it may be preserved with lectures and scholarships against the ravages of the devil. And he said of Alexander the Great, who already established war scholarships for the infants, because he wanted to preserve the monarchy; after that he soon had them taught as youngsters by competitors and pugilists, so that he would then have soldiers and men of war. This is what our Elector will do, God willing. He sees well that he is not entrusted with the nobility. For it is said that the sequestrators have spent seven thousand florins in five years. He now wants to be a sequestrator himself, will now make out. May God grant him a long life. Amen.

**87. by Emperor Carl the Fifth.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 14, 1538, p. 112.)

There was mention of peace and constant concord between the Emperor and the French, about which news was reported on all sides; but a letter from Padua indicated that an armistice had been concluded for ten years, on the condition that the Frenchman would keep it: Which would not keep it.

should be recited by one to the other six months earlier. Luther said with a sob: "The emperor lets himself be milked like a sissy. Since he was once very happy, he is now very unhappy. It is said: Opportunity must be grasped by the scoop, behind it is bare (Cato II, 26). He had France in his hand, the pope and the Turk before Vienna, and did not take the opportunity. GOD greeted him, but he could not thank him. That is why Solomon in his "Ecclesiastes" laments this vanity, that GOD gives man the opportunity to gain something and he does not use it. This happens to our emperor, who now has to leave Milan, Savoy and choose the duke as cardinal. This is a shameful catastrophe.

**A different one from Duke John Frederick, Elector of Saxony.**

On August 21, 1532, Duke John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, came to Wittenberg and sent his greetings to D. Martin Luther. Martin Luthern his gracious greeting and ask him to preach tomorrow morning at 9 in the castle. When the doctor went home again after the sermon, and had dinner with some scholars, D. Jonas asked him after dinner to admonish the Elector and ask that a new visitation be held, because the church servants, pastors and preachers were now suffering extreme hardship.

(Cordatus No. 763. 764 to end.)

Those who now do not grant the servants of the Word their bread will drive us so long that we will cheat ourselves; after that they will worship our filth. They would like to be rid of us, so we would like to be rid of them. We are to be separated well, like a ripe dirt and a far arslloch. 1)

Our Elector John Frederick now has seventy councilors from the very beginning of his reign, none of whom wants to be foolish, and they can all pretend their cause with big words. They cry out against it, even if we could do something with advice. But we will ask God to guide his heart 2c.

1) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 218.

## The 46th chapter. Of disagreement.

1. how to make unity.
2. one must yield to the other for the sake of peace.
3. of Saul's and David's disagreement.

4. from anger.

Why Christ curses so badly in the 109th Psalm, when he curses and warns in Matth. 5:34 ff. that one should not curse.

### 1. how to make unity.

In 1546, on February 10, Luther's guests in Eisleben were Count Albrecht of Mansfeld and Count Hans Heinrich of Schwarzburg; Luther spoke of unity and said: "Duke Frederick, Elector, had agreed that things could be tolerated if the people could be tolerated, so that the people would also become cordially one, so that one would often have to yield to the other and give way.

And the doctor said: "We all want to have unity, but no one seeks the means to unity, which is *mutua charitas*, communal love. In the same way, we all seek wealth, but no one seeks the right means of becoming rich, namely through God's blessing. So we all want to be saved, but the means by which we are saved, as the mediator, Christ, all the world does not want.

He also said: "In the past, princes and lords have put their misguided actions and discord on faithful knightly people and did not let them come under the hands of lawyers soon. When Duke Ernst, the old Elector of Saxony, and his brother, Duke Albrecht, were at odds, they put the matter in the hands of the old man of Einsiedel, Lord Henry's and Abraham's father. They did not sit down against each other, nor did they go among the jurists.

Duke Frederick the Elder, Elector, and Duke William of Saxony also disagreed with each other so harshly that they marched against each other with large numbers of people, each doing great harm to the other.

When they came together at Leipzig with both armies to strike, the councilors on both sides had joined in and said, "It is not fitting that princes, and indeed cousins, should destroy themselves and their land and people in this way," and so the princes went together in their cuirasses to a hill that lay between the two camps and talked to each other. The people of war stood on both sides and watched. And as they went together, the knives fell 1) and talked but a little with one another; then they both opened the visors of [the] helmets, and continued to talk, and one shook hands with the other. When the trumpeters saw this, they sounded the trumpets, and there was great rejoicing in the camp, and the two lords became one with each other, and the erroneous things were ordered to be put away to the judges. So princes and lords should still talk to each other and be one for their person, and let their disputes be settled by the councilors. -

To make unity, the Doctor Martinus Luther (when he acted at Eisleben between the Counts of Mansfeld, who were very much at odds) gave this agreement and said: If one had cut down a tree with many gnarled branches and twigs, and one wanted to bring it into a house or into a room, one must not want to grasp it in front by the top and pull it in, for there the branches would lock and lie back, for they all stand against the house or room; and if one therefore wanted to stretch the tree into the house or room by force, one would break all the branches.

1) I. e. put the swords in the scabbard.

Neste, yes, one would not bring the tree into the house at all. But this is what must be done: the tree must be attacked at the trunk, since it has been cut down, since all the branches would then be standing away from the door, and then the trunk must be pulled in toward the door, then the branches would bend together finely, and the tree could be brought into the house without all the trouble, effort and work. Otherwise, if everyone wants to be right and no one gives way to the other and moves closer together, there will never be any unity, because the branches block themselves and stand against the door of the house, so they cannot be brought in.

After a few days, M. Luther spoke of disagreement in Eisleben and said: "Duke George of Saxony once disagreed with the monks in Dresden. Now he said: If we cannot separate, let the law separate us. Hence the common saying, "Friends of persons and enemies of things": "Let things be at odds, and let persons be one. And what the law says, that shall do us good and harm. Let justice be cast in superiorem or in arbitrium aliquem, let the person be satisfied, and in the meantime, re suspensa ad superiorem, let him keep himself friendly. So, what Christ will say on the last day between the pope, bishop of Mainz, and me, that shall do me good and harm, and I will let it remain so.

Item: He said: If one wants to reconcile people, so that they may be reconciled, then one must yield to the other. For, if God and men were to be reconciled, God would have to surrender his right and put away his wrath, and we men would also have to put down our righteousness; for we also wanted to be God in paradise, and let ourselves be thought wise and prudent as the gods by the serpent, the devil's deception. Then Christ had to get along with us, he got involved in the matter and became the mediator between God and man, and this mediator also got the parting of the ways, which was the cross: as one is wont to say, "The parting of the ways usually gets the parting of the ways.

Best of all. So Christ also had to suffer, and such his suffering and death he gave us, because "he died for our sins and rose again for our righteousness", Rom. 4, 25. So the human race was reconciled with God again. So, if our counts would also lay down their justitiam, we would soon come to justice. Otherwise we sit there, eat, drink, and trade about things, and no unity follows, for no one wants to lay down his divinity, nor his righteousness.

And when Doctor Martinus Luther had lain for three weeks in Eisleben, and had traded between the Counts of Mansfeld, his sovereigns, and they would have liked to get along with each other, but little fruitful resulted, he wrote on the sixteenth day of Februarii Anno 1546 with chalk in his bedchamber on the wall these words: "We can not do what everyone wants. But we can do what we want." With this he wanted to complain that the parties wanted the judges to agree with their cases and to judge and approve them; but the parties nevertheless did not want to be satisfied with equality and justice, but wanted to be pious and just.

### **2. one must yield to the other for the sake of peace.**

Doctor Martin Luther said: If it happens that two goats meet each other on a narrow footbridge that goes over a water, how do they hold each other? They cannot go behind each other again, so they cannot go next to each other, the footbridge is too narrow. If they should bump into each other, they would both fall into the water and drown. How do they do that? Nature has given them that one lies down and lets the other walk over her; thus they both remain undamaged. So one man should do the same to another and walk on him with his feet before he should quarrel, quarrel and fight with another.

### **3. of Saul's and David's disagreement.**

In 1546, on February 11, Luther was questioned over the table in Eisleben: Whether

Did Samuel also come between Saul and David to make them agree? Then said the doctor: No, because it was the same disagreement, as with the pope and us. Saul's reign was to cease and David's to begin, and Samuel anointed David king to be against Saul. He saw that otherwise there would be no unity. Therefore, Samuel will be blamed for causing such a great disturbance in the kingdom of Israel. And David suffered much because of it; as Nabal reproached him, and Shimei also reproached him. For the prophets have always had to stand between the door and the hinge and let themselves be jammed.

#### 4. from anger.

Doctor Martin Luther said: If one wants to learn to recognize an angry man, one knows him best at the game, at the bogeyman, and at the hunt, *ibi non potest celari ira, quia amator odit Rivalem*; and one becomes an enemy to the one who plays with one when he loses; and if one is denied something, he is also angry about it.

**Why Christ in the hundred and ninth Psalm, *Deus laudem meam ne tacueris*, curses so badly; when he beseeched and warned in Matt. 5:34 ff. that one should not curse?**

To this IX Martin Luther answered: That a Christian does not curse, nor avenge himself for his person, but faith curses and avenges itself. To understand this, one must separate God from man, person from thing. As for God and things, there is neither patience nor blessing. As when the wicked persecute the gospel, this affects God and his cause: there is neither blessing nor happiness to be wished, otherwise no one would have to preach or write against heresy, since this cannot happen without cursing. For whoever preaches or writes against them wishes that they perish, and does the worst and best that they may perish.

These are the curses of faith, which, before it would let God's word perish and heresy stand, would wish that all creatures perish, because through heresy one loses God Himself, Deut. 16. But the person should not take revenge, but suffer everything, and do good to the enemy, according to the teaching of Christ and the way of love, Matth. 5, 44.

### The 47th chapter.

## Of diseases and the same causes.

1. What are the most serious temptations and diseases?

Where all diseases and plagues come from.

3. various diseases of the people.

4. why diseases come.

5. care causes physical illness.

A verse about man's old age, misery and mortality.

7. healthy body is God's gift.

8. that the sick should be given for strength whatever they desire of drink and food.

9. of D. Luther's Vertigo or Main Web.

10) For what purpose diseases and other plagues are useful to right Christians.

Our suffering is nowhere equal to Christ's suffering.

Ingratitude brings punishment.

13) Do not be too afraid of pestilence and other diseases.

(14) If God visits us with corporal punishment, we human beings remain as we are.

13. D. Luther's illness at Schmalkalden.

16. right remedy in diseases.

Of frailty and mortality, that man is like a glass.

18. how D. Luther has to visit and comfort sick people.

19. how Luther comforted a country servant whom the devil had afflicted with evil.

**1. which are the most serious temptations and diseases.**

(Cordatus No. 600.)

Sufferings of the head and the heart are the greatest before all other pains, as someone said: Stop here, or I will be gone. Worry and heartache are great evils. I would rather have the plague and the French disease 2c. With the ringing in the ears and similar ills the devil is there and helps freely to it 2c.

**Where all diseases and plagues come from.**

When young children cry out, they grow well, for through crying the limbs and veins are stretched apart, because otherwise they have no other exercise to move. And he said, Oh, the devil is so mighty and powerful, that all sicknesses, diseases, and plagues come from him. As the poor woman in the Gospel, who was bound by Satan, walked crooked and bent, and who had her blood flow twelve years, and all her goods had been taken with the physicians, 1) Luc. 8, 43. ff. So says St. Peter in Stories of the Apostles, that all sick people are bound by the devil. And if the dear holy angels did not protect us, it would all come to ruin and perish in a moment: he should cut us down with religion and police, both church and worldly regiment, like the trees, if he were granted to cut off some branches.

**3. various diseases of people. 1)**

Oh, how we humans are subject to so many diseases in this mortal body! We experience and see nothing but vain diseases: as many as there are members in the body, so many are diseases.

**4. why diseases come.**

(Cordatus No. 1828.)

The real sins are the causes of the diseases, not the original sin. Therefore says

1) to become ahn - to get rid of. Ahn - without.

2) This § will probably only be another version of Cap. 48, § 38.

[Christ] [Joh. 9, 3.]: The blind man did not sin, but the gout-broken man [Matth. 9, 2.] had earned his evil through his sins. The real punishment of original sin is that one does not know God, that is blasphemy; secondly, that one does not know his neighbor, that is killing; thirdly, that one does not know himself.

(Here a paragraph is omitted because composed of what precedes in this g, Cap. 24, § 53 and ü10.)

**5. care causes physical illness.**

When Luther was told of a great man's illness, he said, "This is the fruit of sorrow, which is a cause, because when the heart is troubled and sad, the body is also weak. The diseases of the heart are the right diseases, as there are sadness, temptation 2c. I am a true Lazarus, well tried in sickness.

**6th verse of man's old age, misery and mortality, narrated by D. Luthern.**

Auspicor a lachrymis, in iisdem finio vitam, In lachrymis vita est tota peracta mihi.

2. *adolescens.*

Dic, venerande Senex, humanum vivere quid sit?

3. *senex.*

Principium vitae dolor est, dolor exitus ingens

1. the boy.

My life begins with tears, with tears it must also close.

What I can say about it now is nothing but pouring tears.

2. the youth.

Venerable old man, I ask freely. Tell me, what is life?

3. the old man.

My life began with pain, and it ends with pain.

**7. healthy body is God's gift.**

When M. Luther had red dysentery and was also plagued by the stone, he said, "Alas!

Dear Lord God, what a treasure is a healthy body that can eat, drink, sleep, sleep, urinate, 2c. how little do we thank Him for it? God has put many diseases and plagues on the poor flesh, yet it does not want to recognize itself anywhere. We should see and feel every day who we would be. O blindness upon blindness!

At the same time he said: One should not curse by the butt nor swear or mock at it: in short he wants to have his regiment, 1) not 2) to be ruled, must also be written, Matth. 15, 17. and 1 Cor. 12, 23. There St. Paul speaks: "that the dishonest limbs in the body should be kept most honest." One of the nobility, when his wife asked him, "Do you love her?" he answered, "I love you as much as a good throw. This annoyed her. At one time he led her behind him on horseback for a whole summer's day, not letting her sit down so that she might have done her need; then she said to him, "O dear nobleman, you love me enough, only do not love me better.

#### **8. to give to the sick for strength whatever they desire of food and drink.**

Doctor M. Luther said: "It would be very important if a sick person had a heart and desire for a physician. When he lay ill in Schmalkald, there would have been four Medici above him, to whom he would have been very sorry; for there was no man in the world who so unwillingly ate and drank from the pharmacy as he. And he told his example, that he had been lying there for three days and had not been able to eat anything, and the Medici had also forbidden him much food. Then the woman in the house came to him and asked him to tell her what he would like to eat, and she would prepare it for him. He said he would like to eat cold peas and fried herrings; she made them for him and he slept on them.

Item: D. M. Luther gave another example of a nobleman who was also ill and could neither eat, drink, nor drink.

might sleep. Finally, he longed for red wine, which he usually liked to drink in his health. Now he had sent for a glass full, which he drank, then he sent for another glass full, and then he said: All good things must come in threes, and he also drank the third glass. Although the Medici had seriously forbidden wine, he slept well on it. In the morning, the physician came and examined the urine and said, "Yes, if you kept this way, you would be better off.

#### **9. of D. M. Luther's Vertigo or Main Defense.**

(Cordatus No. 1301. 1-302.)

No one believes me how much I am annoyed by my dizziness and the ringing and buzzing in my ears. I do not dare. I dare not read for an hour without stopping, nor think anything through sharply, nor look at anything carefully, nor ponder carefully; for immediately the ringing is there, and [I] sink to the length of 3) there.

Scabies cleanses the body, which is purified by it, as by the elimination of excrement and sweat, and serves very well for the health of the head; however, I do not want to condemn my head, because it has faithfully dared to do it with me. He has earned good thanks from me.

#### **10) For what purpose diseases and other plagues are useful to the right Christians.**

(Lauterbach, July 27, 1538, p. 102.)

On this day, Luther was suffering greatly from stone and tearing in the bends of his knees, and said: "The devil plagues me everywhere, not in one way, but many times, with many diseases. He is particularly grievous to me. But praise be to God, who has snatched us out of the devil's power and adopted us as His children. Once we were completely under the power of the devil, but now we are freed through Jesus Christ. Even though the godly and the faithful are still subject to the devil in body and goods, diseases and

3) D. i. lengthwise. Rebenstock II, 22 d: 6t 8Ä6xius ack seamnum me äeinittere eoZor.

1) Cf. Cap. 73, § 19, near the end.  
2) In the issues: not after.



If we are subject to tyranny, it is for our benefit that we learn to trust God in weakness, foolishness, and sin, where God wants to show His power, wisdom, and justice in us. We are indeed under the wrath of God, and God sometimes allows us to be challenged. But at last mercy breaks forth and shows itself gloriously. So he does it with me according to his will.

### **Our suffering is nowhere equal to Christ's suffering.**

When a sick man made his pestilence, sickness and pains great and made them worse, D. M. Luther: "It is true that our sufferings are somewhat great, but what are they compared to Christ, the Son of God, the Crucified? We may all remain silent.

### **Ingratitude brings punishment.**

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 15.)

### **13) Do not be too afraid of pestilence and other diseases.**

(Lauterbach, Dec. 6, 1536, p. 188.)

On December 6, when a contagious plague had come to two houses, Luther was asked by the deacons: How they should behave? Whether an order could be made, because one did not want D. Peter Heß to suffer among the people, because he visited the sick? He answered: "Oh, if God wanted that to be all my concern, I would have no trouble. Mr. Peter should not be forbidden again, for if it is necessary, we will all go and let God take care of us, because God usually protects the servants of His Word, if one does not run after them to the hostel and beds; there is no need for us to hear confessions, because we bring the Word of Life. After this, he marveled at the great fear of the people at the time of the gospel and under the gospel, since they would not have been so afraid before under the papacy. And this is the reason: In the papacy we trusted in the merits of the monks and others, now each one must trust in himself and drive.

1) Cf. cap. 48, § 5.

(14) If God afflicts us with corporal punishment, we humans remain as we are.

Since the calculus and stone plagued D. M. Luther said: "I am pregnant once again and am in childbearing difficulties; I am scratching at the stone, which is actually the disease of the Germans; as it is said that in England, the nausea is supposed to be very common. So all kinds of diseases rage and rage in our poor bodies; nevertheless, unfortunately, we are proud and hopeful enough to do so, and rarely become more pious afterward, indeed, as they say, "When the sick man recovered, he never got any worse. Alas, it helps little, we remain and do as our kind is. God help us!

The cramp is almost the least disease; however, I think the falling sickness is a. 1) Part of the cramp, as the one in the head: if the cramp in the feet and legs strikes you, it goes away if you move quickly and run. Then he spoke of casting spells, so that people's bodies would also be afflicted.

In Germany, fever is a medicine, because the Germans eat and drink themselves to death if the fever [does not] kill them, which makes them more moderate.

D. M. Luther spoke of the death of D. Sebald and his housewife, whom he had visited and touched and palpated in their illness, and said: They had both died more of sorrow than of pestilence. And when he took their children into his house, some of them gave him a sting, as if he were tempting God. He said, Luther: "I had fine masters who taught me what it means to tempt God.

### **15. D. Luther's illness at Schmalkalden. 4)**

There he lay down on the stone fatally ill, so that he was already struggling with death; for everyone had already despaired of his life, and no man could help him; but God helped him miraculously. For he had heard that they wanted to save him from

2) In the editions instead of "be a": "be".

3) D. i. not resisted.

4) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 194 s. Cf. also Cap. 48, § 28.

Schmalkald away, so that he would not die and be buried before the Monstro, the Pope's embassy there. Now he was led from Schmalkald to Tambach. When he arrived at the inn and drank a little red wine, his bladder opened again, so that he could pass urine again, which had not happened before in many days. Then he had written on the wall of the inn in Tambach with chalk: Tambach est mea Ph- nuel, ibi apparuit mihi Dominus: Tambach is my Phaniel, there the Lord appeared to me.

If I had died there, it might have been the downfall of the papists; for when I am dead, they will first see whom they have had in me; for other preachers will not be able to keep the same measure, nor meet the *ἰμείχριστον* that I have kept. And one has already seen and experienced this in Münzer, Carlstadt and Zwinglio and the] Anabaptists at Münster. There will be more of these fellows.

When M. Luther was very ill in Schmalkald in 1537, and D. Ehrhardt Schnepfius visited and comforted him, D. Luther spoke to him. Ehrhardt Schnepfius visited him and comforted him, D. M. Luther said. M. Luther said: Dear God, can it be no other way, so give me great patience and strong faith.

#### 16. right remedy in diseases.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 5, 1538, p. 108 f.)

On this day Luther, in order to recover, rode on a wagon into a grove and through the fields, sang and rejoiced to the glory of God and said: "My songs are very painful to the devil, as he, on the other hand, laughs at our impatience and our pain. He takes pleasure in tormenting us, especially those who confess and preach Christ. Because he is the prince of the world and our enemy, we have to pass through his land, so he truly wants the toll from us and strikes our bodies with various plagues. Doctors see only natural causes in diseases and try to help with their means, and do well. But they do not see that Satan causes the natural cause in the illness, that he immediately and easily cures the causes and illnesses, turns heat into cold and vice versa, good and bad into bad.

into evil. Therefore, there must be a higher remedy, namely faith and prayer, as the 31st Psalm says: "My time is in your hands." I have now learned this passage in this illness and want to correct it. For before I drew it only to the hour of death; but it should mean: In your hands stands my time, i.e. my whole life, all days, hours and moments, as if he wanted to say: My health, sickness, accident, happiness, life, death, joy, mourning is in your hand. This is confirmed by experience. When we think we want to be happy, joyful, pious, healthy, the opposite happens and vice versa.

#### Of frailty and mortality, that man should be like a gin.

D. M. Luther once sent and gave a beautiful glass to D. Justo Jonä, and next to it he wrote these words: A glass gives a glass to another glass; rath, what is that?

Dat Vitrum Vitro Jonae Vitrum ipse Lutherus, Se similem ut fragilli noscat uterque Vitro.

#### 18. as D. M. Luther has to visit and comfort sick nurses.

(Cordatus No. 271 and 271a.)

When he comes to the sick, he talks to them in the most intimate way, and bends down close to them (as far as it is possible) almost with the whole body, and first asks what illness he is suffering from, how long he has been ill, which doctor and which medicine he has used. Then, whether he is also patient against God. When he hears the good will that this weakness is pleasing to them, as imposed by God, or that they are ready to die if God so wills, he praises this will very much and exalts it, since it is certainly from the Holy Spirit, who is there and works this will. It is also something great when someone comes to the knowledge of the Word and of Christ; but when someone is also gifted with such a will and faith that the Word preaches, this goes far beyond everything that is considered delicious. For such a person has God present with him and a gracious God.

GOD 2c. When he leaves, he lays their faith to their hearts that they may persevere in it, and promises to pray for them.

But when they say that they cannot make up for the good deed of his visit, he answers that it is his office and duty, therefore it is not necessary for them to give thanks. He also adds this consolation: they have no reason to be afraid, because it is certain that God, who has given them letter and seal (that is, His Word and Sacrament), will surely give them Himself as well.

**19. how M. Luther comforted a lansquenet whom the devil had afflicted with evil.**

(Cordatus No. 1020.)

A soldier was with me today, pale with fright, and complained to me that he sees and hears the devil speaking: He wants to lead him away. That is what the devil does. It happens to him as it does to a thief who has the will to steal all goods, but cannot steal them all immediately; and Christ was also led into the wilderness by the devil, but that is why he was not immediately his.

## The 48th chapter.

### From death.

The life of man is in the midst of death.  
 2. of the children's death.  
 3) Why Paul was not afraid of death.  
 4. from M. Nicolai Hausmann's death.  
 5. one should not be too afraid of death.  
 6. dying for the sake of Christ is delicious in the sight of God.  
 7. D. Luther's epitaph of his daughter Magdalenichen, aged 14.  
 8. from the horror of death.  
 9. D. Luther's comforting speeches in his daughter's illness and burial.  
 10. blessed die rst the very best.  
 11. separation of a good marriage.  
 12. from papist: Begängniß.  
 13. of those who deprive themselves of life.  
 14. of the horror of death.  
 Sleep is equal to death.  
 16 Our death shall be but a sleep.  
 The delay of death is only a reprieve.  
 18. You should not be so afraid of death.  
 19. from the saying Joh. 8, 51: He who keeps my word 2c.  
 20. a blessed hour the best.  
 21. this life Art.  
 The death of Christians and Gentiles is distinguished.  
 The death of godly and righteous Christians is a sign of wrath.  
 24 A lansquenet's insulting speech about death.

(25) Whether those who died in the teaching of the pope were also saved.  
 26. D. Luther's thoughts on death.  
 D. Luther is tired of life.  
 28. D. Luther's illness at Schmalkalden.  
 29. D. Luther's prophecy of his death.  
 30. that a cellar had almost beaten Luthern to death.  
 31 Death's smack.  
 32. contempt of death.  
 33) How St. Martin despised death.  
 34. how to drive away sadness and thoughts of death.  
 The voice of a believing soul to Christ.  
 36 M. Veit Theodori of Nuremberg and M. Veits of Winsheim prayer.  
 The creatures are a testimony of the resurrection of the dead.  
 38. mortality of man.  
 39. How Dr. Luther's father, Hans Luther, had died blessed  
 40 Which is the very best way to die.  
 41 Luther's judgment of the saying Matth. 24, 24.  
 42 D. Luther's comfort in our last hour.  
 43. the school of faith.  
 44. that the article of faith in the papacy was even darkened.

#### The life of man is in the midst of death.

(Cordatus No. 1458.)

In the midst of life we are in death, because various diseases are, many fatal accidents threaten us. One dies from a minor wound, another from bleeding to death.

Therefore, we need God's help at every hour to preserve us. As often as this is missing, we are in the most certain death.

#### 2. the death of children.

A child under the age of seven dies most cheerfully and easily, without fear of the

Death: but as soon as we grow up, become great and old, we begin to wallow in death and hell, and to fear them.

#### **Why St. Paul was not afraid of death.**

One asked D. M. Luther: When Agabus, the prophet, announced to St. Paul in Caesaria that he would be bound by the Jews and delivered to the Gentiles to die, Apost. 21:11, and yet he was not careful, but nevertheless he went to Jerusalem willingly and joyfully, fearing nothing of death: how would this come to pass? Luther answered: "It was the revelation of the Holy Spirit that strengthened Paul to death.

When sick people lie in trains," said the doctor, "and give no sign, their souls are already gone, they hear nothing and understand nothing; therefore it is in vain and for nothing that one shouts to them.

#### **4. from M. Nicolai Hausmann's death.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 6, 1538, p. 158.)

On November 6, a letter arrived from Freiberg, in which the sudden death of the very pious and faithful pastor Hausmann there was announced. He had accepted a difficult office as a worn-out man and was so beaten to the ground and exhausted by the first sermon that he died of apoplexy that very day. This sad case with his most sincere friend we hid from the venerable father D. Luther, and little by little we, namely his wife, Philipp, Jonas and I (Lauterbach), let out that he was suffering, then that he was lying down heavily, finally that he died gently. Luther was very moved by the death of this man, and as he sat among his best friends, he repeatedly shed tears and said: "God takes away the pious, and then the chaff will be burned according to the saying of Scripture (Is. 57:1): "The righteous perish, and holy men are raised up. These are very dangerous times. GOD will sweep his threshing floor. I pray that when I die, my wife and children will not live long, there will be

which are followed by very dangerous times. I would not have thought of such wickedness in the world. God help us to stick to his word, to mend our ways. This has been a dear friend to me. And so he sat the whole day quite sadly in the presence of Justus Jonas, Philipp Melancthon, Joachim Camerarius, Caspar von Köckeritz, among whom he sat sadly and full of tears.

#### **5 You should not be too afraid of death.**

i) Anno 38, the 21st of October, that D. M. Luther publicly admonished the church and severely scolded those who were so afraid when people made a noise and rumor about the pestilence, saying: "One should be confident in the Lord and trust in Him, and each one should walk and remain in his profession, and if his neighbor needs his help and support, he should not leave him: we should not be so afraid of death, because we have taken hold of the word of life and the Lord of it, who has overcome death for our good.

#### **6. die for the sake of Christ.**

Death for the sake of Christ's name and word is glorious in the sight of God, Ps. 116:15, because otherwise we are mortal and must die for the sake of sin. But if we die for the sake of Christ's word, and we freely confess, we die a very honest death, become like holy things, and have sold our skin at a high enough price. But we who are Christians ask for peace and long life, not for our sake, for whom such a death is only vain gain, but for the sake of the descendants and the church.

**7. D. M. Luther's mourning, eulogy and speech, so he in the death and funeral of his dear daughter Magdalena, her age in the 14th year, had, 1542.**

Epitaph Magdalenichin Luther, D. M. Luthers Töchterlein, from the

Father made himself.

(This epitaph is Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 251," No. XVI.)

1) Cf. cap. 47- § 13.

Since his housewife was very sad, weeping and wailing, D. M. Luther said to her. M. Luther said to her: "Dear Käthe, think about where she is going, she will come. But flesh and blood fleashes and bleeds, does as its kind does, the spirit lives and is willing. The children do not dispute; as they are told, so they believe; with the children it is all simple, dying without pain and fear, without dispute, without challenge of death, without pain in the body, just as they fall asleep.

To M. Holstein he said: Dear Magister, where were you sixty years ago? Where have I been? Where did I come from? Where did you come from? We will not have made ourselves, and we will now go and make a bargain with our Lord God, and sell him our work: he shall give us heaven for it. Is it not a disgraceful thing that a creature should exalt itself so high, and dare to deal with its Creator in this way? It is therefore that we do not believe that God is our Creator, for if we did believe that, we would lift up and do something else. But no one believes that God is the Creator. Even if he says it, and his conscience convinces him, that God is the Creator of us all, we are not really serious. If we were created and made by another, it would still have some standing. Now we come before God and say: Lord God, look at me for my works, I come here to you, you did not make me. Fie on you!

### 8. horror of death.

The terror of death is death itself, nothing else. He who has completely removed death from his heart neither tastes nor feels death. Then someone asked about the pain of death. Martin Luther answered: "Then ask my daughter if she has felt anything, because she had died right. But she answered: "Doctor, I have felt nothing at all. Then said D. Martinus said, "Therefore I say that there is only the terror of death, which is the greatest thing in death. It is written in the Ebrews that He (the Lord Christ) tasted death for them.

We are blessed people that we do not taste death. The taste of death is bitter. But what pain it is to taste death is well seen in Christ, when he says, "My soul is sorrowful unto death," Matt. 26:38. Christ died in the garden, for to taste death is death. What do you think these words are: "My soul is sorrowful unto death"? I think they are the greatest words in all of Scripture. Although it is also a great one, since he cried out on the cross: "My God, my God, how have you forsaken me? No one can understand it in words; no angel can understand what a great thing it is that blood has passed through the sweaty pores. This is called the pain and horror of death, when a creature comforts the Creator 2c. The apostles understood nothing of this.

### 9 D. M. Luther's comforting speeches in his daughter's illness and burial.

When his daughter was still very ill, he said, Martinus: "I love her very much; but, dear God, since it is your will to take her there, I would like to have her with you. And when she was thus in bed, he said unto her, Magdalene, my little daughter, thou hast been pleased to remain here with thy father, and thou art also pleased to go to that father," said she, "Yes, dear father, as God wills. Then said the father, Thou dear little daughter, the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak. And turning about, he said: I love her very much; if the flesh is so strong, what will the spirit be?

Among other things, he said: "God has not given such great gifts to any bishop in a thousand years as he has given to me, for God's gifts are to be boasted of. I am angry with myself that I cannot rejoice in them from my heart, nor give thanks; although at times I sing a little song to our Lord God, and thank Him a little for it.

Well, we live or die, we are of the Lord: 8ivo vivinni8, 81V6 inorimur, Domini 8UMU8; namely, both in dsnitivo, of the Lord, and in roninativo, lords. Mr. Magister, be of good thing. Then M. Georg Rörer said: "I have received a word from your

I have asked our Lord God to give me one blessed hour to go there, and he will do it, I know that for sure: I will still talk to Christ, my Lord, at my last end, even if it should be so short. Then M. Rörer said: I am worried, I will suddenly go there once, silently, that I will not speak a word. Then Doctor Martinus Luther said: "We live or die, then we are of the Lord: even if you fall down the stairs, or sit and write, and suddenly rush away. It does no harm if I fall from the ladder and lie there dead, for the devil is our enemy.

When Magdalenichen was in traction and was about to die, her father fell on his knees before the bed, wept bitterly, and prayed that God would deliver her. Then she died and passed away in her father's hands. The mother, however, was in the same room, but farther from the bed for the sake of her sadness. This happened a little after nine o'clock, on Wednesday after the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, 1) Anno 1542.

He, the doctor, often repeated as indicated above and said: I would like to keep my daughter, for I love her very much, if our Lord God would let me have her; but let His will be done. Nothing better can happen to her. While she was still alive, he said to her, "Dear daughter, you still have a father in heaven, to whom you will go. Philip said, "The love of parents is a likeness and image of the divinity imprinted on the human heart. Now if the love of God for the human race is as great as the love of parents for their children, as the Scripture says, it is truly great and fierce.

When she was laid in the coffin, he said, "My dear Lena, how well you have done! Looking at her lying there, he said, "Oh, you!

1) In all editions incorrect: "on Wednesday of the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity." Magdalena Luther died on 20 Seht. The letter to D. Justus Jonas, in which Luther says several things about the death of his daughter, is dated Sept. 23, 1542. Cf.

Dear Lenichen, you will rise again and shine like a star, even like the sun. But since the coffin had been made too narrow and too short for her, he said: "The bed is too small for her, because she has now died. I am happy in spirit, but in the flesh I am very sad: the flesh does not want to come near, the separation vexes one beyond measure. It is a wonderful thing to know that she is certainly at peace and well, and yet still be so sad.

And when the people came to help bury the body, and addressed the doctor according to common custom and usage, saying: They were sorry for his grief; he said, "Be it known to you, I have sent a saint to heaven, yes, a living saint. O if we had such a death! I would have accepted such a death at this hour. Then one said, "Yes, it is true, but everyone likes to keep his own." Luther answered, "Flesh is flesh, and blood is blood; I am glad that it is gone, there is no sorrow but of the flesh. But sometimes he said to others who came: Do not be grieved, I have sent one saint to heaven; yes, I have sent two of them. Among others [he said to those], 2) who came to the corpse, when they were singing: O Lord, remember not our former old iniquities: I say, O Lord, Lord, not only the former and old, but also the present and present sins; for we are usurers, oppressors, covetous 2c., yea, there is yet the abomination of the mass in the world.

When they buried her, he said, "This is the resurrection of the flesh. And when they came again from the burial, he said, "My daughter is now buried, both in body and soul. 2c. We Christians have nothing to complain about, we know that it must be so, we are ever most certain of eternal life; for God, who has promised it to us through and for the sake of His dear Son, cannot ever lie. Our Lord God has two saints from my flesh, but not from the flower.

Among other things, he said: "Children must be cared for, especially the poor ones.

2) Thus Bindseil 1, 107.

We must not worry that someone else will take care of them. I have no mercy for boys: a boy feeds himself in whatever country he comes to, if he only wants to work. But if he wants to be lazy, he remains a rascal. But the poor maid must have a staff in her hand. A boy can run to school according to Parteken, so that afterwards he can become a fine man, if he wants to do it. A maiden cannot do this, she can soon be disgraced if she gets her belly full. Item: I give this daughter to our Lord God very gladly, but according to the flesh I would have liked to keep her longer with me; but because he has taken her away, I thank him.

When Magdalena, Martin Luther's daughter, died in 1542, Martin Luther's wife had had a dream the night before that she had thought that two beautiful, young, well-decorated journeymen had come and wanted to lead her daughter to the wedding. When Philip Melanchthon came to the monastery in the morning and asked her what her daughter was doing, she told him the dream. But he was frightened by it, and said to others, "The young fellows are the dear angels, who will come and lead this virgin into the kingdom of heaven, into the right wedding. And on the same day she died.

#### 10) To die blessedly is the very best thing.

If my daughter Magdalena (said Doctor Martinus Luther) should come to life again and should bring me the Turkish kingdom, I would not do it. O, she has gone well! Beati mortui, qui in Domino moriuntur. Revelation 14:13: He that dieth, the same hath eternal life. I would that I and my children and all of you should go in this way, for evil times will follow. There is no more help nor counsel on earth, that I see, but the last day. I also hope, whether God wills it, it shall not long remain without: for avarice and usury go by force, and these sins are no longer vices; after that also is the Licentia. Thus princes and lords can no longer rule, for they have no

Money: if they want to start something, they must fall at the feet of the usurers and worship them. Et habebat Dominus Doctor Lutherus tum temporis in coena semper vocem illam in ore: et multiplicata sunt mala in Terris.

#### 11. separation of a good marriage.

Anno 1539, the 15th of July, died the honest, virtuous matron, Doctor Blickarts, the Sindringer's, 1) housewife, who got up early at five o'clock from her master's bed, pregnant, fresh and healthy, and at seven o'clock after that she was dead, having brought a young daughter. Then Doctor Martin Luther comforted her master. Afterwards, when he came home, he said: "It must be the greatest sadness and heartache, when two pious spouses, who have been well with each other and held each other dear, have to part from each other bodily. Our Lord God is the greatest adulterer, who brings them together and separates them from each other. This morning she slept with her husband, today 2) she sleeps with our Lord God. How slippery and unstable is our life! Oh, it must hurt when spouses who love each other are divorced in this way.

#### 12. from papist" Begängniß.

Under the papacy, the corpse was buried with such pomp that the ceremonies and customs of the Jews far surpassed those of all the pagans. Duke Albrecht of Saxony was buried with such pomp that six hundred priests held mass four days in a row and were fed sumptuously: then they bought up from all the merchants the gold pieces, so many large wax candles, like the Easter candles, were sacrificed. Then the marshal of the prince smashed petschier, and four and twenty paniers fell down, and waxen coats of arms were broken 2c. No pagan or Jew would hold such pomp and pageantry.

1) Stangwald: "des Syndici". According to the remark in De Wette V, 50, Blickardt [from Eindingen, Würtemberg] was churfürstlicher Rath.

2) Aurifaber: "hint".

**13. of those who kill themselves.**

(Cordatus No. 739.)

Those who hang themselves or otherwise kill themselves suffer violence from the devil, like the one who is killed by a robber. They are not powerful of themselves, therefore I cannot condemn them, although this must not be said to the people. And the devil must be so harsh at times, and such examples must be put before the people, otherwise no one would fear God. Oh, one must deal harshly with such thoughts (namely, of suicide), so that one overcomes them, 1) although one must also deal harshly with such dead people, burn them 2c., so that the world is frightened.

**14. death horror.**

Pious, godly Christians are more frightened by death, who should not be frightened, but the godless should be frightened by death; but they live and go safely, do not think of death. This is what D. Martin Luther said about the death of von Haubitz.

Who in death can speak a good word, and say: Miserere mei, Deus: God, have mercy on me; he is well advised: for an ungodly man cannot speak a good word, like the one who died here. It is best for those who die soon, for they have not experienced the devil's and the world's cunning and wickedness.

**Sleep is equal to death.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 446.)

A sleeping person is very similar to a dead person, therefore one has finely thought that sleep is a brother of death, and even in day and night the image of life and death is painted.

Immediately I thought of the dreams that one would have at night, and said: "Sad dreams come from the devil: for everything that serves for death, terror, murder and lies, that is the devil's handiwork. He often drove me away from prayer and poured thoughts into me, so that I ran away.

1) I.e. defeat, hold down.

(This paragraph Cordatus No. 877.)

It is the devil's fault that someone always has evil ideas when he hears something at night. One steals, one robs, one murders, therefore one can think of nothing good; but if one lived godly, all good things would come to us.

And he went on to say: "My dream will come true, for I thought I had died and was standing at the grave naked, covered with a few rags. So I am condemned to death for a long time, and yet I am still alive.

**16 Our death shall be but a sleep.**

(Contained in Cap. 3, § 40.)

**The delay of death is only a reprieve.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 1, 1538, p. 104.)

To wonder is the foolishness of man who fears death, which he cannot escape because it is common to all men. Cicero was able to comfort himself finely as a pagan, in the first book of the Tusculana. Much more should the Christians do this, who have the overcomer of death, Christ, who is the resurrection and the life. And even if we would like to live longer, it is still a short time. Just as if you wandered a lot against thieves [or thieves], some coming in at 4 o'clock, some at 7 or 8, all must stay there overnight. Thus Adam preceded us by a few hours. He will not have rested more than one night, like us.

When the limb disease still persisted, so that Luther, leaning on a stick, walked forward on three legs with great difficulty, he said: Oh, dear Lord God, have I not lived enough, why do you punish me? But let me pray with the prophet Jonah, Cap. 4 (v. 3. 8.), "Now therefore, O Lord, take my soul from me; for I would rather be dead than live." So also Judas Maccabaeus prayed Cap. 13: 1) "For I am no better than my brethren." When Philip asked him if he was afflicted with more serious illness, Luther replied, "The body is about weak, in addition [be-]

2) 1 Marc. 13, 5: Simon.



I am not allowed help, but in the soul [beMrf I a strong faith; for the devil is angry with us, seeks everywhere cause to us.

#### 18. You should not be so afraid of death.

Because we know, said D. M. L. that we must die and that Christ is our Lord and we are baptized in His name, why are we afraid of death? Therefore let us only die in God's name, we will not be harmed by it. We want to master Christ in time, like Philip and Andrew, John 6:7, 8. It is not right, but God can keep it too good for us, because we praise Him and preach about Him; and that is something, if only we do not become Judas, His betrayers.

19 Jn 8:51: "He who keeps my word will never see death".

Thus, D. M. Luther interpreted the saying:

(This A is Walch, old edition, vol. IX, 1426.)

#### 2V. A blessed hour the best.

(Contained in Cap. 3, § 41.)

#### 21. this life Art.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 10, 1538, p. 145.)

After that he lamented the misery of human life, which all men loved; no one wanted to leave it, although one misfortune after the other was imminent until death. That is why Pliny, Book 20, Cap. 1, 1) says that a timely death is the best medicine for a man, and Julius Caesar disdained the omens of his death and did not flee the dangers, saying: It is better to die once than to be always on guard. That is enough said by pagans. But still one does not have to tempt God.

#### The death of Christians and Gentiles is different.

(Cordatus No. 1459.)

Christians could easily condone death if they did not know that the wrath of GOT.

1) nat. XXVIII, l. 86ot. 2, z 9.

tes is associated with death. The title makes death sour for us. But the heathen die safely, they do not see the wrath of God, but think it is the end of man, and say: It is about an evil hour. But Cicero said wonderfully: Afterwards we will either be nothing or completely blessed, as if he wanted to say: Nothing worse can happen to us than death.

#### The death of godly and righteous Christians is a sign of God's wrath.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 10, 1538, p. 163.)

Luther: When I hear that a pious man has died, I am frightened and fear that God is angry with the world, who takes away the pious to attack the wicked. Germany, repent at the time of grace, it is time; even if I die, there is not much in me, because I am under the pope's spell, I am his devil, therefore he hates and persecutes me.

#### 24 A lansquenet's insulting speech about death.

Doctor Martin Luther once told over the table: "A soldier was lying ill with an innkeeper, and as he was about to die, he said, 'Innkeeper, bring a light here, death wants Sanct Velten. And he said, "The men of war speak of the things of our Lord God as of cobbler's leather. One should not joke with death. Mors est judicium Dei et ira Dei: In death, God's judgment and wrath exist. One should not joke with death, because one first has faith in the Lord, who is crucified. After that it is said: Mors, ubi est Stimulus tuus? Death, where is your sting? 1 Cor. 15> 55.

#### 25 Whether those who died in the teachings of the Pope were also found blessed.

(This section follows immediately after Cap. 13, § 44, where we have transferred it).

#### 26 D. M. Luther's Thoughts on Death.

I know that I will not live long; for this my head is like a knife whose steel is all worn and vain.

Iron has become iron, iron never cuts; 1) -so is my head. Now, dear Lord, I hope and let myself think that the hour is not far off.

In Coburg, I also went around and looked for a little place where I should be buried, and in the chapel under the cross, I thought, I would lie there: but now I feel much different than in Coburg. God help me, and give me a blessed, merciful hour, I never desire to live.

### 27. M. Luther is tired of life.

(Here 3 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 48, § 38.)

Anno 1539, on June 11, Luther drove from Wittenberg to Liechtenberg, to the old Margravine, Electress. When he ate in the evening with her F. G. and talked about all sorts of things over the table with each other, and the Margravine said: She wished and hoped that he should still live a long time, and he could still live well forty years, if it were God's will. Then said D. Luther said: "God be merciful! If he offered me paradise in which to live for another forty years, I would not accept it: I would hire an executioner to cut off my head. So evil is the world now, and people are becoming vain devils, that one can wish him nothing better than only a blessed hour and away. I don't ask anything about the doctors either: I don't want to make my life, which is set for me by them for one year, sour, but eat and drink in God's name what tastes good to me.

### 28. D. M. Luther's illness at Schmalkald.

When M. Luther had preached at Schmalkalden on the Sunday of Invocavit in 1537, he became very ill after noon at the stone. 2) And he prayed diligently and said: O faithful God, my Lord Jesus Christ, if your name has helped so many people, help me too, my dear God! Thou knowest that I have taught thy word diligently: if it be for thy name's glory, help me that it may be better; if not, shut me up.

1) Cf. Cap. 4, § 32 and Cap. 26, § 46.

2) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 194 f/.

the eyes closed. It has to be once. O Lord Jesus Christ, how good it is that one should die with the sword for the sake of thy word! Now, my Lord Jesus Christ, I die as an enemy of those who hate you, I die under Pabst's spell, but he dies under your spell. Praise be to you, my Lord Jesus, that I die knowing your name! I will now do what God wills, and even surrender to His grace. If we have received the good from the hand of the Lord, why should we not also take the evil with us? I die as an enemy of Pabst, the evil one who has exalted himself over Christ. And there he made the verses:

Quaesitus toties, toties tibi Roma petitus, En ego per Christum vivo Lutherus adhuc.

Una mihi spes est, qua non fraudabor, Jesus, Hunc mihi dum teneam, perfida Roma cave....

In German:

Luther, who was so often sought by Rome, is still in the living order until this hour,

As long as Jesus, the anchor of hope, does not break. Rome certainly did nothing against him.

### 29. prophecy of D. Luther's prophecy of his death.

In 1546, on February 16, when there was a lot of talk about dying and sickness over Luther's table in Eisleben, Luther said: "When I return home to Wittenberg, I will lie down in a coffin and give the maggots a fat doctor to eat. M. Luther said: "When I return home to Wittenberg, I will lie down in a coffin and give the maggots a fat doctor to eat. And this was true for two days, that D. M. Luther lived there in ice. M. Luther died there in Eisleben.

### 3V. That a cellar could almost have beaten Luther to death.

(Cordatus No. 1607. 1311.)

When a large wall and a beam fell and completely collapsed with great force very close to the doctor, he said: "Here I have seen the work of the devil against me and the help of God for me.

A hardened heart is not moved by promises, is not frightened by threats, is not bowed by the hardest blows [flagellis], and by plagues it is so little improved that it only becomes harder.

**31 Death's smack.**

To taste death properly is certainly and actually proper despair. Godly Christians will not taste death, as Christ says John 8:51: for they never feel utter despair: though at times they are very near to it, yet they are withdrawn and preserved by the Holy Spirit.

**32. contempt of death.**

Doctor M. Luther said about how one should despise death, and said: One ran from St. Vincentio, when he should have died, that he had seen death standing before his feet, and had said: What do you want, death? do you think that you want or can gain something from a Christian? do you not know that I am a Christian? So we should also learn to mock and laugh at death.

**33) How St. Martin despised death.**

Doctor M. Luther said that he would like the legend of the saints to be fasted finely, as Philip Melanchthon had finely described the legend of St. Ambrosia; and said: "There is sometimes much good in it, as in the history of St. Martin stands: when he was about to die, the devil stood at his feet in his bed, then he said boldly to him: See, quid tu hic stas, horrenda Bestia, nihil habes in me. This is a true word of faith. Such a thing should be gleaned from the legends of the saints, and not from all kinds of folly.

**34. how to drive away the sad thoughts and thoughts of death.**

Doctor M. Luther (when he once saw a very sad person) said: Oh man, what are you doing? Can you think of nothing else but your sins, death and damnation? Turn away thine eyes quickly, and look hither unto the man which is called Christ; of whom it is written, that he was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of Mary of virgins, suffered, died, was buried, went to hell, rose from the dead the third day, and ascended into heaven 2c.

Why do you think this has happened? Numquid, that thou shouldst be comforted against death and sin. Therefore cease from fear and trembling; thou hast, verily, no cause. If Christ were not there and had not done this for you, you would have cause to fear; but he is there, suffering death for you, and conquering it for your comfort and protection, and for this reason also sits down at the right hand of his heavenly Father to represent you. Now what is not on such a blow, that is Mosi's testimony, of which one has nothing else but fear and terror.

**Fidelis animae vox ad Christum.**

Ego sum tuum peccatum, Tu mea justitia. Triumpho igitur securus, quia nec meum peccatum obruet tuam Justitiam, nec tua Justitia sinet me esse aut manere peccatorem. Benedictus Dominus Deus meus, Miserator meus et Redemptor meus, in Te solum confido, nunquam erubescam.

In German:

**A believing soul's speech with Christ.**

(This prayer is already printed in the X. Theile of the St. Louis edition, Col. 1509.)

**36 Precatio M. Viti Theodori,  
Norimbergensis.**

(Omitted because not by Luther; also the prayer of E. Veit Winsheim).

**The creatures are a testimony of the resurrection of the dead.**

In 1539, on the 11th day of April, M. Luther was in his garden and looked at the trees with a running thought, how they blossomed, budded and greened so beautifully and charmingly, and was very surprised about it, and said: Praise be to God, the Creator, who makes everything alive again from dead, deceased creatures. Look at the branches," he said, "they are so lovely and delicate, as if they were pregnant and full of young and close to birth. There we have a beautiful picture of the resurrection of the dead. Winter is death, but summer is the resurrection of the dead, when everything comes to life and grows green again.

The parts of the year are unequal, as, the spring and autumn; however, it is to be expected, it will become a great cold in the future, according to the saying: March whole, April at the tail, May new, hold seldom faithful. Let us ask the heavenly Father to give us our daily bread.

### 38. mortality of man.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 843.)

How many deaths [mortes] we have in our body! Is nothing but vain death with us, because so much death, so many limbs. This he said to Conrad Cordatus. 2)

2) For the devil, who is the cause and master of death, is our adversary and seeks our life. He has sworn death upon us, and we have deserved it, therefore we may well endure the hour. But with the godly he will not achieve much with his stranglehold, because he will bite into a dead nut.

(The following at Cordatus No. 1263.)

I deserved death twice; against God as a sinner and against the devil as a saint. I am not sorry because I have defended the truth against him.

### 39. how Martin Luther's father, Hans Luther, died blessedly.

In 1530, Luther's father, Hans Luther, died at Mansfeld, to whom Martinus from Wittenberg, 3) a few days before his end, had written a beautiful, wonderful letter of comfort. When Mr. Michael Cölius, pastor in the Mansfeld valley, had asked him in his last moments: whether he believed everything that was taught and held out to us in the articles of the Christian faith? he had replied: That would have to be a lurker, who would not believe the

1) This paragraph was found four other times in all previous editions of the Tischreden except in this place, namely Cap. 3, § 52; 4, 8 7, 846; 47, 8 3.

2) The next following paragraph was found twice more, namely in § 27 of this Cap., and Cap. 24, § 104 in all previous editions of the German Tischreden.

3) Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1794 sf. - Aurifaber and rhm after the other editions have the erroneous indication: "aus Coburg".

did not want to believe. When this was reported to Luther, he said: "This is a word from the old world. But Phil. Melanchthon said to D. Luther: "Dear Doctor, these are blessed people who die in the knowledge of Christ, and especially what young people are, because the older we get, the more foolish we become. And this I prove thus: for the young people remain straightforward in the articles of the Christian faith; as they have learned the same, so they also believe the same: but when we grow old, we begin to dispute, want to be wise, and yet are the greatest fools.

### 40 Which is the very best way to die.

Doctor Martin Luther once said: There is no better way to die than St. Stephen, who says: Domine Jesu, suscipe Spiritum meum: "Lord JESu, receive my spirit", Apost. 7, 58, that we lay aside all registers of our sins and meritorious works, and die on the mere grace of God alone. St. Stephen learned this from two great persons, the Lord Christ and David, who were certainly more pious than any monk or priest; yet they were silent about their merits and demanded only grace.

41 Judgement of D. Luther's judgment of the saying Matth. 24, 24: "Errors will come that even the elect would be deceived if it were possible.

This saying has been fulfilled and true in the Holy Fathers, as in St. Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Basil, Cyprian, Bernard and others, who were led astray, but did not remain in it. St. Bernard wrote many evil and ungodly things, especially about the Virgin Mary. But when he was about to die, he said: Perdite vixi: 4) I have lived wickedly, but you, dear Lord Jesus Christ, have two rights to the kingdom of heaven: first, it is your inheritance, because you are the only one who has the right to it.

4) Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XIII, 2575, 8 33.

Son of the Father; but therefore I have no comfort in In All Sentence Writers.  
 the kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, you have In all the sermons of the monks.  
 earned it and deserved it with your suffering and In all resolutions of all synods.  
 death, and have appeased the Father's wrath, and In all ordinaries of all colleges.  
 have opened heaven, and have given me the In all the monk rules.  
 kingdom of heaven as your acquired possession; I In all postilles of all glossators.  
 rejoice in it. Thereupon he died blessedly. So, when In the whole Hieronymo and Gregorio.  
 St. Augustine was about to die, he also prayed the In all the farewells of the concilia.  
 seven penitential psalms. Now, in their healthy life In all disputations of all theologians.  
 they did not practice this teaching, but on their In all lections of all universities.  
 deathbed and in the hour of death they took such In all masses and vigils of all churches. In all  
 comfort, confessed this teaching, and thus became ceremonies of all bishops. In all the foundations of all  
 blessed. the monasteries.

#### 42. ice comfort in our last hour, D. M. Luther's.

(This § is in the St. Louis edition, Part X, Col. 1420 ff.).

#### 43rd Faith School.

This § is Walch, old edition, vol. IX, 1449 and 1393.)'

#### 44. that the article of the righteousness of faith had even been obscured in the papacy.

Doctor Martin Luther once said about tables: "Show  
 me a single place that teaches about justification in a  
 pure and unadulterated way:

In all decrees, decretal, clementine, sexto,  
 extravagant.

In all the writings of all the summists.

In all brotherhoods of all sects.  
 In all pilgrimages of all oerter.  
 In all the devotions of all the saints.  
 In all indulgence of all bulls.  
 In all the pabulum's buffoonery.

In the whole Roman court, and in all the courts of the  
 bishops; where, nevertheless, the doctrine of the  
 faith should be abundantly found.

Rather, one will find there: 2) Prayers to all the  
 saints, prayers for the goods of this life, wealth and  
 happiness; also masses, which are held for the same  
 purpose. All this was only prayed by word, without  
 faith, and if it was only said with the mouth, it was  
 already enough.

1) These prayers were also called coronas or crown prayers.  
 Jen. Vol. I, fol. 68.

## The 49th chapter.

### Of the Resurrection of the Dead and Eternal Life.

1. 2. of the resurrection of Christ and the dead.  
 3. Abraham's belief in the resurrection of the dead.  
 4. of rotten spirits and the godless resurrection.  
 In eternal life all creatures will be lovely, and the bodies will be  
 glorified.  
 In eternal life, everything will be different.

7. that life will be much more glorious than this life, if Adam had  
 remained in innocence and not fallen.  
 8. a different one from eternal life.  
 Everything will be restituted and renewed in that life.  
 10. from eternal life.

**1. of the resurrection of Christ and his death.**

(This §, except for the last two paragraphs, contains a narrative of what Luther preached in church on the Sunday of Cantate in the afternoon of 1544. It is a meager excerpt from the sermon on the resurrection of the dead, Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 1406 ff, therefore omitted).

In the evening he, the doctor, said at home: He would have had another concept and matter in mind, of which he would have been willing to preach, and would have come safely to the article of God's omnipotence, which sermon was simple and more audible to the common man.

Item: I see, said D. Martinus, that our Lord God has a good concern of the article where we say: I believe a resurrection of the dead. For, should it remain as it is now, with sweeping out and cleansing 2c., who could wait and see it come to pass? Therefore it is best that he take the pot and break it, and thrust it into the clay, and make it new, as Jeremiah says.

**2. another of the resurrection of the dead.**

I will rise again, said D. Martinus, and I will be able to talk to you again. This finger, on which this ring is stuck, must become mine again. In sum, everything must return, for it is written in 2 Peter 3:13: "God will create new heavens and a new earth, in which righteousness will dwell." There will be no empty or idle regiment. There will be joy and delight, for heaven and earth will not be barren sand.

When a person is happy, a small tree, even a beautiful flower or bush, makes him happy; but when he is sad, no tree can really be looked at. Heaven and earth will be renewed, and we believers will all be one group. If we were all one here, there would be great peace among us: but God makes it otherwise, that here and there we are divided, so that we long and groan for the future Father.

country, and thus grow weary of this tedious life.

Now if there is to be joy in the elect, there must be supreme sadness and despair in the damned 2c. A rustling leaf has no horns. When have you heard that a rustling leaf has struck or poked a hole in one's head? Nevertheless, an ungodly and unbeliever is frightened by it. But not a Christian, for in Christ he has peace; but the wicked have no peace.

**3. Abraham's faith in the resurrection of the dead.**

Abraham had to believe in the resurrection of the dead, because he wanted to kill his son Isaac, through whom God had promised him to multiply his seed and lineage like the stars in the sky; as the epistle to the Eberians, Cap. 11, v. 17 ff. finely indicates. Our greatest challenge is that our Lord God is called a liar, since the Gentiles say, "Where is their God? It is as if God does not believe what He has promised.

Item: When Christ blows the trumpet on the last day, then they will all come up again and rise, like the flies that lie dead in winter, but toward summer, when the sun comes, they will come to life again; in the same way, the birds that lie dead during the winter in nests or stone caves, and in crevices, as the cuckoo, swallows and others, in the hollow banks by the water, will come to life again toward spring; as experience testifies.

**4. of the spirits of the wicked, and the resurrection of the wicked.**

D. M. Luther said to his table companions in 1540: "Oh, how we must suffer so many sects and troubles, for one always comes after the other: when one is settled, another soon comes; when such has died away, a new one is soon here again. And it is certain that there will be many more sects after my death, because the

1) This § is, according to the content, completely contained in § 5 of this chapter, taken together with Cap. 50, Z1. Either another relation of the same speech, or another redaction of it.

spiritus mendax et homicida does not celebrate. Who would have thought of the Grickel's foolishness? But God will preserve his Christianity. D. Severus said: "Your confession, Doctor, pleases me well as Coena Domini, and the word that you have added to it (as, as I want to preserve this article of the Sacrament, so I trust, with God, to preserve all the other articles also by the Scriptures) has deterred many, and drawn back many, who otherwise would have brought all kinds of error on the path: for there were some who wanted to dispute the divinity of Christ. Then D. Luther answered and said: I have noticed it well, that is why I have acted so diligently on this article, and have especially well struck out in the three symbolisms. It will not be necessary.

Many still doubt the article about the ungodly resurrection, said D. Severus. Luther answered: "It is diligently traced in the 15th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. Then M. Johannes Mathesius, Luther's table companion, had asked: "Doctor, in the Symbola there is first Remissio peccatorum, and then Carnis resurrectio, which thus reads, "Only those should rise from the dead who have the forgiveness of sins? Then said D. Luther: "There are clear, bright sayings of the Scriptures, as, Joh. 5, 28. 29. and Matth. 25, 32. and elsewhere in the Bible about the resurrection of the dead. And I have dealt with it in the same chapter to the Corinthians v. 50, that flesh and blood will not see the kingdom of God. There M. Mathesius spoke: It would be another thing not to see and not to be resurrected. The doctor answered: Sunt diversa praedicata de uno subjecto. Prince Hans Frederick read the same interpretation of the 15th chapter of Corinthians with pleasure.

(The following paragraph Cordatus No. 1593.)

When we get to heaven, we will have ten thousand years to marvel at the abominations of the pope, and after that at the monarchies and other great wickednesses, and we will be surprised that God allowed them to suffer so long. And I believe that the Pope has not heard one sermon in his whole life.

**In eternal life all creatures will be lovely, and the bodies will be glorified.**

When D. Martinus and others had joked with each other for a long time, they came to serious matters, namely to talk about eternal life, how heaven and earth would become new, as Adam and Eve had fallen from paradise, that is, out of God's grace and favor. But in Christ we all have another future and eternal life. There will be a new heaven and a new earth: the flowers, foliage and grass will be as beautiful, joyful and lovely as an emerald, and all creatures will be most beautiful. If only we have God's grace, all God's creatures will laugh at us. If I say to the brick that it shall become an emerald, it shall be done from that hour. And in the new heaven there will be a great, eternal light and loveliness.

(The following in this § at Cordatus No. 807. 808. 809. 810.)

What we would like to be now, we will be in that life, and where the thoughts will be, there will also be our bodies, because even in this life the body obeys the will. For whatever the will decides, there the body must follow, whether for good or for evil. This will take place much more in the future life, when the body will be lighter and more flexible than a feather, and everything that is considered beautiful now will be nothing there. According to this opinion also Isaiah [65, 17.] and Peter [2. Ep. 3, 13:] speak of a new heaven and a new earth, in which righteousness dwells. Righteousness and peace will be there, and all that we may wish for, peace, security 2c. Of such things they spoke after the lies. 2)

A joyful heart sees everything cheerfully, but a sad heart sees everything sadly; for a change of heart brings about a great change in all things. Hence it is that when we rejoice, we see even the smallest grasses cheerfully and admire their form, which we throw away and

1) In No. 802 of the Cordatus, it is reported that before these conversations, one amused oneself for a while with joke lies, to which also the entrance of this § points.

Despise when we are sad. Therefore, everything, even the disgusting animals like bugs, will be pleasurable for the blessed.

By heaven we must understand not merely the air and the land, or even that which is above us, but also all that belongs to it, all cattle, small cattle 2c.

If the world were so full of harmony, peace and justice that the peasant would be obedient to the prince everywhere, the servant to the lord, the wife to the husband, no one would long for the life to come. That is why God makes this world full of unrest, so that we may long for another life.

#### **In eternal life, everything will be different.**

It is a great faith, said D. Martinus, believe that our weak and heavy body should become so nimble and quick, agile and fast. I believe it weakly. The pope and the whole world do not believe it. We, who are true Christians and God-fearing, will see the light, the Creator of heaven and earth. This will be such a joy that eating and drinking, sleeping, and everything that we have to have here for our physical needs will be gone. It will be a different life; otherwise we would fill up heaven in four years. Then we will spit on the thalers and guilders. For if we have such pleasure and joy in creatures, namely in money, the sun, stars, etc., what will it be then when we look at God face to face?

#### **7. that life will be much more glorious than this life here, even though adam lived in the**

**Innocence remained, and would not have fallen.**

The life to come will be much greater and more glorious than the one that existed when Adam was still in Paradise before the Fall. Indeed, if Adam had remained in his innocence and not transgressed God's commandment, he would have begotten children. But he would not have remained eternally in such a state and life in paradise, but would have been taken and twitched into this glory; not by death, for he would have remained immortal, but by change, and twitched into that life.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, June 27, 1538, p. 92.)

After that they spoke of eternal life and its joy, how it will be. I often think about it, but I cannot find out what it will be like [illius objectum], what we will spend our time doing, because there will be no change, no work, no food, no drink, no business. But I think we will have objects [of joy] enough in God. That is why Philip said very well (John 14-8.), "Lord, show us the Father, and it will be enough for us." This will be our dearest object.

#### **8. a different one from eternal life.**

(Here 15 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 3, §10.)

(Lauterbach, Dec. 6, 1538, p. 188.)

Luther said on that day admirable things about the future, eternal life and its unspeakable joy, which human reason cannot comprehend with its research. For we cannot get beyond the visible and the physical with our thoughts, for eternity does not enter into any human heart. One should get tired of the eternal, according to the saying: Pleasure is also work. What kind of joy that will be, we cannot understand now, as Isaiah says (65, 18.): "They will rejoice forever and be glad about what I create."

#### **Everything will be restituted and renewed in that life.**

1) When M. Luther was asked: "Will there be dogs and other animals in that life and kingdom of heaven?" he answered and said: "Yes, indeed, because the earth will not be so empty, desolate and desolate, since St. Peter 2. ep. 3, 13. calls the last day a day of restitution of all things, when heaven and earth will be changed; and as elsewhere it is said more clearly: God will create a new earth and a new heaven, will also create new little furs and little dogs."

1) On this §, compare Mathesius, Luthers Leben, St. Louis edition, p. 212 f.



Their skin will be golden, and their hair or loden will be of precious stones. They will not eat each other, like toads, snakes, and other such poisonous animals, which are poisoned and harmful for the sake of original sin. Then they will not only be harmless to us, but also pleasant, amusing, and agreeable, so that we will play with them.

But how is it that we cannot believe God's word, when all things, as the Scripture says, have happened and been accomplished, except for this article about the resurrection of the dead? This is caused by original sin. The wicked and reprobate will be under the earth at the last day, and will see to some extent the great joy and glory of the elect and blessed, but will be the more tormented and tortured by it.

If our Lord God has so beautifully created this perishable, temporal kingdom, namely heaven and earth, and all that is in them; how much more beautiful will he make that imperishable, eternal kingdom? Although the original sin deserved that almost all animals do harm to man, as wolves, bears, snakes, lizards, etc., the merciful God has so mitigated and alleviated this guilt and punishment that there are more animals that are useful and serve than those that do harm. For there are more sheep and lambs than wolves; more crabs than scorpions; more fish than snakes; more grain and corn than weeds and grasses; more good herbs than nettles; more oxen than lions; more cows than bears; more hares than foxes; more fowls, ducks and geese than vultures, ravens and other noxious birds.

And whoever diligently thinks about it will find many more useful animals than harmful ones; many more and greater benefits and uses in all creatures than damages. No one can sufficiently comprehend with thought and sense what benefits and gifts the four elements bring and give us. The earth bears trees, wood, livestock, ore, water

rivers, grain, fruit, oil, wool 2c. And we can tell everything? Likewise the fire, thereby one warms, cooks 2c. The water carries all kinds of fish 2c., the air all kinds of birds, without which we can not live a paternoster long.

Our Lord God will now well see and know where my soul shall remain, who has been so careful for it that he has left his own life, so that he might save mine, the pious shepherd and faithful bishop of our souls who believe in him. For he will not begin with me and learn how to care for, nurture and keep the souls who trust in him. So I would not like to have them in my hand or care and know, because the devil would have snatched them away and devoured them in a flash and moment, but he has them in his hand, from which no one can snatch them. I am content to know that in my father's house there are many mansions. Father's house are many mansions, as Christ says, said the dear man of God. D. Martinus.

#### 10. from eternal life.

D. M. Luther said at one time: When he would have hung at his mother's breast and suckled, he would have known much how he would eat or drink afterwards, or how he would live. So we also understand much less what kind of life that will be. In the. Prophet Isaiah God says: Qui gestamini in utero meo, formamini in matre mea. . Thus our Lord God calls us, as if to say: You are not what you are to become, you are still in utero. All the golden chains, the great kingdoms, they are not called anything else to our Lord God, but still in uwro. But is it not proud enough spoken by our Lord God, that so many great people, as D. M. Luther and D. Jeckel, should lie hotly for our Lord God in his body? If our Lord God would take me and D. Jeckel, we would advise him much differently.

## The 50th chapter. Of damnation and hell.

1. what is teeth chattering.

According to and from God's word, one can certainly judge who is damned.

3. from the eternal hellish torment.

4. four degrees of punishment after this life.

5 Of the saying of Isa. 7:9: If ye believe not, ye shall not abide.

### 1. what tooth chatter is. 1) (Cordatus No. 811.)

We can understand the fire and the gnashing of teeth as an external punishment that will follow an evil conscience. And the despair that one is divorced from God is a [not] less terrible punishment, for such a conscience fears all creatures, which we also see now. For a falling leaf has not yet killed anyone, and yet it is feared, and it terrifies a fearful heart. When the heart is despondent, it is terrified of every creature, even the good ones.

**According to and from God's word, one can certainly judge who is damned.**

(Contained in Cap. 9, § 19.)

### 3. from the eternal hellish torment.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 16, 1538, p. 113.)

On August 16, when Luther considered the misery and misfortune of this life, with how innumerable diseases this mortal body would be plagued in this life, he said: "If the pains of the life to come are to be greater and constant, then these bodies of ours, as they are now, cannot bear it. They can hardly bear the sufferings of this life, which last only for a moment, and it seems to me that they will be other bodies. And soon he added this improvement: Let us break off from this matter, it is only my thoughts. God forbid that we should not know. Let us be here in the number of those of whom it is said (Matth. 5, 4.): "Blessed are they that mourn." For even here on earth there are various and

1) Cf. cap. 49, § 2.

unequal temptations according to the difference of the persons. If another should have endured the temptations that I have endured], he would have been dead for a long time. So I could not have endured the angel of Satan beating with fists, just as Paul could not have endured the exceedingly severe temptations of Christ. In short, sadness is death in the greatest proximity and in a moment. But we are not to dispute about it, but to put it in God's courts and look at what is revealed.

### 4. of the four degrees of punishment after this life.

The ancients made four kinds of distinctions and degrees of hell; first, the outer castle, in which the archfathers were said to have dwelt until Christ went to hell. Secondly, the feeling of torment, but only temporally, as purgatory. The third, where the unbaptized infants are to be inside, but feel no pain. The fourth, where the damned are, so they feel eternal pain and torture, that is the real hell. With the other three it is only a human poem. But it has been sung badly in the papacy in the chant: Cum Rex gloriae etc.. Te nostra vocabant suspiria, Te larga requirebant lamenta,: Our sighs called to you, our miserable laments sought you 2c. This is not right nor Christian. For the gospel says: They are in Abraham's bosom. Thus saith Isaias Cap. 57:2, "They go into their chambers." And Jesus Sirach: "The righteous is in the hand of the Lord" (Weish. 3, 1.), he dies as he wants, since he would be immediately overtaken with death; therefore there was no sighing nor complaining. The wretched

People have drawn the heartfelt sighing and longing of the prophets, which they had in this life after Christ the Messiah, that they waited for the dead. But what hell is, we do not know, except that it is a certain place, as Luc. 16, 26. is written of the rich man, when Abraham said to him, "There is a great gulf between you and us." For if it were known, and the Scriptures had indicated something about this place, there would be no end nor measure to the disputing. Therefore let us remain simple in the child's faith.

**Is. 7, 9: If you do not believe, you will not remain.**

That is, if you do not believe, you will not remain. All things are incomprehensible to our Lord God, but there, in that life, he said he would show us everything and give us an account of why he had done it that way. We Christians have, thanks be to God, a great advantage that our faith is so powerfully founded in the Holy Scriptures, and is always in agreement. Nevertheless, the Turk or the Jew do not have this.

**The 51st chapter.**

**Of the last day.**

1. D. Luther's thoughts on the last day.
- 2 M. Michael Stiefels Irrthum vom jüngsten Tage.
3. Luther's thoughts and account of the last day, that it can no longer be far away.
4. proclamation of D. Luther's Proclamation of the Last Day.
5. from the last day.
3. on the last day, the splendor of the wicked will all disappear.
7. of the last day.

8. The world will go wild just before the Last Day.
- 9 Another of Luther's concerns about the last day, about what time it will come.
10. what God's children are capable of in eternal life. Whether the Christians will know about all the impiety of the wicked on the last day.
12. ask for the last day.
13. the last day will separate the righteous and the wicked.

**1. D. Luther's thoughts about the last day.**

Doctor Martinus said: 1) O dear God, come once; I always wait for the day, early around spring, when day and night are the same, and will become a very clear bright dawn. But these are my thoughts, and I will preach about them: Soon out of the dawn shall come a thick black cloud, and there shall be three flashes of lightning; and after that there shall be one stroke, and all shall be heaped together in one moment, heaven and earth. But praise be to God, who has taught us to sigh for the day and to desire it.

should. In the papacy, all the world feared it, as they also sang in song: Dies illa, dies irae etc. This day, a day of wrath 2c. I hope that the day is not far away, and we still want to experience it.

Then one said, "Doctor, shall the gospel not be preached anywhere at this time? For Christ says, He will hardly find faith on earth. Yes, said D. Martinus, what does it mean that we have the gospel in corners? Where do you reckon that all Asia and Africa have no gospel, and in Europe, Greece and Italy, Hungary, Hispania, France, England and Poland no gospel is preached? The little spot, the house of Saxony, will not hinder the last day.

1) This prayer is already printed in the St. Louis edition, part X, Col. 1521.

## 2 M. Michael Stiefel's Fallacy of Judgment Day. 1)

Anno 1533, Sept. 28, M. Stiefel came to Wittenberg, talked secretly alone with M. Luther and showed him his opinion and opinion with twenty-two articles, from the last day, that he would come on St. Lucas' Day. But he was told to keep quiet. This made him very angry, and he said: "Dear doctor, I am surprised that you forbid me to preach, and that you do not want to believe me when it is certain that I must say it, since I do not like to do it. Then said D. Martinus: "Dear master, if you have been able to bear the silence for ten years in the papacy, please keep quiet for a short time 2c. Oh, how gladly he (Stiefel) would have brought me to his opinion; for he said: Oh, how it grieves me, how sorry I am that you do not believe this. And he remembered a farmer who was a miller, and had also announced beforehand that he would come on this day, which passed yesterday. And I, said he, when I was early in the way, as the sun was about to rise, saw a very beautiful rainbow, and thought of the future of Christ. Then said D. Martinus said: No, it will not happen with rainbows, but in one stroke fire, thunder, lightning will consume the whole creature. It is only a matter of one stroke. In a moment we will all be dead and changed. A mighty, strong trumpet or dromet sound will renew and awaken us all. It will not be a friendly sound of a shawm, so those who are in graves shall hear it soon.

S. also sets in his book a certain time when the last day would come. Namely, the 1533rd year, in the tenth moon, in the forty-second week, on Monday at the eighth hour. Now let it come, said D. Martinus: M. S. said against me eighteen weeks ago that he should certainly come before Michaelmas. We have Michaelmas

available except for one day, you may send yourselves. I would like to give away my children's patronage money, but I am afraid that no one will want to accept it, because tomorrow evening at six is the time when we will all be sitting in heaven. Oh, how ashamed we will be! After that, in the evening of Michaelmas, he said at noon, over the table, "We still have eight hours to the last day: for according to the Jewish or Hebrew way, the day begins in the evening at vespers: so Michaelmas is present.

M. S. also had this argument that he pretended that Christ as the Son of Man had not known the certain time when the last day would come after mankind, but after his resurrection, the forty days before his ascension, he had known it well and revealed it. And he (Boots) would be the last trumpet.

Then spoke D. Martinus: Yes, Christ knew it well even after mankind, but he should not know it to reveal it to men, because he was not sent for it.

(Cordatus No. 443 to "youngest days.")

It will yet become so evil on earth that people will cry out in every corner: O Lord, come with the last day!

And he, D. Luther, had a paternoster of white agate stones 2) in his hand, and said: If God wanted the day to come soon, I would eat this paternoster now, so that it would come tomorrow.

(The last paragraph, Cordatus No. 951, is transferred to the following 8, where it belongs).

## 3. martini thoughts and account of the last day, that he can no longer be far away.

(Cordatus No. 951. 952.953. 1246.)

The end of the world is here, it has come to the yeast. Whoever wants to start something, let him do it at the right time. The pleasures of this world are over. That is why the old peasants before Vienna will have thought: Lord God, has it come to this, that we are to be under the Turk? Everything is changing. If I were to come to my father's house, I would be looked at much differently.

1) The extensive narrative in the first three paragraphs of this § is most likely formed from Cordatus No. 1731, which we have included in Appendix No. II.

2) In the editions: "Agtsteinen".

than before. The best thing that came out of my father's estate is that he educated me; for there is no greater good in housekeeping than to feed students.

The Scriptures are purely washed out, so that it cannot be that the last day is far, and I have had terrible dreams of the last judgment from the middle of the year. The present time, compared to the past, is barely a hand's breadth, a leftover little apple hanging on the tree.

Daniel has described the world by the world empires of the Persians, Greeks and Romans. The pope has received the Roman empire, that is St. John's last drink, 1) that also falls to him. In the sky many signs happen, on the earth there is building beyond measure, also planting and collecting treasures. The arts now go beyond all measure. I hope that God will put an end to it and not look at the astronomers who say that in the year 40 the golden age will come again.

It is destined by fate that all pastors in Lochau become enthusiasts. Michael Stiefel, a godly man, has fallen into this delusion that he is the seventh angel who precedes the last day with his divine revelation. He has the trumpet of the seventh angel and is certain when this day will come. That is why he gives away his household utensils to the people for free, because they are no longer necessary for him.

#### 4. proclamation of D. M. Luther's Proclamation of the Last Day.

Anno 1536 spoke D. Martinus: It is in Apocalypsi come up to the white horse. The world will not stand long; if God wills, not over a hundred years. The Lord deliver us from evil, amen.

#### 5. from the last day.

When the Turk (said D. M. Luther) begins to fall a little, then the last day will certainly come, because it must be there,

de necessitate Scripturae, according to the Scriptures. He will then come, the dear Lord, as the Scripture says: Cum adhuc semel veniam, tum commovebo Coelum et Terram, et tum veniet desiderabilis omnibus Gentibus: "When I come once more, then will I move heaven and earth, then shall come the consolation of all nations", Hagg. 2, 7. 8. There are now enough movements in the political state. The lawyers have never had more to do than now. So there are all kinds of disputes in the household, even among the servants, item, our own sons and daughters; the church, too, has its movements.

#### 6. at the last judgment, the splendor of the wicked will all disappear.

(The first paragraph of this tz in Lauterbach, March 3, 1538, p. 44.)

On March 3. March, Luther had the banquet of his kingdom 2) There they dined. Psalms were recited, Gospels, the Catechism, prayers, as each one had been instructed to do, but his servants were very timid in reciting them. He said: What will become there before the last judgment, where the godless people will be publicly condemned and will have to give account? It is a great majesty of that judgment, which all men will then be forced to fear; even if here the godless walk along in extreme presumption and contempt in their well-being, they must nevertheless be wary of that judgment. There all their glory and all men's counsel will disappear, and the thoughts even of the devil will come to light. Therefore, Paul and the other apostles look forward to this day of judgment with the greatest confidence against the ungodly 2).

On the last day there will be a great change and collapse: for then all the elements will melt and become ashes, and the whole world will again become a desolate lump, as in the beginning. There

2) The Kingdom. A festival according to university custom, at which young poets and orators gave their speeches and recited or sang their poems. Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 958.

3) Immediately after this follows the second paragraph of Z17 of Chapter 7.

1) The feast of St. John the Evangelist on 27 December at the end of the year. Here St. John's drink - farewell drink.

will be a new heaven and earth, and we will be changed. But the devil will remain as he is, because he has nothing of elements. As St. Paul, who had great revelation, indicates.

### 7. of the last day.

Doctor Martin Luther once said: "I am quite certain that the day of the Lord is near, and that either we, or at least our descendants, will experience this day. For all great signs have now come to pass; the Antichrist is revealed and the world rages. And will it not be better in the world before the last day comes.

### 8. The world will go wild just before the Last Day.

(Contained in Cap. 1, § 12.)

### 0. another concern of D. M. L. about the last day, about what time it will come.

Around the Easter time in April, when people are least afraid of the rain, Pharaoh perished in the Red Sea and the people of Israel were led out of Egypt. At the same time the world was created. At the same time the year changed, and Christ rose again, and the world was renewed. So perhaps also at the same time the last day will come. I have the thought that this day will come after and around Easter, when the year is most beautiful and merry, and early, when the sun goes out, as in Sodom and Gomorrah. The sky will be cloudy, with thunder and earthquakes, for an hour or a little longer. Then the people who see it will say: Behold, behold, thou fool, hast thou never heard thunder? And so the world will suddenly be overtaken, and many a man's debt will not be paid. "We who are alive," says St. Paul in 1 Thess. 4:15, which must be understood of us who are still alive. For we are all alike in imputation before God, who counts us as righteous, and imputes Christ's righteousness to us: but there is a difference among the saints, of the gifts, of the things, of the things, of the things.

half. This is by grace, not by merit. For as there is a difference among the stars, in that one is clearer and brighter than another; so shall it be also among the saints, after this life, in eternal life. St. Augustine says: "God crowns his gifts in men; to whom he has given great and excellent gifts here, he will also be clearer and more glorious than others there: but those who have not had such gifts here will not be so clear, and yet will have perfect joy.

### 10. what God's children are capable of in eternal life.

In the life to come I will say: there will be cherries, grapes, birds, trees 2c., so shall it soon be; for we shall be children of GOD.

Item: After the revelation of the Antichrist, the world will do what it wants, and even get into an epicurean nature and life, not believing that there is a God. Then the last day will not be far away.

### (11) Whether Christians will know at the last day of all the impiety of the wicked.

One of them asked: "Will the godly also know all the wickedness and wickedness of the wicked on the last day? M. Luther said: Yes, indeed; for we know in this life not only how God is disposed toward us, but also the secret thoughts of the wicked. I know what the pope, emperor, bishop of Mainz 2c. think, because they are godless, do not respect God, do not have certain thoughts of God, do not ask anything about Him.

### 12. ask for the last day.

Doctor Martin Luther said to Doctor Jonah: "Teach your church to pray diligently for the day of the Lord, for it has come at a good time, and so it is over; it will not be better. But God does not hear, for the cry for our redemption at the last day, and all signs agree that it is not far off.

**The last day will separate the righteous from the wicked.**

The true art of alchemy is truly the philosophy of the ancient sages, which I like very much, not only for its many benefits, which it brings to melting, separating, separating and preparing metals; item, herbs, roots and other things to distill and sublimate, but also for the allegories and secret interpretation, which is extremely beautiful, namely the resurrection of the dead at the last day. For just as in a furnace the fire draws from matter and separates what is best, even the spirit, spirit, life, juice and strength, it leads it upward so that it takes the top of the helmet, sticks to it, and then flows down; as one sees when one distills herbal water or that one distills something else; there the finest floats upward, and the best always floats upward. But the impure matter and yeasts leave it at the bottom.

as a dead carrion and nothing. In the same way, when distilled wine is made, all the substance and essence is extracted by the fire, and the power rises to the top; what is left remains at the bottom, and it neither smells nor tastes, but is an unformed water. In the same way, all power and strength is extracted and separated from the cinnamon bark and nutmeg, if one wants to burn water or prepare an oil from it; then the good is led upward, and what remains is without smell and taste, like rotten wood. God will do the same thing on the last day and at the last judgment, separating the righteous from the wicked by fire. The Christians and the righteous will ascend to heaven above and live in it forever. But the ungodly and the damned will remain in hell as the basic soup and yeast, and will be damned therein, and will remain in death forever.

**The 52nd chapter.**

**Of allegories and spiritual interpretations of Scripture, how to deal with them.**

- 1. description of the allegories.
- 2. from St. Margaret's Legend.
- 3. what allegories are.
- 4. from the knight St. George.
- 5. boldness of the sophists to write and play with allegories.
- 6. from lies.

- 7. of allegories, and when Lutherus had abandoned them.
  - 8. D. Luther's Best Art.
- In the words of the Lord's Supper, the "Sacramen" want to make a trope, as in the place a figurist: I am the right vine.

**1. description of the allegories.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1046.)

Allegories, if everything is related to faith, are good and praiseworthy, but related to life, they are dangerous. I hate them, however, mainly for the sake of it, when they drive life more than faith, and when they are used excessively, they take away the power of the story.

Summa, allegories or spiritual interpretations are the whore's brat, its polished, and yet do not hold the sting: they prove nothing: they are not legitimate women: we shall not use them lightly unless the main matter is first sufficiently proved with strong arguments and reasons. As we see that St. Paul did to the Galatians, Cap. 4, 21. ff. The corpus, the body, is the dialectica; but allegoria is the rhetorica.

Now rhetoric, which decorates and emphasizes a thing in length with words, is of no use without dialectics, which summarizes a thing briefly. If one rhetoricizes and makes many words without foundation, since there is nothing behind, then it is only a decorated thing, and carved and painted idol.

## 2. from St. Margaret Legend.

(Cordatus No. 1049.)

The legend of Margaret has an ecclesiastical allegory [meaning]. But the church is a noble virgin and splendid gem. Olibrius, the tyrant, is the world, which enmitigates the church and throws it into prison, where it is plagued by the dragon, the devil, and it cannot free itself from the heavy challenge in any other way than by seizing the cross, which is Christ, who alone drives out and overcomes the devil. Similar is that of Christophorus 2c.

## 3. what allegories are.

(Cordatus No. 980-982.)

Allegory is that one gives a thing for and understands it differently than the words read, and it is in a [whole] sentence, the metaphor in [individual] expressions and words. The holy scripture and the German language are full of allegories: He hangs his coat to the wind; Much clamor, little wool; Käthe von Bora is the morning star at Wittenberg. The words make metaphors, but the things make allegories, as Christ's command of foot washing, of baptism, of the Lord's Supper are allegories. 1)

The allegories must not be held as they read, as when Daniel [7, 7.] says of

1) In order to understand this sentence correctly, it must be noted that Luther is not dealing here with the essence, but with the meaning, allegory. The action of washing the feet means the serving love (Joh. 13, 14. 15.); the action of baptism means the drowning of the old Adam and the resurrection of the new man (Rom. 6, 4.); the action of Holy Communion, eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ, means the thanksgiving for the suffering and death of the Lord (1 Cor. 11, 26.). Therefore Luther used in this case in the Latin original the rare word *LueUaristia* i.e. "thanksgiving". - The last two sentences of this § are transferred to § 10 of the appendix, where they belong.

the beast that has ten horns, it is understood to mean the Roman Empire. Thus, circumcision is an allegory in the New Testament, not in the Old, in which they had to keep it very precise.

The New Testament makes allegories out of the Old, which speaks only of things that have happened, as of the two sons of Abraham, out of whom Paul makes two nations. But let us not make such allegories as the red spirits.

## 4. from the knight St. George.

(Cordatus No. 1048.)

The legend of St. George contains in itself a very beautiful allegory concerning the world government - the girl is the worldly government, which is attacked by a dragon, who is the devil. But he attacks her, sometimes with famine, sometimes with pestilence, even by war he devours and devastates her, until a pious and brave emperor comes, who restores and defends her.

## 5. boldness of the sophists to write and play with allegories.

(The first paragraph of this § in Cordatus No, 148.)

It is an ungodliness what in these verses the sophists and some of the fathers have passed off for godliness:

*Littera gesta docet, quid credas, Allegoria, Moralis, quid agas, quo tendas, Anagogia.* 1) [The letter teaches what has happened, allegory what is to be believed.

*Moralis* teaches what one should do, *anagogy* where it should go. Walch] and since they asserted and praised such, they were nevertheless unable to perform it, however often they wanted to. For it could have been spoken much more correctly, or more appropriately, by a man, from reason alone, who only understands something, that I am silent: from faith. As if I wanted to speak of medicin as they taught in this distich, I would say with respect to the first thought [*littera gesta docet*], me-

2) *Anagogy*, i.e. the deeper sense.



dicin, that the fever is cured by rhubarb; with regard to the second, that the fever is sin, and the rhubarb is smoothly, but there is nothing behind them. They Jesus Christ; with regard to the third, that the fever is vice, and the rhubarb is virtue; with regard to the fourth, that the fever is damnation, and the resurrection is rhubarb. Would this not be more fittingly said than what they have said?

(The following two paragraphs at Cordatus No. 149 and 150.)

1) The faith must be changed, not the word or work of God, which remains forever. Therefore, those who say that a child must be rebaptized because he did not have faith at baptism are very wrong. Likewise, those who have taught that those who are baptized by an ungodly preacher or a heretic must be rebaptized are also mistaken. Put away unbelief and your baptism will remain God's work, which it has always been, because it was given in the name of the Trinity. But in order that you may recognize the error by which they have been deceived, take this example: There is someone who does not believe that the holy Ten Commandments were given by God to the world through Moses, or that the gospel was not preached by Christ. Are therefore the commandments nothing, or the gospel nothing? Or do you think that for this reason another law must be given, or another gospel must be preached, so that you may believe that it is from God? Truly no, but you must depart from your unbelief 2c.

Twice worse are the proselytes who are brought into a new order that is not instituted by God, because before they did not believe that they were righteous but sinners, but after they have entered into their new holiness [religio], they consider themselves righteous and not only do not reject their works as they did before, but also boast that they are righteous and also meritorious. Therefore this "twofold" must be understood: they become much worse.

Playing with allegories in Christian teaching is dangerous. The words are to-

They are generally 'finely charming', and go in serve well for preachers who have not studied much, who do not know how to interpret history and the text correctly, for whom the leather is too short and will not suffice: so they resort to allegories, in which nothing certain is taught, on which one could found and base oneself; therefore we should get used to sticking to the sound and clear text.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, April 5, 1538, p. 57.)

Philip asked about the spiritual interpretation [allegoria] of the eagle, which neither hunted nor robbed while brooding on the eggs, and kept only one young, but threw the others out. Similarly, a raven does not feed its young and expels them as soon as they are feathered. He answered: The eagle is an image of the monarchy, which does not tolerate any of its equals. The ravens are the [loveless], belly-serving papists.

#### 6. lies. 2)

Lying is always twisted, and bends like the serpent, which is never straight, whether it walk or stand; but only when it is dead is it straight and true.

#### 7. allegoriis, and when Lutherus had abandoned them.

Since I was a monk, I was a master of spiritual interpretation, allegorizing it all: but after that, when I came to know Christ a little through the epistle to the Romans, I saw that with allegories and spiritual interpretations there was nothing; not what Christ means, but who and what he is. Before, I allegorized and interpreted spiritually, also the Cloaca, and only everything; but after that, in the histories, I considered how hard it was that Gideon fought with the enemies in the way that the Scriptures indicate: if I had been there, I would have thrown my pants in fear. This was not allegory and spiritual interpretation, but the Holy Spirit and faith only beat with three hundred men such a great bunch of enemies. St. Jerome and Origen helped in this,

2) Cf. cap. 12, § 53.

1) Quite similar thoughts Cap. 1, § 48, the first three paragraphs.

that one has so allegorized that God forgives them. There is not one word of Christ in the whole origen.

#### 8. lutheri best art.

D. M. Luther said on another occasion: "I can no longer work, nor can I speak. When I was young, I was learned, and especially before I came to theology, I dealt with allegoriis, tropologiis and anagogiis, and made vain art. If someone had it now, he would carry it around for vain sanctity. But I know that it is nothing but dirt. Now I have let it go, and my best and first art is, tradere scripturam simplici sensu; for literalis sensus, that does it, there is life, there is power, teaching and art inside: in the other there is only fool's work, although it shines high.

9. in the words of the Last Supper, the Sacramentarians want to make a trope, as it is a figure to the Loco: Ego sum Vitis vera.

M. Luther said: "If one wants to make Tropos in this way, then we have lost Christ. It does not apply to trope, one must prove tropos. Muenzer the tropirte with the 3. cap. Johannis, V. 6, also thus: Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua etc. and said: Aqua significat tribulationem, ut in illo loco: Intraverunt in animam meam aquae multae. Sententia ergo est, per tribulationes oportet nos ingredi in regnum coelorum. That Münzer. But St. Augustine gave a rule, quod Figura et Allegoria nihil probet, sed Historia, Verba et Grammatica, die thun's. Figura does nothing everywhere.

### The 53rd chapter.

## Of the legends of the saints.

1. from St. Elisabeth.
2. from the Christian Order.
3. from St. Anna.
4. st. georgen legend.

5. from Thecla, the virgins.
6. from St. Christopher legend.
7. from the sacred legends.

#### 1. from St. Elisabeth.

Saint Elisabeth was born in 1207, when Emperor Otto and Philip were quarreling and tearing over the Roman Empire. She did not live over four and twenty years of her age. After her death, in the fifth year, she was canonized and proclaimed a saint by Pope Gregory the Ninth. Then she was called by many who knew her and lived during her days.

He, M. Luther, also read many other things in legends, and said with a sigh: "Oh, how the bishops have slept, and have been so negligent, and have let such errors come into the church! It has been a time of divine wrath that, because the Bible has been lost, such things have been taught. We have now, by God's grace,

the word. Our Lord God help us. For where God's Word is pure, there must also be the Holy Spirit.

Then he was asked, "Which legends are canonical, that is, according to the Scriptures, or apocryphal, not according to them? He said, "Very few are pure; the legends of martyrs are least suspect than those who have testified to their faith with their blood. The monks, especially the hermits, who live alone among the people called anachoretas, are marvelous and horrible, for they have many strange, monstrous miracles and foolish works, of wondrous temperance, mortification and discipline. It has the heartache, the flesh can nowhere be rectificret and brought right. If one rejects the sect of the anachoretas, then desolate, wild, sodomitical

But if one praises discipline and a moderate life, then hypocrites and hopefuls become presumptuous people. So there is injustice on both sides. But it is more grievous, as Gerson the teacher says, to sin and to do too much with wasting, than with frugality. For if one does too much with food and drink, he can make up for it with fasting and sickness; but he who breaks off too much with food and drink, and keeps himself too moderate, cannot recover anywhere. I think a lot of the saints, of whom nothing special is known, live in a common way, like other people, without hypocrisy, boast nor let themselves be noticed.

### 2nd Christian Order.

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 13.)

### 3. st. anna.

They said of St. Anne that she had three husbands. How these verses read:

Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias, Quas genuit viro Joachim,  
Cleophe, Salomeque.

This is:

It is said that Anna gave birth to three Marys to her husbands: Mariam, the mother of the Lord Christ, from Joachim; Mariam Salome from Salome, and Mariam Cleophe from Cleophas; since Salome is a female name. So also of the marriage of John the Evangelist it was said that he was to be the bridegroom of Magdalene; as one sings of him in the Sequence: Thou hast left the sweet breast or thy heart's beloved, and hast followed the Messiah.

Afterwards, he, D. Martinus, read in a missal of innumerable, many and various masses, which service is arranged and instituted by the pope, only for the sake of money; and said much about the common week, since soon after Michaelmas one held a whole week every day vigils and masses for the dead, sprinkled and burned incense in the charnel house, where the bones of the deceased lay. This was supposed to either alleviate their torment in purgatory or to deliver them from it. All this was believed without, even against God's word.

### 4. st. georgen legend.

(Contained in Cap. 52, § 4.)

### 5. from Thecla, the virgins.

Doctor M. Luther read the theclen of the virgin legend baptized by St. Paul, that the same should have awakened carnal lust in him. Then he laughed at such lies. Ah, he said, dear Paule, you must have had another stimulum or stake than carnal lust and desire. The monks, who lived in all security and had good days, let them dream after their temptations that St. Paul also had such temptations and was plagued with them, like them, the belly servants.

### 6. of St. Christopher's legends.

Doctor M. Luther preached about St. Christopher on his day, and said that it was no history, but the Greeks, as wise, learned and sensible people, had invented such, to show how a Christian should be, and how he was; namely, a very large, long, strong man, who carries a small child, the JEsulein, on the armpit or shoulder, but is so heavy that he must stoop and bend under it (as the name Christophorus, who carries Christ, indicates) through the raging, wild sea, the world, where the waves and bulges, the tyrants and hordes, together with all the devils, strike at him and persecute, would like to take him for life and limb, property and honor; But he clings to a great tree as to a stick, that is, to the word of God. On the other side of the sea stands an old man with a lantern in which is a burning light, that is, the scriptures of the prophets; he follows them and comes to the shore unharmed, where he is safe, that is, into eternal life; But he has a wetzschker on his side, in which there are fish and bread, to indicate that God also wants to feed his Christians here on earth, in such persecution, crosses and misfortunes, when they have to suffer, and to provide for the body, and not let them die of hunger, as the world would like. Is a beautiful, Christian poem. As also from the knight St. George. For George.

in Greek means a builder who builds up land and people with justice and righteousness, and controls and resists the enemies who want to attack and damage them.

### 7. from the sacred legends.

It has been a plague of the devil that we have no Legendam Sanctorum pure. It is the most shameful lies that it is a miracle; and it is a hard work to correct the Legendas Sanctorum. And M. Luther read the same evening the Legenda St. Catharinen and said: This is against all Roman histories: because Maxentius

has drowned in the Tiber at Rome, and has never come to Alexandria; but Maximus has been there, as one reads in the Eusebio; and since the times of Julli Caesaris, and long before, no king has been Egypt. It must have been a desperate villain who thus vexed Christendom with such mendaciis, he must certainly be deep in hell. We believed such portents and should not have rebelled against them if we had already understood them, but we did not fail to do so. Therefore thank our Lord God, you young fellows, and be pious, so that you do not have to believe such things or even more shameful things.

## The 54th chapter.

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### 1. what is the use of concilia.

In 1533, on the 21st day of March, the emperor's legate came to Luther's house in Wittenberg. M. Luther's house to Wittenberg, desired to see him, as he had orders from his lord to all princes and lords of the German nation. But he did not see D. L. Then M. Hausmann asked him: Where is the Imperial Majesty now? He said, "At Mantua, where he had long been dealing with the pope for the sake of the Concilia, so that one could

One of them was supposed to set it and write it out; but the pope would have excused himself for a long time, and would have postponed the matter a bit, and would have delayed answering. But when the emperor finally stopped with diligence, the pope wanted to determine a certain place; the pope would have secretly gone away, leaving the emperor there.

Then said D. M. Luther, when it was pointed out to him: "The pope is a rogue and a villain. I have always hated a concilium:

Not that our doctrine should be confirmed and ratified, for it has always been given and ratified by another, namely by God Himself, but only that in external things and ceremonies a unity and reformation might be made. But nothing comes of it.

Therefore, let no one be so foolish as to put people off until a future concilium. God's word is to be the foundation of our faith, on which we are to base ourselves and rely. It is also uncertain about the concilium. How many hundreds of thousands of people die before one is held? Therefore, people should be led by God's word and will, not by the concilium.

And just in the same year 1533, imperial legates were sent to the Elector of Saxony, H[archduke] John Frederick, to schedule a concilium; to which an answer was also given by S. C. F. G.: They wanted to appear with certain conditions, either personally, or through their envoys and advisors, since they were sufficiently assured of escort, and it would be a Christian free concilium 2c.

(The following Lauterbach, June 27, 1538, p. 91.)

On June 27, D. Luther and Mag. Philipp dined together in his house at a deposition. 1) They sighed and said many things about the future time when they would have many teachers. There will be a great confusion. No one will want to be governed by another's teaching or reputation. Everyone will want to be his own rabbi, like Osiander and Agricola, and from this will come the greatest annoyances and divisions. Therefore it would have been best that the princes had preceded by a concilium, if the fugitive papists had not so feared the light. To this Mag'. Philipp sadly replied: "The pope will never be brought to a general concilium, he acts against us only by force and cunning. Therefore it is said that Nicolaus of Schoenberg, bishop of Capua, admonished the pope with the best of reasons that he should take up the matter of the church honestly and concede something to the Germans, that he should also not use his prestige against the

1) On deposition, see Cap. 67, §§ 6 and 7.

Germans; for they would be such people who would not yield in a just, honorable cause, and could not be overcome either by force or by cunning. But the pope despised this very pious advice of his. Oh, that our princes and estates would establish a concilium and a harmony in doctrine and ceremonies, so that each one would not break out with his audacity to the annoyance of many. As it already appears. It is indeed a very pitiful image of the church, which lies hidden under so much weakness and trouble.

**2 The Pope's and the Cardinals' humble letter to the King's preachers.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 23, 1538, p. 118.)

Luther read the letters of the Cardinals and the Pope to Frederick Nausea, the preacher of Ferdinand, in which they humbly asked and admonished Nausea to assemble a council and accused the Lutherans as if they prevented it. He answered: "They themselves do not want a council, and none should be assembled, because they would have destroyed us before. In the past, the Cardinals would have considered it beneath their dignity to write to such an insignificant man, but now they pay homage to him because they do not have a good conscience; now they have to pay what they owed to the dear Christ. O Lord, you are just, and right is your judgment. May your name be sanctified and not ours.

**3. not to be provided with a concilii.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 24, 1538, p. 119.)

On August 24, he said: "At this time there can be no concilium, for the pope flees judgment and the immodesty of others hinders it. Behold, how great reverence and modesty there was at the Council of Nicaea, where such a large assembly gave way to one Paphnutius, who said that the chastity of attendance was greater than the sanctity of celibacy! Such words I would never have dared to say: chastity in attendance; but would have said: in marriage. But Heb. 13 (v. 4.) says: "The marriage bed undefiled." Now, if a hundred people like Paphnutius were to resist, they would ver-

because the Pope would conclude: Our Council is holy and the Catholic Church, which cannot err and must not yield to anyone.

#### 4. the Pabst's fame.

The pope writes and boasts that he is a bishop of the Catholic Church, a title he was never allowed to give him before. For in the Concilio Niceno there was no pope at all, at that time the church was divided into three parts: First, Aethiopia, the land of the Moors; second, Syria, which included Antioch. The third part was Rome with its associated cities. Soon after the time of the apostles they swarmed and established and ordered three kinds of concilia: 1. common or general; 2. provincial; 3. and diocesan, that is, which should be held in each diocese as far as its sprenghwedels reach.

#### 5. what happened in Salzburg, when it was suggested by the Concilio.

The archbishop of Salzburg had many bishops, about eight hundred persons, summoned and called together, and as they were conferring in the church of the Concilio, a great storm and thunderclap with lightning drove them away from each other, so that one ran out here, the other out there; after that, in the castle, the same thing happened again, and when they came together again, the thunder chased them away and scattered them.

#### 6. the extension of the concilii.

(Lauterbach, Dec. 18, 1538, p. 194.)

On this day a printed note was brought about the postponement of the Council until the month of May, in which the most impudent lies were under the title and name of God. Luther said: Do not deny yourself to death. Rome and the Pope are greater in wickedness than the greatest eloquence can utter. No one believes it who has not experienced it. (Sil. Ital. Punic. VII, 395.) How the pope holds sway over the church and wants to build it from accidental things, namely according to outward appearance and success! But we want to judge the church according to the will, according to the word of God and the sacraments.

1) Ironic instead of "Sprenghel".

May the pope boast of the council. But he omitted to bind the kings by oaths. In short: The Pope is kept for the judgment of God, therefore he is already strangled by the word of God. Duke George and others, also the King of England, hate the Pope personally, but not in reality; they keep the soul of the Pope and kill only the body (Luc. 12, 4. f.). The pope can well stand this; after twenty years he hopes for his kingdom again. But we attack the Pope's soul with the word of God, we consider his body to be nothing, we do not pluck it, like Duke George and the King of England, but seek his throat, we want to put the goose on the spit. If you pluck it right away, it will soon quail again. That is why the devil hates us who strangle the pope. So does the king of Denmark, who is after the pope's soul.

#### 7. four most distinguished concilia.

Anno 1'539, the 27th of January, D. M. Luther had a book in his hand, whose title was Liber Conciliorum, a book of concilia, in which he found sixty general and provincial concilia, held from the time of the apostles; among which four were the most noble and praiseworthy: Two defended the Trinity and Divinity of Christ, as the Nicene and Constantinopolitan; but two the humanity of Christ, as that at Ephesus and Chalcedon.

In the Concilio of Nicaea nothing is written about the bishop of Rome, that one had been there. Only one, Hosius, 2) Bishop of Corduba from Hispania, was there; the other bishops came from the churches in the Orient, as from Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Africa 2c. Oh dear Lord God, the bishops' concilia and convent, what are they but only vain ambition and money, where they quarrel about titles, session and other loose childish puppet work? Look at what has been discussed at the conventicles for three hundred years so far, only about external things and ceremonies, nothing about right godly doctrine, right worship and faith.

2) In the editions Ozius; Stangwald: Osius.

### 8. what concilio have to order.

When M. Luther had in his hands the book of concilia, which had been compiled and made with great effort and labor, he said: "This whole book wants to defend the pope, since there are countless canons against the pope in his decrees. Above this, the Concilia have no power to make laws and order what is to be taught and believed in the church, nor of good works, as they have been taught and confirmed beforehand; but have only power to make order of outward things, customs and ceremonies: but no further, than as far as persons, places and time are concerned: when these are no longer and cease, then such orders are also no longer anything, but dead and abolished.

The Roman laws are now gone and dead, because Rome is no longer, but has been. For now it is another place. So also the "conciliar decrees" and ordinances are no more, because now it is another time. So St. Paul says Col. 2, 20. ff: "Why do you let yourselves be caught by statutes, as if you were still living in the world? Who say, Thou shalt not touch this, thou shalt not taste that, thou shalt not touch that. Which are all consumed with hands, and are the commandment and doctrine of men. Which have a semblance of wisdom, through self-chosen spirituality and humility; and in that they spare not the body, and do not honor the flesh for its need." Therefore the conscience does not bind such "decrees" and statutes, which are directed and set to person, time and place. For as the three, person, place, and time, cease and are changed, so also such ordinances are changed and cease. Such doctrines want to make an immortal man out of a mortal man; just as they have also called the pope an earthly god, and very properly and rightly so: for all his laws, rights, and ordinances taste of earth, not of heavenly things.

Truly, it is a great blindness that binds consciences to trust and build on it, since Christ clearly and clearly says Luc. 17:20: "The kingdom of God is a kingdom of God.

Do not come with outward gestures." The statutes, which are directed and set to person, place and time, are more political and domestic than to the church: they belong more to the secular and domestic regiment than to the church.

### 9. from human traditions.

Doct. Martin Luther once said that an Augustinian monk, Andreas Proles, Doctoris Staupitii Antecessor, an excellent learned man and fine preacher, would have said of the human statutes and the sophistical disputationibus: that such disputations reminded him of the same thing as if one were sitting and sharpening an axe, and he always sharpened and sharpened it, and yet never cut anything with it. By which similitude he meant to indicate that such disputations 1) can nowhere be used, but are mere words, and nothing else.

### 10. comparison of the divine Word and the Fathers' Scriptures.

Item, this Andreas Proles used to say about the divine word, if one wants to interpret, interpret and gloss it through the fathers: When the word of God comes to the fathers, it reminds me the same, as if a milk comes through a coal bag, because the milk must become black and spoiled. In this way, he wanted to make it understood that God's word in himself was pure and clear, bright and clear enough, but through the fathers' teachings, books and writings it was very darkened, distorted and corrupted.

### 11 Of the Concilio of Nicaea.

The Concilium of Nicaea was, after the time of the Apostles, the very best and purest; but soon after, in the time of the Emperor Constantine, it was weakened by the Arians: for the Arians then signed themselves deceitfully, out of a false heart, as if they were of one mind with the righteous Catholic teachers; but it was nothing, and fictitious thing, they only put themselves thus in words, as if they were of one mind and understanding.

1) So Stangwald instead of: gemahnen und: Disputation.

The two were in agreement, and at that time there was a great hubbub and discord.

"For there must be multitudes among you," says St. Paul, 1 Cor. 11:19, "that they which are righteous may be manifest among you." Since the mobs are ready to come while we are still alive, what will become of them when we have laid down our heads and are dead? Moses also said, Deut. 9, 7: "Since the day I have known you, you have always been rebellious", what will you do after my death? Therefore, let us watch and pray; it is high time and need.

### 12. different time of the concilia.

The papists boast and defy the concilia very much, since they do not agree, but are often against each other; so that one cannot compare them well, nor agree. Many of the same argue and are most vehemently against the papists. Therefore, whoever runs them diligently and has respect for them, he will find three different times of the conciliarities.

The first is from the time of the Apostles until Gregory the First, which was still somewhat pure: although it had to tolerate and suffer many human things from time to time, it was still tolerable. The other time, from the first Gregory to Carolum Magnum. At that time, the pope was a spiritual lord, leading all kinds of superstition and superstition. The third period, from Carolo Magno, has been the worst and most harmful, since the Pope has taken both swords and has become an earthly god and a worldly lord in the whole Christendom. Therefore, if one respects the canons of the third time, one must say that it is all diabolical; for they have made order and law according to their liking, as they have only ventilated it, so that no one may protest against it, nor speak anything.

### 13. what a proper concilium is and why it should be held.

The pope has arrogated to him that he is over the concilium, and has power to make articles of faith. Item, to order of good works and services, which

pleases him 2c. But this is quite unchristian and against God. For the articles of faith, what and how one should teach about good works and worship, have been and confirmed long before the Pope's conciliarities; it is unnecessary to assemble and hold conciliarities for their sake, as it is neither proper nor fitting. Therefore, in my book, I refute the false opinion and fabricated authority and power of the pope, who in his conciliis always increases and multiplies new services, articles of faith and works.

A righteous concilium, however, is properly defined and described thus: That it is a consistory and court of the church, in which many church rulers, learned and godly men, both ecclesiastical and secular, come together, so that the pure doctrine of the faith is preserved and the church is swept and cleansed from new errors and heresies. Thus, many bishops come together as if to extinguish a common fire, since everyone, especially the chiefs and common watchmen, should rush to help. Therefore, they should not burden the church with new statutes, but purify it and punish the ungodly, heretics and false teachers. They may order ceremonies that are useful and good, but so far that they remain free and the consciences are not bound or entangled by them.

Thus the Concilium of Nicaea and Ephesus (which were almost the best) did not regulate anything about faith and works, as they were sufficiently and abundantly indicated and taught before in the holy Scriptures; but only purified the Church from the great abominable heresy of Arianism, which was a common fire and poison, against the article of the holy Trinity. At that time the dear holy fathers and bishops did not first make the article of the divinity of Christ, but purified it when it was believed before. However, some ceremonies may well be ordered, but not in the opinion that they should remain common and eternal, nor that they should see and entangle the consciences; rather, they should be left free, as secular and domestic orders.



The papists have taught about twelve articles in the infant faith; however, they have invented innumerable things about them, such as purgatory, the sacrificial mass, the invocation of the deceased saints 2c. Thus, one error always proceeds from another, so that there is no end to it, since it is soon not resisted in time, therefore we must bring everything back to the right form, according to God's word.

#### 14. of the disorders of a number of conciliums.

Only four Conciliarities have been common and held, which concern the whole of Christendom: 1.) The one at Nicaea, which defended the divinity of Christ; 2.) the one at Constantinople, which defended the divinity of the Holy Spirit; 3.) the one at Ephesus, which rejected and condemned the heresy of Nestor; 4.) the one at Chalcedon, in which the heresy of Eutyche was rejected and condemned. The Tripartite Church History ends in the third Concilio. In the fourth, it is written, there were three hundred and sixty bishops, each of whom had his own special notary, cried out, and told him to record and write down his votes and concerns. There was a concilium and discussion without all order, respectability and discipline; only a wild murmuring and grunting, like swine: no one heard the other, but went out indiscriminately with unreason, as indignant, angry, envious, jealous, quarrelsome, selfish people, with great annoyance. One said: I will have it so; likewise the other, third, fourth, and immediately: I will have it so 2c. And if I did not read it now, I would not believe it.

I thought that the best and finest order would be kept in Conciliis, that everything would be done in a fine, honorable, modest, correct and orderly manner, since the most distinguished would speak and the others would listen, until the turn and order would also come to him, so that he would have to indicate his objections. So it is like a Kretschmar full of drunken peasants; just as Johannes Huß complains about the disorderly, wild shouting in the Concilio at Costnitz.

The noble Elector, Duke Frederick of Saxony 2c., is said to have said at the Imperial Diet in Worms in 1520 that, since he had made an unskillful

I had seen and read the scriptures: I can now well believe how it has happened in Conciliar, how the misgivings and voices have fallen; for they have preferred their loose, unnecessary complaints to the greatest and most necessary dealings. Summa, their pride and hopefulness is not from human weakness, but comes more purely from a godless heart that seeks only its own glory and honor.

#### 15. pope wants to be about the concilium.

The papists exalt the four Concilia and compare them to the four evangelists. With such false praise and deceitful fame they want to confirm and affirm their authority and power, after which they have set themselves above the Concilia, as was also decided at Costnitz in the Concilio, and the work also proves that the Concilium is above the pope; that is why they deposed three popes at that time 1) and mentioned another. And one, Philippus Decius, an excellent jurist, in our memory and time, was expelled from Italy by the pope, because he had disputed and taught that the Concilium was over the pope.

And D. M. Luther looked up to heaven, sighed and said: Yes, a general, mean, free and Christian concilium. Well, God will do it, the matter is his, he knows and has all secret counsels, which we do not know, in his hand. Well, since he does not reveal everything to us, what is the point? He must also keep his divinity and majesty before us, after which we otherwise stand and strive.

#### 16. papists earnestly seek, not that the church be reformed and improved, but that it be suppressed.

The meeting held at Nuremberg in 1532 did not please M. Luther at all, for he said: "The papists are using cunning and trickery only to oppress us and to smear our mouths, and they seek and want nothing less than that a reformation should be made.

1) Cf. §z 25 of this Cap.

Schmalkalden and have let them go out publicly by printing. For if we were to enter into treaties and settlements with them for the sake of external peace, we would shatter the pure doctrine of our church and make it suspect and doubtful, as it should not be bent with certainty, but like a reed, according to the circumstances. O no, not to me the comparison. If Emperor Carl set up a national council, something could still be hoped for; but it will not go away either. The papists should not give way, and only sit in it alone, and have the power to close it.

Then Philip said, "So it is decided at Frankfort, although it is hard to argue about it. If the papists or the cardinals were to come, and they alone would have the power to sit in it and close it, we would all rise up against it, for the pope shall have neither authority nor power in it.

D. M. Luther saw well that it was the bishop of Mainz, Albrecht's, poem and gear, therefore he said: We do not need a concilium for the sake of the divine word; for that is certain, about which one should neither dispute nor deliberate. Only it is to be done for the sake of external things. We can do the fasting without concilium. For this I will gladly do in the market, but without entangling the consciences, which should be free and not burdened or bound by it. For Christ has not instituted nor commanded fasts by law, but saith Marc. 2:20: "When therefore the bridegroom is taken from them, then shall they fast." Matth. 19, 21: "Go and sell all that you have" 2c. So then fasting is well found.

#### 17. from the Concilio.

D. Gregorius Brück, Chancellor of Saxony, sent M. Luther a new newspaper from the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530, how the Pope, through his legate and nephew, Farnesius, the Cardinal, had strongly urged the Emperor not to give peace to the protesting estates, because they had previously agreed to the concilium. But when the emperor refused him, Farnesius, in disguise, suddenly and hurriedly

of it. However, the emperor would have ordered the protesters to try whether they wanted to join the concilium, which the pope himself had announced from his power; and he wanted to persuade them to do so, because he did not want to applaud the pope's errors.

The protesters, however, discussed and considered the greatness of this deal and the pope's wickedness, also considered the emperor suspicious: they could not be persuaded nor brought to agree to it and to grant the pope so much that he should have power, right and authority to describe and assemble a council, even to be part and judge with it, and finally to conclude it at his pleasure: The pope and the pope's family, who were in favor of the Granvellen, asked that learned, understanding people from both parts be appointed to such a great, high, important matter, who would have voces decisivas and the power to conclude it.

When Granvel insisted that the protesters were not even one, that they had many sects among them. But they denied it, rejected it and said: There were no sects among them, but they were united, and taught simple, Christian and unanimous from one heart and with one mouth, without some delusion and error of the Anabaptists, Sacramentarians and other enthusiasts and red spirits. They had therefore rejected many objections, persuasions and proposals, which the Granvel had endeavored to persuade them, and had proposed the emperor as a kind mediator, who had offered to be a good, cheap slider in the matter, and would not easily overreach them and wage war against them for the sake of religion. 2c.

Over all this D. M. Luther was astonished. M. Luther said: "It can be seen that the emperor acts with the pope as one cretin with another, in a vixen-like manner; he sees through his fingers to disgrace the pope; and so that he would not be considered as sleeping or slumbering, he sought means on both parts to compare them with each other. But there is no way to advise our people that they should commit themselves with oaths to accept what the pope decides against God and his word.

**18. M. Luther's conversation from the Concilio with the Pope's legate, Petro Paulo Vergerio.**

Six and twenty years ago, I roundly beat it off Cardinal Cajetano, the Pope's legate at Augsburg. And when Peter Paul Vergerius, the Pope's legate, was here in Wittenberg in 1533, and I went to him in the castle, when he cited us and demanded the Concilium, I said to him, and said: I will come. I said to him, "I want to come," and went on to say, "You papists labor and strive in vain, and strangle yourselves with your proposals and arguments. For even if you hold a council, in it you deal nothing of wholesome doctrine, nothing of sacraments, nothing of faith, which alone makes righteous and blessed, nothing of good works and honorable conduct and character; but only of foolishness and childishness, how long clothes and skirts the clergy and priests should wear, how wide the girdle and how large the plates should be, how monks and nuns should be reformed and kept harder, of the difference between eating and drinking, and of such puppet work 2c. When I spoke these things, he turned away from me, held his head in his fist, and spoke to his companion and fellow envoy: He meets, truly, the right purpose in the whole main trade 2c.

Oh, dear God, said the Doctor to us: They despair of their proposals, counsels and practices; for they see and grasp that Germany, now, praise God, enlightened by the Gospel and having opened its eyes, will henceforth no longer do what it previously suffered, having been deceived and bewitched by superstition and idolatry. They will not bring it there again, neither by congresses, nor by conciliation, however wise and learned they may be. May the merciful God preserve what He has wrought in us: the matter is His, and not ours. May God grant that we also be faithful and grateful for this revelation. The Pope has promised the Emperor through this legate to give a hundred thousand crowns against the Turk. This is called the birds grained.

**19. from the Concilio.**

If a concilium is held in another way, said Luther, the papists will have their

Idolatry and superstition want to defend and preserve: therefore it is highly necessary that we watch and pray that God may promote the course of the Gospel, that it may bear much fruit, and preserve His Church, so that we both may confess with mouth and life the bright light of the Gospel from the heart. If the papists force and coerce people into error, they will probably be driven by tyranny into superstitious piety: thus the service of God and the will will be forced, and this will not last long.

**20 Pabst does not allow any right concilium.**

(Lauterbach, Jan. 31, 1538, p. 17.)

Last January, Luther talked a lot with the licentiate of Magdeburg about the Walen Hoffahrt, who are going there in great security, and although they are obviously convicted by God's word, they are still not comfortable with letting themselves be reformed by the Germans. I often think to myself: How if one could come to a concilium, so that there would be some unity! but no means can be devised for this. For if the pope were to recognize himself in the obvious articles and the grossest, most palpable errors and submit to the concilium, he would lose his prestige, because he has prided himself as the head of the church, to whom all members must obey. Therefore, they accuse the Council of Constance of having arrogated to itself a prestige over the pope. Therefore, if they concede us the least article, the hanger on the wreath is broken, and all will cry out: Is it not said that the pope, the head of the church, cannot err? This is the principle and the main point of the Pabstium. As Sylvester Prierias, the master of the sacred palace [Magister sacri palatii], wanted to frighten me with this flash, saying: Whoever doubts a word or work of the Roman Church is a heretic. At that time I was still weak. I did not want to attack the pope. I honored such reasons. But now I will write from the Concilium and will give this advice to the emperor, that he should give full freedom to the Roman pope to set and decide what pleases him. This is the best way to get to the point

come. As little as the Pope can hand over, so little can I let up, because it is God's word.

### 21) When the right concilium would be held.

D. M. Luther asked at one time: Quando Papa esset convocaturus Concilium? One of them answered: The Concilium should be held and begin on all Holy Days. Then M. Luther answered: I let myself think that nothing would come of it before the last day, until our Lord God Himself holds a concilium. He had understood that the right day of all saints would be the last day, when all saints would rise from the dead and enter into eternal life with Christ.

### 22. a different from the Concilio.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 3, 1538, p. 24.)

The Elector said to me today about the future Concilium: What do we want to offend the Pope much? Let him make the Concilium at Rome, or wherever he wants, conclude what he wants, because if he admits us much, he will let up some cold, external ceremonies of blessed water, salt, palms, fasting, they will also not defend their celibate life much, but they will not admit the article of justification and of the mass. For as long as the mass stands, Luther is damned; if the mass falls, the whole foundation of the pope collapses. That is why they hold so firmly over the mass. As Campegius said at Augsburg, he would rather be torn to pieces than give up the mass. Truly, it is a horrible wickedness to hold so tightly to what, in their own judgment, are only human flimsinesses.

### 23. the Papist fraud of the Concilio.

(Lauterbach, March 29, 1538, p. 50.)

Then he mentioned the fictitious concilium at Vincenz, since it was written from Padua, which was only three miles away, that there was no talk of the concilium and no preparation for it. The boys are not serious. For they know that no king or duke can enter the territory of the Venetians.

will. Ah, they burned themselves at the Constance Council, where it was decided that the pope was under the Council. What have they done during the hundred years of chattering to keep this article: the pope cannot be mistaken, he is above the council; so that some have brazenly dared to doubt it, one does not know whether the pope is God or man! Just look, I beg you, at the miraculous artifices of the pope at the Council of Basle, twelve years after the Council of Constance, where the emperor and the cardinals forced the Council, but the pope Eugenius resisted in every way that it should not happen. He cannot and does not like it. I would resist myself if I were in his place.

### 24. as would like to be acted in the Concilio.

(The first paragraph of this § in Kummer p. 366 [Lauterbach, p. 82, note]).

Therefore, there is no hope for a true council, because the pope does not suffer a reformation, but reserves all authority for himself at the council. There are two voices at the council; one is a consultative or deliberative one, which all princes, kings and teachers have. The other is a decisive one, which only the pope and some cardinals have, and they simply decide according to their will. I am worried that we will never again come so close together as at Augsburg. These are terrifying times, and at last we will come to the cross, that we may be killed according to the flesh and not be proud, and He will be with us until the end of the world.

If the emperor despairs of the Council and sees that nothing will come of it, he will hold a Diet and perhaps not summon our princes, but will condemn them as disobedient and want to be executor. If, however, he dares to defend the pope's public scoundrels, he will be the most wretched and unfortunate; even though the pope, as a clever, treacherous fellow, poses as if he would like to have a concilium and be reformed. There will be a great clamor and indignation if the emperor wants to execute us, who are under ban at Worms and Augsburg.

I fear that the emperor will then have lost all favor and good will in Germany; for he has treated the Germans badly, has not dealt with them in a princely manner; he will not be accepted with such humility as has hitherto been the case. And even if he brings a warrior nation and a bunch of Spaniards, he will not be able to force and subjugate Germany in such a dissolute way. Hitherto he has overcome with his kindness, and has been mighty over her; but the Spaniards' cruelty and tyranny are insufferable. So even our princes will not help him against the Turk, but say: Lord Emperor, give us peace. Therefore, a great uprising and rebellion is to be feared. But God will avert it. Therefore, let us pray diligently, God has something great in mind and will inflict punishment if we do not mend our ways.

### 25 A different one from the Concilio. 1)

About the Concilium. In our time there is a great rumor that a council is to be assembled, which the papists do not like. For at the Council of Constance three popes were deposed and the fourth confirmed on condition that he be under the authority of the Council. The pope at Rome cannot stand this decision, but he boasts of the argument very much and stands on it: church, church, and it cannot err, as the Jews were proud under the title of the people of God. The papists alone want to be the church without the word of God and against the word of God; and we are not the church, although the clear text says Matth. 18: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name", which is a testimony for us; on the other hand, the most violent thunderclap against the papists Matth. 10: "He who hears you hears me", as if he wanted to say: The church cannot be without hearing and the word.

Anno 1538, the 12th of August, D. M. Luther spoke of Concilien, how the Concilium at Costnitz would have the authority, prestige, power

and power of the pope were greatly weakened: for then three popes would have been deposed and the fourth elected, and it would have been decided and decreed that the concilium would be over the pope. There is a bar put in front of them, so that the pope does not long for the concilium. That is why the papists have worked these one hundred and twenty years with the greatest diligence, and have endeavored to raise the authority and power of the pope above the concilium. He is afraid of it, flees from it as the devil from incense, as they say. He will never make a concilium unless the emperor and the princes call for it; for the papacy is falling by leaps and bounds, and is gradually falling into disgrace. First the mendicant orders fell, then the princely monasteries; now the monasteries and bishoprics are perishing. Heli wants to sink. 2) For four kingdoms in Europe, England, Germany, Denmark and Hungary, have fallen away from the papacy; the others hold very little. For the patrons of the pope, because they have swallowed his thunder and lightning, the decree bull, will strip the papacy bare and flay it, and pull the skin over its ears: as now Duke George is snatching the ecclesiastical and church goods to himself; and will not allow money for annals, pallia 2c. to be led to Rome. So the pope will lose money and will lose power.

And I am heartily pleased that it is done so neatly that he does not bring it to himself with the sword and war, as happened in Bohemia; but proceeds peacefully, with the chancery and reckoning pennies, as F[erdinand] and the Bishop of Mainz, and H[erzog] Georg do. The belly of the pope will pine away. But this is to be pitied, that the church goods are devoured and eaten under them, and the parishes and scholarships are left abandoned and unprovided for; which, however, our Lord and Prince and other princes do not do, but decree that religion be preserved; although it cannot happen in the same way. But those eat it up with skin and hair, and nevertheless pursue religion.

2) Perhaps to read: It wants to sink heli (i.e. gar); in the editions: "It wants to sing heli", with different, attempts of explanation.

1) The first paragraph of this § in Kummer x. 363. (Lauterbach p. 82 another redaction of the next following paragraph).

Let us ask God to preserve His Church; the Pope does not respect the Concilium, nor is he to be trusted. Just as Annas and Caiphas confirmed and confirmed Christ's teachings, so will the papists do with us. Therefore, one hopes in vain for a concilium.

#### 26th Pontifical Concilium.

One of them asked Mr. Luthern: Would the Concilium have any progress? He said: Yes, of course, the Pope's Concilium has already been decided, and we have already been condemned. F[er]dinand] has already committed himself to it with an oath. So all kings, princes and lords shall swear to him. And the most noble proposition is to instigate and order lies and murder, to defend them with bloodshed and war.

Alas, it is not to be hoped that there will be a concilium, for the pope defends his lies and does not want to be seen to have erred. He always excuses himself with the fact that the Emperor and King of France are at odds. However, he prevents, as much as he can, that they do not become one and agree, so that no concilium will take place. For this reason, God has pulled through and awakened the Germans, English and Danes, who freely confess the doctrine of the Gospel without the decree and recognition of the Council.

D. M. Luther said to the Englishman Edwards, who was with him in the house and went to the table: If now the Pabst's Concilium will have a progress, then it is certain that they will condemn us, and order the emperor the execution.

#### 27 Pabst's opinion to make a concilium.

(Lauterbach, May 21, 1538, p. 82 f.)

Pabst's greatest ambition is to suppress our doctrine. He flees that the matter should be carried out at a general council; he insists on a council under his authority, that he alone should assemble, bind, prescribe, and decide, since all others are silent, as is the custom and his procedure, which must be observed at councils. But it will never apply now. For it is' now a different time than before. That is why the pope does not want a council at all. He

chooses the most inconvenient places under the rule of the Venetians, where no nation will go, and so the pope loses his prestige by postponing the conciliar, as is already said of Duke George that he is said to have answered the Thuringians who are under him and asked for the gospel: If the pope postponed it longer, he would let them have something. In short, the Roman See cannot and should not be judged and admonished, but it must judge all, because it is itself the mother and lord of all churches. Against this presumption no prophet, apostle or preacher has a right of judgment against him, because innumerable passages in the decrees of the pope grant him this authority, and Gratianus, the scoundrel, thus concludes: The emperor Constantinus has called the pope a god. But he who is God cannot be judged by men; the pope is God, thus 2c. Thus he concludes from the general to the particular, from the 82nd Psalm, "I have said, Ye are gods." This the Pabst snatches to himself and calls himself an earthly God and a Lord of the whole earth. But one should reverse the conclusion [syllogismum] thus: The emperor and all authorities are gods, therefore it is not for the pope to trample them underfoot. That is why the one who denied the claim of the pope once did very well in the disputation, and when the other proved that he was an earthly god, he answered: Perhaps of the jurists, not of the theologians. The pope will never submit to the Concil. For the Pope John XXIII submitted to the Concil at Constance in the hope that he would be reinstated by his humility and abdication, but the other two rejected. But they were coarse asses; they took the little hat from him and put it on another, rejecting all three. This displeased him.

#### 28. right custom of the concilia.

A concilium should be a purgatory, should reform and purify the church, and when new errors and heresies arise and want to tear down, confirm, confirm and preserve the old, right, pure doctrine, ward off new fires, and extinguish the same, and

condemn false doctrine. But the pope wants a concilium to be of this nature, and therefore to be held, in which new decrees, orders and statutes of good works are to be made and accumulated daily. But what better and good works can be found and taught than those commanded by God in the Ten Commandments?

### 29. which is the right concilium.

(Cordatus No. 1698.)

The right concilium is now, because Christ presides and the angels are assessors. We are accused by the devil and his world and answer with the word.

### 30. what the papists are looking for.

The papists do not desire a concilium. Yes, they will persecute us as damned heretics even without a concilium, because they will not drop their authority and idolatry, but will still preserve and defend it by force and tyranny.

### 31. Concern of M. Ph. Melancthon by the Concilio, the Elector of Saxony, H[erzog] Johann Friedrich, announced by the Pope's legate.

(Not from Luther.)

## The 55th chapter.

# Of imperial congresses and conventions or assemblies in matters of religion.

1. how Luther fared at Augsburg.
2. of D. Luther's journey and action at the Diet of Worms in 1520.
3. from the Augsburg Diet in religious matters anno 1530.
4. the Confession and Apology delivered to the Emperor at Augsburg.

- 5 On the Usefulness and Power of the Augsburg Confession and Apology.
- 6 Luther's Opinion of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530.
7. from the day at Braunschweig 1538 in the fast.
8. the convention and meeting of the protesting estates at Frankfurt am Main in 1539.

### 1. how Doctor Luthern fared at Augsburg.

(Lauterbach, April 27, 1538, p. 71.)

After that he began to tell how things had gone at Augsburg and how he had been treated by the Cardinal. First I was summoned and went, but with a large guard of the Elector, since I had been recommended to the Augsburgers, and they had taken care of me with the greatest care, so that I would not associate with the Italians and would not trust them. For I did not know what a Welscher [whale] was. I stayed in Augsburg for three days without an escort from the emperor. In the meantime, an Italian came to me more often, summoned me to the Cardinal and urged me to recant. "Just say one word: I recant.

the Cardinal will recommend you to the Pope, and you will return to your prince with honor. When three days had passed, the Bishop of Trent, in the Emperor's name, indicated to the Cardinal my safe conduct. Then I went to him as a supplicant, first I fell on my knees, 2) I fell to the ground, 3) completely prostrated, and after being ordered three times by the Cardinal to stand up, only then did I humbly stand up. This pleased the Cardinal very much, and he hoped for victory. But when on the second day I did not want to recant anything, he said: "What do you think the pope is asking about Germany? Do you think that the princes will defend you with arms? No. Where will you stay?" "Under heaven." So great was the an-

the measure of the pope. The fact that his dignity and majesty are despised is more bitter to him than death; they cannot help it now. After that, the pope humbled himself to some extent and wrote to the Elector, even to Spalatin and Pfeffinger, insisting that they should give me away and see to it that his order was carried out on me, and he wrote to the Elector this sentence: "Although you are unknown to me, according to your person, I have seen your father Ernst here in Rome, a very obedient son of the Church, who attended our services quite devoutly, and I wish that your Serenity would follow in his footsteps." But the Elector noticed this unusual humility of the Pope and his evil conscience that he was afraid, and saw the efficacy of the Scriptures. For my theses ran in very few days almost through all Europe. Thus the Elector was encouraged not to carry out their orders, but submitted to the Scriptures. If the Cardinal of Augsburg had acted more modestly and accepted me when I asked him, it would never have come to this. For at that time I knew little of the errors of the pope. If he had kept silent, I would have kept silent easily. For this was the Roman usage in some dark and inextricable matter, that the pope said: We take this matter to ourselves out of papal authority and strike it down completely. Then both parts were forced to be silent. I think the pope would give three cardinals for it, that it would be in these: Barrel would be where it was then.

Today Philipp Melanchthon went to the Elector of the Mark to reform his church and university. God give his blessing and growth to the church. Amen.

## 2. of D. M. Luther's journey and action at the Diet of Worms in 1521. 1)

(Cordatus No. 1721-1728.)

I will kill the Cochläus only by silence. It's a fool with

1) It is well possible that Cordatus heard what is told in this § from Luther's mouth already in 1524 during his first stay in Wittenberg. (Wrampelmeyer.)

of his dialectics and doctrine. I want to leave him fine in lies and not answer to those lies. Have we not been heard in Augsburg? Did I not appear in Worms, since my escort had been broken? For since I was cited by the emperor's herald on Monday [March 25] of the week of martyrdom, I was already condemned on Wednesday and my books burned, and before I came to Erfurt, my condemnation was posted at the gates of all cities and in other public places.

On the journey to Worms, the herald asked me if I still intended to go to Worms. I was trembling, but I answered him: I want to go in, if all the devils are in. Of my friends, Bucer came to meet me, secretly appointed to do so by the emperor's confessor, [and said that] I should not go there if I did not want to be burned, but that I should go to F. von Sickingen. I went in and was taken in at the inn of the duke's councilors.

None of the princes came to me, but counts and noblemen looked hard upon me, from among whom four hundred articles 2) against the clergy had been presented to the emperor, and proved the same, since they had been instructed by my sermon. They had to fear me more than I them. For they feared an uprising, because the pope had aroused the people by writing that they should not escort me. The princes did not want that. I was summoned and came to the assembly of all the princes and the emperor. When I was first asked about the books, whether they were mine, I answered: I believe. But D. Hieronymus Schürf said: One reads them according to their titles. Second [when I was asked] if I wanted to revoke them, I made a distinction. I could not revoke the textbooks, because they were God's word, but the books of controversy, if they contained something that was not to be suffered, then I would have nothing against it, I want to leave myself in it.

Then day and night I was given to worry. The next day, the bi-

2) Cf. Walch, old ed. XV, 2058 ff.



I said to them: "The word of God is the word of God, which I have nothing to forgive; but what is outside of it, with that I will gladly be obedient. Margrave Joachim said that I should command the Emperor's Majesty, whether they were not also Christians? I answered: With reservation of the Scriptures. I could not forgive what was not mine. On the other hand, the bishops, who formed a committee, said that I should provide myself to them so that they would judge rightly. Me: I do not trust them so much that they should conclude for me against themselves, who have now condemned me in the escort.

But that you see what I do, I will give you my escort home. 1) Thereupon Philipp Feilitzsch said: That is truly enough, is it not too much. After that: Let us have a few articles. I answered: In the name of God, those that are outside of Scripture, I will not defend myself against, and two doctors left and announced that I wanted to recant. Then a bishop sent to me to ask if I would agree to bring the matter to the attention of the emperor and the empire. I: I do not want that and would never have granted it. The bishop said: "It is good that I called you. So I negotiated with them alone and in such a way that the Elector and others were dissatisfied with my steadfastness. But I said: There is life and limb. But if I had surrendered to their will, they would have condemned all the articles that had been beautifully condemned at the Concilium at Constance. This was also recognized by some.

After that Cochläus came to me: If I wanted to recite the escort, he wanted to dispute with me. To this D. Hieronymus [Schurf] answered: Well, that should be true. It is an unequal recruitment. Who would not be so foolish. But I, in my simplicity, would have done it. And so I left the court [of the Teutonic Knights, the quarters of the Archbishop of Trier] with an escort. Then companions jumped out and said: How, do you lead him captive? That need not be.

Afterwards came to me the Doctor of the Mark-

D. Vehus] and admonished me in a very brilliant speech to recant; I had high obligations of love towards the brothers, of obedience towards the emperor, I had to prevent arousal. I replied: These were words, but I had much higher obligations to the honor of Christ.

Thereupon the Chancellor of Trier said [D. Joh. Eck<sup>2</sup>: Martin, you are disobedient to the Emperor, but you are permitted to go away unmolested in peace [pace publica]. Do not preach on the way; see where you will stay afterwards. I: As it has pleased the Lord, so it has been done; you also see where you stay 2c. So bring great glimpses from Worms, and they would have desired that the beer be in the barrel again. When I invoked the Scriptures, Duke George always answered and said: "Let there be a good harvest in my country, dear sirs. But I did not recognize their cunning plots at all. And Duke Frederick finally said: "I would not have thought that one should act in this way. After that, the eight went out against all Lutherans, which they themselves were soon forced to recant. This is how it went with me at Worms, where the Holy Spirit alone preserved me. 2)

### 3. from the Augsburg Diet in religious matters, Anno 153V.

(The first two paragraphs at Cordatus No. 1498 and 535.)

The Diet of Augsburg is worthy of all praise, for at it the Gospel became known to the world; both the emperor and the pope heard it. What money is consumed there, no one shall regret. 3)

In order to spread His Gospel, God willed that the Diet of Augsburg be held, for they stole away to this Diet. They publicly approved our doctrine and did not dare to call us heretics, but schismatics, since we call them antichrists and an abomination before God. We have passed this verdict.

2) On the Diet of Worms, see Walch, old edition, Vol. XV, 2018 ff. The entire seventh chapter.

3) This paragraph also in Kummer, x. 2595. (Lauterbach, p. 201.)

1) Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XV, 2292.

come. But we ask nothing of the world, for its sake we have not begun it, neither will we leave it [for its sake], but for Christ's sake I have dared this, for He also for my sake has dared something on Good Friday.

The papists had persuaded the emperor that our doctrine should be inconsistent, and when he would come, he would call them all silent, so that no one would be allowed to say a word. But things turned out much differently. For ours freely confessed the gospel before the emperor and the whole empire, and put the opponents, the papists, to the highest shame in the same imperial diet.

Item: The Diet of Augsburg is not to be paid for with any money, for the sake of the confession of the faith and word of God, which was made by our people there: for there the adversaries had to confess that our confession was right and true.

#### 4. the Confession and Apologia delivered to the Emperor at Augsburg.

(Cordatus No. 794.)

This emperor is given to us as a gift from God; indeed, everyone should faithfully pray for him. Although he has ruled until now with great happiness, he has the greatest enemies, the Pope, the Venetians, the King of France, [the King] of England 2c., and in the matter of religion he has judged much differently than he was advised by the papists, and has sent our Apology and Confession to all universities. Of course, this was the opinion of his advisors: His Imperial Majesty should put all his power against it, if this Confession were against Christian faith; but if it were against the abuses, he should order it to learned people. This was certainly wise counsel, and Eck said that he could not refute our doctrine with Scripture. Yes, the Mainzer said: O how finely our scholars defend us! But I know that this [his statement] is sincere, for he is courting the pope, and Duke Jürge [Georg] has gone too far into the no and cannot go back. Of those who oppose us, Eck, Cochläus, we care for

We are not concerned about anyone, but only about the emperor, to whom our cause has been submitted; if he writes against us, our duke will answer. The emperor and the pope resist our confession. We will wait for him; we are not interested in the others.

#### 5. the use and power of the Augsburg Confession and Apology.

(Cordatus No. 1268.)

The Diet of Augsburg is in truth the last trumpet before the last judgment and a certain judge, because God's word is made all the brighter the more it is fought against; for now our confession has been sent out by the emperor himself to all princes and universities. But the Confutation of the adversaries, in what darkness it lies hidden! Oh, if it were to come out, how we would want to get on the old torn fur, but they hate the light.

#### 6 Of the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530. M. Luther's Opinion.

On the day of Viti, which was Monday, the 8th after Trinity, 1) in the evening after dinner, M. Luther said in his garden, among others, this, in the presence of M. Hausmann, Cordati and Schlainhaufen, and said: "Let us put the matter home to God, he knows how to do it. Now a year ago, not a penny would have been given for all Lutherans or Protestants, so certainly the wicked already had us. For since my lord Duke John, the Elector of Saxony, came to the Diet before other princes: they did not believe that he should come out; they all let themselves believe that his cause was too evil, that he should not be allowed to come out with it. 2)

1) There is an error in this date. Vitus is June 15; but the 8th Sunday after Trinity cannot already fall in June. This speech must have been made not long after the Imperial Diet in Augsburg. But only in the year 1534 Vitus falls on a Monday, namely after the 2nd Sunday after Trinity.

2) Similar content Cordatus No. 640: Duke Georg will not give up the wish to be Elector until he dies; therefore, he now hurries to the Imperial Diet in Regensburg, as he did earlier to Innsbruck, since he has never been received by the Emperor, because he did not want to lend his ear to anyone, so that he would keep himself impartial.

But what happens? Now, in their greatest security, the greatest terror overtakes them. Because M. G. Herr, the Elector of Saxony, comes so early to Augsburg as a pious, obedient Christian prince, the other princes, Duke Georg, Margrave Joachim, hurry to Innsbruck. There was a heated discussion about what it would mean if the Elector of Saxony went to the Imperial Diet so early. And so, the emperor was also afraid of the matter, whether he would safely come to and from the Diet. Then the princes promised to leave their goods and blood with the emperor's majesty, and to keep six thousand horses and so many servants, so that there would be no need. There one sees a miracle that is great among the great miracles, that God makes the enemies of truth fearful and timid. The pious prince is alone, and only the hundredth sheep, but he is nine and ninety, and yet they fidget and are fearful.

When it came to the entry and the action, a small group was seen at the Word of God, but they brought with them a strong king, above all emperors and kings, who was called the Word of God. But all the world cried out: O, it is far too small that such a small group should stand against imperial power! But I will not yet say what has been accomplished, for the Lord makes void the counsel of princes. Pilate had power, but would not kill Christ. Annas and Caiphas would have liked to do it, but could not. The emperor is still pious, but the bishops, cardinals 2c. are peelers.

But now the pious emperor does not want to wash his hands in innocent blood, the mad princes fall down, reproach, disgrace and despise the emperor in the worst way. So the pope comes along, wanting to burst with fury, so that it will happen without presilience and bloodshed, and he leads the way and sends the sword to N., who is to execute it; but he is to do it and will not win it, and he intends to take the emperor's crown and put it on N. N., because he is the one who is to do the things right. So God sent princes and lords, and the pope, to fall away from the emperor, and

we fall to him. If this is not a miracle, God's destiny, I am surprised that the one whom the devil wanted to use against us, our God takes him and uses him for us. Miracle above all miracles. In sum, God enlightens the pious emperor from day to day with His dear Word, amen.

#### 7 Of the day at Brunswick in 1538 in Lent, Dominica Lätare.

(Lauterbach, 5 Avr. 1538, p. 56 and 10 Apr. 1538, p. 60.)

On this day, news had come of the meeting in Brunswick, how the Elector had traveled for six days through the Mark, since he had not been granted a safe escort by Henry of Brunswick. He had been treated very honorably by the Elector, the Margrave, and many had come to meet him from Brunswick and had received him humbly. The landgrave, however, broke through Goslar from the other side without an escort. It was written that the King of Denmark had made a glorious profession of faith the next day, and was praised as a second David. Luther answered: God help him and the holy covenant to sanctify his name. However, that insolence of the Duke of Brunswick can become a little spark of displeasure, since he, against right and equity, has denied a safe conduct to those who were once his best friends. For Moses also requested a safe conduct from the kings of the Amorites, 2c. but since they refused it, he had a cause of war against them. O Lord God, give peace and tranquility. (Deut. 21, 21. ff. Deut. 2, 26. ff.) - Luther asked several times on this journey for rain for the land: HErr GOtt, geben unseren Kindern und unserem Gesinde das tägliche Brod, siehe uns väterlich an.

On that day news came from Brunswick; for it was written that the King of Denmark was present, a legation from the King of England and from many cities, some of which were very peevish about making an alliance. Luther said: They seek their own under that.

name of the gospel, but in dangers they fear for themselves. This political association has nothing to do with the gospel. It is God who preserves and defends in persecution; let us trust Him and make an eternal covenant with Him. The world is the world.

#### 8 The Convention and Meeting of the Protesting Estates at Frankfurt am Main 1539.

The merciful God, said D. Luther, help them now in Frankfurt to deliberate and decide in a Christian and pure manner, so that God's honor and the salvation and benefit of Christendom may be promoted. It is a small imperial Diet, it can be seen as very simple, and it has an evil appearance to hold a day and a meeting in an imperial city. But because they are provoked and forced to do so by the adversaries, they have to do it.

The papists insolently and untrustworthily subordinate themselves to seize and take the cities by trickery: they provoke ours with deceit. Then they pretend to make and keep peace, but in the meantime they intend to cut up the whole body and slaughter the members: they secretly attack Hamburg, Minden and Frankfurt. They would do more wisely if they attacked us publicly with war. They have publicly condemned us at Augsburg, and if our people had not been so patient, it would soon have begun there.

On February 16, Luther ordered that one wanted to ask with seriousness for the day in Frankfurt, which is probably a small imperial diet, that peace be made. For if the Landgrave is to burn, there is no more defense. As happened to me and M. Philippo: when we humbly and faithfully advised him against the war, he said to us: "How,

if I gave you advice and I didn't?

It is a miracle of God, and he is a hero: how a weak prince he otherwise is, but one is afraid of him. He has rightly chased the bishops to the choir, and he will now speak with them in the gate, so that the papists will either have to do harm or suffer, either keep silent and sit still, or give peace.

The landgrave does not provoke, nor does he give cause to provoke, but after he has been provoked and given cause, he seeks peace; whether he has a better horse in 2000 horses: for Hesse and Saxony are horsemen, when they sit in the saddle, they are not easily frightened; the horsemen of the Oberland are dancing juniors. God keep us the landgrave, for there is much in one man. I would rather be in an army and a troop of deer, where a lion is the supreme commander, than in an army and a troop of lions, where a deer is supreme, Emperor Augustus used to say.

On February 25, M. Luther asked with serious words and prayers for peace and for the day at Frankfurt, so that religion, police and economy, God's word, secular and domestic regiment, do not get mixed up and fail through internal and domestic wars, which are the most harmful. For war pleases those who have not tried it nor experienced it. God protect us from it. Men of war are now devils in the flesh, not only the Spaniards, but also the Germans. *Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur*, says the pagan poet.

No loyalty, faith nor godliness is with men of war at this time.

For the very things that should protect us would corrupt and afflict us the most.

1) Cf. cap. 45, § 8.

## The 56th chapter.

### Of spiritual or church property.

1. D. Luther's Concerns of Church Property.
2. a pious matron's Christian testament.
3. deprivation of church property.
4. clerical goods whose wages.
5. tearing of the lords for spiritual goods.
6. the pope buys him the high potentates to friends with the church estates.
7. what spiritual goods can be used for.

8. church account of the common box.
9. from the church property shall be ordered preaching chairs and schools.
10. what pens could be used for.
11. abuse of spiritual goods.
12. interpretation of the saying: Divitias peperit etc..
- (13) Spiritual goods shall be used for the maintenance of the preaching chair.

#### 1. concerns of D. M. Luther of church properties.

My advice and concern has always been to let the monasteries and dioceses remain, for the benefit and use of poor students and schools. Since a dean or provost would not or could not preach at the monastery himself, he would transfer other pupils and students who are qualified for this, and let them study and preach at his expense. But if the princes and lords seize the spiritual goods and want to starve the poor students, then the parishes will become desolate, as it is already happening. Neither parish priests nor deacons can be obtained. If we had a hundred theologians here, what would it be among so many countries?

#### 2. a pious matron's Christian testament.

A pious matron in W. 2) had put her house and farm in common boxes, from which 25 gulden were to be given annually to a poor student who was studying: in the fifth year, however, it was to be given to a poor virgin as dowry and dowry. This is a fine, Christian testament, said D. God will ever provide and give even more, if we would only be pious. The pope, even though he is our mortal enemy, must nourish us, even against his will and thanks; even though he rages and rages against us, but the emperor will not do the execution.

#### 3. deprivation of church property.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 14, 1538, p. 113.)

The robbery of all bishops and princes and the church goods was mentioned. When they complained about this, the doctor said: "It is a very bad time, because the church is neglected, nothing is given to it, but it is robbed. Once the kings and princes strengthened it, but now they rob it; for the church hangs more tattered than any beggar's cloak. Nothing is added to the sustenance of the poor and the church servants, but those who scatter to the right use suffer persecution; [it] will happen to them as it happened to St. Lawrence, who distributed the goods of the church among the poor against the emperor's command.

#### 4. clerical goods whose wages.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 17, 1538, p. 174.)

Then it was said of the misfortune of King Ferdinand, who had eloquence and various other gifts in abundance, but because he was hostile to the Gospel and adhered to the papists, he was very unhappy. For he would receive a cardinal with him at very great expense, a useless man, since he could feed many very learned people with the same effort. Luther answered: The church goods under the papacy are not worthy of a pious use; they are gathered from whores' wages (Micha 1, 7.) and also return to it. 2)

2) Cf. cap. 27, 2 36.

1) The Lady Mayor Hohndorf at Wittenberg. Bindseil II, 287.

### 5. tearing of the lords for spiritual goods.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 23, 1538, p. 178.)

On November 23, he spoke several things about future disunity of princes. For all kings and princes have their eye on the church estates and each will try to seize the bishoprics and the best monasteries, and will scramble for the spoils, none will want to miss. For the sooner he is there in time, the better is his right. Oh, they are beautiful brides, Magdeburg, Mainz, Trier, Cologne, Würzburg, so there is still a dance to be done. That is why the papists urge ours to surrender, so that they will have all the better to scuffle about until the pope is bald. I will diligently pray to God that He will not let me experience this time. These will be terrible times. For all dukes also wish to be defenders of the pope, so that they may have his power. And so the pope will be a prey of the nations according to the words of Revelation (19, 17. f.): "Come, you birds of the air, feed on flesh.

### 6. pope buys him the high potentates to friends with the church estates.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 25, 1538, p. 180.)

After that he said about the foolishness of the pope, who allowed the emperor, [King] Ferdinand and other princes to plunder the church goods in the hope that by this permission he would maintain his reputation with them. Thus he wrote to the King of England that he would gladly grant him the church goods if he only acknowledged that he was the highest priest [pontiff]. For the pope thinks thus: I must surrender to the will of those beasts in this perilous time. Even though the little ship of Peter is rocked by a wave, it will not be sunk. Even if the Lutherans rage for a hundred years, they will finally recognize the Roman Church again. I Martin Luther rejoice that I have lived until the time of the humiliation of the papacy, that he is forced to allow his patrons the plundering of all church property, so that he only maintains his reputation. Yes, because the word goes, nothing comes of it. What will become then when the monasteries and churches have fallen? The

will never be built. Now the prophecy is fulfilled in Revelation 17 (v. 16) that the kings will strip that beast bare and rob it. The papacy was a prey and will become a prey. Twelve years ago, the pope allowed Ferdinand to rob even the bishoprics, which had to be loosed. After that, at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, it was announced to him that he should return those properties. Now he [the pope] admits it again. King Ferdinand may well swear with his sons [sunen] 1) against the gospel, if the pope only allows him [the robbery]. It is a very strange time, which we would not have thought of twenty years ago. For the pope, who was a terrible idol, is forced. He is forced to endure defiance and disgrace from his princes, since thirty years ago none of the emperors would have dared to offend him with a single word. Summa Summarum: The papists have the worst intentions. God forbid them. Let us only pray diligently through Christ.

### 7. what spiritual goods can be used for.

D. Martinus was asked whether a student could in good conscience have a canonry or vicarage, that is, the income from it, and use it for study. Then he said, "A poor student can certainly have church goods and use them for study, but only that he does not allow himself to be bound and entangled with ungodly and unchristian vows, and does not consent to nor have fellowship with the papists' errors. Oh, if we could get the seventh part of this skirt, the church goods, for the preservation of poor students!

### 8. church account of the common box.

On April 23, D. Martinus said of the account of the common box at N., since the councilors were thought suspicious, as if they went

1) The word "buzz" is probably correctly rendered with "sons", because in Old German "sun" stands for son, as in the beginning of the Hildebrand song "sunufadarungo" (son and father). By the sons of Ferdinand are probably to be understood the princes (duoks) mentioned in the beginning of this §.

They were not faithful with it, because they had not left the priest his key to it. The Elector's order is, he said, that one should have three keys to each common box: the priest one, the council one, and the box lords also one; so that no one can be held suspicious. For this reason, I will diligently and harshly insist that the parish priest be given his key back; but if they so assassinate and do not act publicly, they will give the Elector cause to take the church goods to himself with great damage to the church. For our treasury, praise God, has an abundant annual income: if it were to remain constant, the church services could be restored. Therefore, because I am alive, I want to make the keys work again.

#### **9. from the church property shall be ordered preaching chairs and schools.**

When it was said of spiritual goods that there might be a war over them, for kings and princes would be hungry for them, and would look diligently to them, D. Martinus said, "There is no need for us to have it all, for we would be worse off than they. Martinus said: "There is no need that it should remain all for us, for we would become worse than they: we should be content when we have plenty and abundance. If churches and schools are honestly provided for, we have enough. The rest they may distribute in peace for the maintenance of poor people and for common necessities; it has no blessing. It has come from whores' wages, and that is where it will come again; as the prophet says, according to the common saying: Evil gained, evil lost.

#### **10. what pens could be used for.**

Monasteries could well be reformed and do much good, for they are the treasury of the country: if they are torn apart, they will be shamed. I do not like to see that our princes have such a desire for bishoprics 1) because I fear that they will eat their death and lose their own over it.

They want to exterminate the pope and the bishops by force; nothing will come of it. Just as the pope crushes his head when he wants to destroy the gospel, so our nobles will also crush their heads over the pope. God's word must break off the pope, otherwise no arms will do him any good; for he is the devil. In ancient times, it was said that if one strikes or hits a spirit, one wounds or hits oneself. A fine wise and true saying. If we draw the sword on the pope, we will strike ourselves.

#### **11. abuse of spiritual goods.**

When some said that our princes and lords of the Augsburg Confession had accepted the gospel in order to take the churches and spiritual goods, D. M. Luther said: *Contrarium est verum*, the contradiction is true: but Ferdinand the emperor and Albrecht the bishop of Mainz are stealing them. M. Luther: *Contrarium est verum*, the contradiction is true: but Ferdinand, the emperor, and bishop of Mainz, Albrecht 2c. rob them. Ferdinandus has valued all monasteries. The bishopric of Würzburg recently had to give him a thousand florins; thus the emperor took the bishopric of Utrecht and robbed it. Bavarians are the greatest robbers of church property, for they have rich monasteries. My most gracious lord and the landgrave have poor beggar monasteries.

As it was discussed at the Imperial Diet that the monasteries should be handed over to the emperor so that he could put his captains in them, I myself advised, and I still want to advise, that the monasteries should be gathered into a heap beforehand. For who would want to suffer an imperial captain in his country? It is all the bishop of Mainz's transmission: these same fellows would have liked to keep the upper hand over the monasteries. So they would do, like the pope, who ate all the monasteries in Italia and abbey. Now, because they cannot have them, they cry out: "One should do this reverence to the emperor, and leave and grant him such goods 2c.

No, do you hear? such goods belong to Christian, righteous, faithful teachers in kitchens and schools, poor students, and otherwise house-poor people: so the lawyers also cry out that they are of the church. Give them back, they say, their monasteries, so that one may

1) So Stangwald instead of "bishops".

If you have monks and nuns and say mass, they will let you preach.

Yes, where will we get food from? say our people. We will let you take care of that, they say. Yes, the devil thanks them.

### 12. interpretation of this saying.

Divitias peperit mater ecclesia honorificata, et postea filia perdidit matrem. And this is true, said D. M. Luther. For although the church has much wealth and goods, those who are not worthy use them. There is a fine example of this in the challenges of the Lord Christ, Matth. 4, 1. ff. First, the church is afflicted with poverty and hunger, as under the Roman emperors. Secondly, with heretics. Our Lord Christ is not led by the devil into the temple, but onto the battlements of the temple, that is, over the holy Scriptures. Thirdly, it is contested with riches and with violence; this happened under the popes, when they only ate, drank, and made merry, forgetting the Bible and the Holy Scriptures.

### (13) Spiritual goods shall be used for the maintenance of the preaching chair.

Doctor M. Luther said: That the King of Denmark, Christianus, had written to him how he had deposed all the bishops in his kingdom, and in their place superintendents, doctores, and Christian pastors and teachers.

and made honest scholarships for them, and requested Luther's advice and concerns in this regard. Luther's advice and concern in this matter. But the king has put an article in the letter that all income, rent and interest of the bishops should come under the crown. There spoke D. M. Luther: This king may reach into it; but this article male olet, sua quaerere; I am worried that the crown would be moved too far for the poor parish priests, so that they would have to suffer hunger afterwards. Ille Rex non habet illum propensum animum ad alendos ministros verbi, ut noster Elector. Nam noster Princeps Ioannes Fridericus, Dei gratia, solus est defensor et nutritor pastorum. He may freely venture all spiritual goods again on the church servants. He has granted the Visitatoribus in Thuringia from the monasteries, for the entertainment of the parish priests and schoolmasters, handsome interest annually.

And after His Elector! Grace took the homage of the city and university of Wittenberg in 1532, he improved the scholarships of all professors, and gave the university a large allowance from several monasteries, and made certain pensions and incomes. This is a princely mind, that a lord does not seek his own benefit, but feeds poor parish priests, students and schoolmasters from spiritual goods: for His Princely Grace realizes that he will need parish priests who would instruct his subjects in God's Word.

## The 57th chapter.

### Of the books of the Fathers in the Church.

1. what to think of the writings of some fathers.

The fathers in the church are good for teaching, but they do not count for much in disputing.

3. another censorship of the school teachers.

4. from the Cvpriani book.

5. from St. Ambrosio.

6. from Chrsostomo.

7. from the fathers.

8. from Prudentio.

9. one different from teachers.

10. of the four pillars in the church and other ancient teachers. Another of Luther's judgments about the fathers and teachers of the church, and what he thought of them.

12. from the song of the Passion.

13. Des Lyra's Commentary on the Bible.

14. at which time the holy fathers and teachers of the church lived.



### 1. What to think of the writings of some Vaeans.

Hieronymum may be read for the sake of the histories, for there is not a word in his writings about faith and the right true religion and doctrine. I have already condemned Origen. Chrysostom is also worthless to me, he is only a launderer. Basil is no good at all, is even a monk, I would not give a hair's breadth about him. The Apologia of Phil. Melanchthon's Apologia surpasses all doctores in the church, even Augustinum. Hilarius and Theophylactus are good. Ambrose, too, sometimes goes into detail about the forgiveness of sins, which is the highest article, namely, that the divine majesty forgives and pardons sin by grace, for the sake of Christ, who paid for it for us and did enough.

**The fathers in the church are good for teaching, but they do not count for much in disputing.**

(Cordatus No. 1741.)

The fathers and teachers such as Augustine, Jerome, Hilarius, Bonaventure 2c. are to be held in great honor because of the testimonies of faith by which they testify that the church believed in Jesus Christ in the beginning. Bernard preaches very beautifully, but does not disputation as well as he preaches. Bonaventure is closest to him.

### 3. another censorship of the school teachers.

Bonaventure is the best among the school theologians and church scribes. Augustine has the first, Ambrose the second, Bernard the third. Tertullianus is a right Carlstadt among the church teachers. Cyril has the best sayings. Cyprianus the Martyr is a weak theologian. Theophylactus is the best interpreter and translator of St. Paul.

### 4. from the Chpriani book.

(Lauterbach, Dec. 12, 1538, p. 191 f.)

That day he read Cyprian's de singularitate clericorum (on the celibate life of the clergy), how they separate from wives

but would have to, where he treats unrhymed and childish things. Then he wondered about the inconsistencies of such a great man and sighingly doubted whether the book was by Cyprian. But it is no wonder, when one falls away from God's word and order, one must wallow in the aergernissen. Thus, since they rejected marriage, God's order, and the manifest testimonies and examples of Scripture, they fell into fornication, adultery 2c., with which they had to beat themselves. This Cyprian was almost the closest to the apostles under Valerian, barely 220 years after the apostles. The oldest was Tertullian, 2. Hegeppus, 3. Cyprianus, 4. Lactantius, then Gregory of Nazianzus; afterwards Jerome, Augustine, Eusebius. In their time the church degenerated. Yes, even during the lifetime of the apostles we see the sad complaints of Paul about the Corinthians and Galatians, and Christ himself had among his own the accursed [sanctum] Judas. Those may lead who want the church entirely pure and cleansed. That means not wanting a church at all. So let us take heed to our profession and be vigilant. For very easily there is a fall in a word of religion, and senseless, deluded [την- φωμίνοι] men are easily led into error, alienated from the truth. Such a one was Pelagius, who by the inconsistent argument deceived many in the article of justification: By grace we are justified; to know Moses and the law is grace, therefore the knowledge of the law makes one justified. There people did not recognize the most palpable deception. Thus the holy fathers said that in the prayer of the Lord, in the fourth petition, one should not pray for bodily things, because that would be against the word of Christ (Matth. 6, 25.): "Do not worry"; as if this prayer did not rather hinder worry. Therefore it is called *ἀπρον ἰπώσιον* (Matth. 6, 11.), the daily bread, for and for, forever. If the book of Solomon of the creatures (1 Kings 4, 33.) were still there. of which he himself boasts, it would be a very great treasure.

### 5. from St. Ambrosia.

(Contained in Cap. 21, Z1.)

### 6. from Chrsostomo.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 24, 1538, p. 120.)

Then they spoke of the writings of the holy fathers about the Bible, which left the reader in uncertainty. He answered: I must not judge them, because their reputation is with everyone, and I must be an apostate. But read whoever will, especially Chrysostom, who is a very great orator, how he digresses from the subject to other things. When I interpreted the Epistle to the Ebraeans and consulted Chrysostom, [I found that] he wrote nothing in regard to the contents of the epistle. And I believe that Chrysostom, the greatest rhetor, had a large audience, but taught without fruit. For in order to teach, the first and foremost task of a preacher is to direct his attention to the matter and content and essence of the matter, and to instruct the hearer. When this is done, he can then rhetoric and exhort in a suitable manner.

### 7. from fathers.

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, Aug. 27, 1538, p. 123.)

Behold, I pray, how great darkness there was among the fathers concerning the faith. For since the article of justification was obscured, it was impossible to suppress even one, even the grossest error. St. Jerome wrote on Matthew, the Epistle to the Galatians, to Titus, but very weakly. Ambrose wrote six books on the first book of Moses. Oh how thin they are! Augustine wrote nothing perceptive of the faith, except where he argues against the Pelagians. They woke up Augustine and made him a man. They taught very well, but except for the fights they could not teach publicly. Is yet no interpretation on the epistle to the Romans and Galatians that taught anything pure. O what a time we have now in pure teaching! but, alas, we despise it. The holy fathers lived better 1) than they wrote; we, praise God! write better than we live.

1) In the original probably erroneously: "emptied" i.e. taught.

After that he told the horrible case of Gregorius, who cursed a brother in the grave for the sake of three florins and then had him ransomed by another brother by means of thirty masses 2). After that, the pope burst in with his pernicious human statutes, binding the people to his filth and shitty law by eating meat, wearing caps, and saying masses. Thus, the abominable case increased day by day, so that the pope claimed for himself the saying of Augustine: "I did not believe the Gospel" 2c. [Evan- gelio non crederem etc.], that is: I the pope am the head of the church; where I am, there is the church; since he is but a servant and bondservant of the church. They do not see the opportunity for this saying of Augustine, that he speaks against the Manichaeans: I do not believe you, because you are damned heretics. But the Church, the bride of Christ, cannot err; I agree with her.

Long before Hieronymo, Epiphanius described the histories of the churches, which are very good and useful: if they were separated from quarrelsome arguments and quarrelsome matters, they would be well worth printing.

The fathers had a great reputation and appearance because of their good conduct and austere life: with fasting and vigilance they shone forth and excelled. It must also be in such people: for there must be either a shine and brightness, like the hypocrite, or a righteousness of heart, like the great heroes whom God raises up.

### 8. from Prudentio.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 7, 1538, p. 143.)

After that he said of the hymns of Prudentius, who was a very good and Christian poet. If he had lived in Virgil's time, he would have been praised more than Horace, whom Virgil praises so much. I wish very much that the poem of Prudentius would be read in the schools, but the schools are already beginning to be secularized, and the sacred writings are being driven out of them again.

2) The trigesimä. Cf. Cap. 27, § 14; § 120; also Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 1387 f., § 165.

### 9. one different from teachers.

(The first paragraph in Kummer p. 418. [Lauterbach p. 192 note j])

Of Augustine and Hilarius. On July 12, 1543, he remembered the holy fathers, among whom St. Augustine and Hilarius had written most clearly, but the others were to be read with great care. When I [Lauterbach] asked him about his judgment of Tertullian, he said that he was hard and superstitious, and that Cyprian had called him his teacher: Da Magistrum!

Augustine has had more trouble and work: that he has wrapped and torn himself from the fathers' writings, that has become much more difficult and sour for him, than with the heretics. Gregory interprets the five pounds in the Gospel, which he gave to his servants, to mean the five senses, which are also in unreasonable animals; but he interprets the two pounds to mean the mind and effect.

### 10. of the four pillars in the church and other ancient teachers.

Ambrose is the most distinguished and oldest, then Jerome; after Augustine, who fell asleep in 480, now it is 1111<sup>1)</sup> years. Gregory the fourth. Ambrose was also a political and well-trained and tried man in world affairs, after which he was elected bishop of Milan, and was much used by the emperor, could not refrain from worldly affairs, as it happens to us now. For we have to serve the table and consistory with marital affairs more than God's word and prayer. So Ambrosio also went, has written well and righteously pure, is more serious in his writing, than Augustine, who is somewhat more friendly and gentle, like M. Hausmann; Ambrosius, however, is like D. Pommer. Hieronymum has been called a Christian doctor, Bernhardum a priestly teacher; Augustine, Aurelius; Bonaventure, Seraphicus; St. Thomas, Angelicus; Scotus, subtilis. Martinus Luthe-

rus is called an arch-heretic. Fulgentius is the best poet, is Horatio both with Sententiis, beautiful sayings and good words far superior, and probably among the poets to count.

St. Augustine was painted in a book as a monk with a cap; then Doctor Martin Luther said: "You do the holy man an injustice, because he led a common life, like another common man and citizen, used silver spoons and cups, lived among the people and dealt with them, did not lead a monstrous and monastic life. But the papists invented such things to embellish and defend their errors. As Tetzal said: "Whoever wants to advise his soul, give here, redeem the grace, after your death the children will forget you, they will do nothing to you.

Macarius, Antonius, Benedictus have done a great, noticeable damage to the church with their monasticism. Let it be that they have led a particularly monstrous life, but it is not a holy life. And I believe that in heaven they are much lower than a pious, God-fearing husband and man of the world. Therefore, in Vitis Patrum there is a very good and Christian poem of a spiritual man, in which a tanner who had a wife and children. St. Anthony is far preferred and held more sacred 2c. To show that God is not served by such external self-chosen works. It is a Christian poem, do not think that [it] is a historia. That the holy fathers raved and disputed with God about their own righteousness and piety, that is why the same poem insinuates: You holy and monstrous monks, who condemn all the lives of others, are condemned yourselves.

The best of the fathers and teachers have labored and labored to interpret the Psalter. Origen made an interpretation of the Psalter and compiled six commentaries. Nevertheless, they have written many beautiful things about it, especially Augustine; but improprie, which does not really belong to it. Dear Lord God, how Augustine is sometimes distressed by this!

Therefore, it is very useful and good that a teacher remains on the main thing and in the pre-

1) In the editions erroneously: "Anno 38" and "1011".

The material taken, and lay it out finely simple and actually, with all diligence, quite correctly and properly. Although what is Christian and good in the patriarchs and teachers is not to be despised. But a iudicium belongs to it. But if Satan falls from the material through false teachers and wants to go the wrong way, he should be resisted and persuaded. As, when the pope shows this saying, Matth. 16, 18. 19. on his primacy: "You are Peter 2c. What you will solve on earth" 2c., since the text speaks of keys and forgiveness of sins; so the pope brings seinen Dieterich to seize and possess worldly empires and kingdoms.

#### 11 Another Judgment of D. M. Luther's opinion of the fathers and teachers in the church.

Although I, said D. M. Luther, it does not behoove me to judge from the holy fathers; for, held against them, I am a little worm and nothing to be looked at: but the more I read their books which they wrote, the more I am annoyed, for they were nevertheless men, and their authority and prestige has suppressed and diminished the books and writings of the apostles.

Therefore the papists were allowed to impudently say: What Scripture, Scripture! one must read the holy fathers and teachers, they have sucked and drawn the honey from the Scripture: the holy Scripture is like a large, wild, disorderly, confused heap or lump 2c. It is as if God's word could not be understood and was not German and could not be heard, since the heavenly Father says of Christ, Matth. 17, 5: "You shall hear him. He also spoke and taught in the Gospels in the most simple, clearest and worst way, in parables and similes, as he says: "He who believes in me will not die", Joh. 8, 51. Item Matth. 5, 39: "You shall not resist evil"; and Matth. 6, 26. 28: "Look at the birds of the air and the flowers of the field" 2c.

How could it be said more clearly and distinctly, more than all fathers and teachers have been able to do and could have done; nevertheless, may

The sophists blaspheme the holy scripture, pretending that it is obscure and not well understood, therefore they had to explain the fathers. But such explanation means and is rather to darken and obscure.

That is why I like St. Augustine above all other teachers: for he is a great, excellent doctor and worthy of all praise; even though he had a small congregation and church, he taught righteously and purely and subjected his books to the Holy Scriptures with Christian humility, as is also stated in the decree c. Nolo meis scriptis etc. Thou shalt not believe my books as the holy scriptures, in which, 1) if thou shalt find that thou didst not believe before, believe the same without delay; but what thou thinkest not certain in my writings, thou shalt not think certain, for thou understandest it certainly. Then the dear man himself protests, testifies, recognizes, implores and compels that his writings are not to be given greater credence, nor are they to be considered equal to the holy Scriptures, much less preferred.

And I believe that Augustine wrote this sentence primarily and mostly for the sake of Chrysostom, who lived barely sixty years before Augustine. And because he was eloquent and voluble, he was held in high esteem by the people, and made many books that had a great appearance, but was only a great, angry, disorderly heap and mixture, and a sack of words with nothing behind them.

Therefore, this hurt Augustino, angered him, and said such a thing. That is why our Doctor Jerome Schürf bought Chrysostom for him, and when he had read it, he said, "I read a lot, but I learn nothing. For he could with his chatter and loquacity. 2) He could make the people fine and paint them, like a golden chain, therefore he was also called John with the golden mouth. He may have had gold in sound and song, but not in dignity. Oh, the priests were also human beings, as we are, therefore one should consider it well and put what they say on the gold scale, 3) look at their mouths.

1) In the editions "which. (Förstemann-Bindseil.)

2) i.e. talkativeness.

3) Cf. Cap. 7, § 1, end of first paragraph.

For this reason, St. Augustine took great pains and sweated when he was annoyed by human statutes and traditions; however, he is mighty in the Holy Scriptures and has a fine judgment and understanding of things. The Pelagians and heretics have driven him and sharpened him, he has been favorable and kind to marriages, speaks well of bishops who were pastors at that time; but that time has annoyed him very much and hurt him. What would happen in our time, if he were alive now and should see the abominations of the pope, who with great authority and hope boasts of St. Peter's patrimony and inheritance, that is, that the whole empire in the Occident is his inheritance; which glory has lasted barely four hundred years since the time that the pope wanted to be a lord over all empires and kingdoms. St. Augustine would not suffer that.

Summa Summarum: Believing Christians should only badly listen to the legation and message of the Lord Christ, what he says. Therefore, all those who want to change the Gospel of Christ by human authority, power and prestige and interpret it differently, which no king, prince or lord allows his legate and envoy to do, are doing completely unchristian and against God. He gives him a credence, 1) that his person should be heard; but no further, not even in one word, as he is commanded in his instruction: and we would be so presumptuous in this heavenly and divine legation and message?

I think that if St. Peter now preached all the articles of the Holy Scriptures in the flesh, denying only the authority, power and primacy of the Pope, 1) said that he was not the supreme head of Christianity, he would have to hang; 3) yes, Christ himself, if he still walked on earth and preached, he would be crucified once again. Therefore let us also wait for this. It is better to wait for him than for the pope. If we did not believe that after this there would be another life, I would soon say and sing differently, and lay the burden on another's neck.

1) d. i. Attestation letter.

2) So Stangwald instead of "Private".

3) In the output^: henkm. -

## 12. the passion song.

When the Passion was sung, Luther listened diligently and said: "Musica is a beautiful, lovely gift of God; it has often awakened and moved me so that I have gained a desire to preach. But St. Augustine took such a conscience away from him: when he enjoyed music and became happy about it, he thought that he had done something wrong and sinful with it. He was a fine pious man; if he lived in the present time, he would keep it with us. But Jerome would condemn us, who after all was also a man and had his temptations and infirmities; for he was so fond of the Eustochiam that one was annoyed by it. The dear fathers also had their shortcomings.

Augustine is the most serious, bravest and purest of all; but he alone could not do it all, nor put it right. For he often complains that the bishops with their traditions and statutes burden the church more than the Jews with their laws.

Ambrosii Hymni and hymns are words, little that serves the cause, as: A solis ortus sidere,, on the seven times. The song Patris Sapientia did many good things; but the song Rex Christe, factor omnium etc. is the very best hymn and song.

## The Lyra Commentary on the Bible.

Luther praised Lyra's commentary on the entire Bible very much and ordered it to be read diligently, because it would be very good, especially for the histories in the Old Testament. Whoever knew the New Testament well would find Lyra very useful. However, the comments that Paul and Simigerus made about it are cold enough; they would be left out if Lyra were printed again.

## 14. at what time the holy fathers and teachers of the church lived.

Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, lived Anno Domini 379.

Has died 387.

Basil Magnus and Gregorius 380.  
 Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, 380.  
 Aurelius Prudentius 380.  
 Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, 430.  
 Has been 76 years old.  
 Beda- a Benedictine in England, 737.  
 Has been 72 years old.  
 Eyprianus, bishop of Carthage, 249.  
 Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, 432.  
 Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, 420.  
 Gregorius, Papa I. 540.  
 Jerome, presbyter and eldest at Stridon, 422.  
 Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon, 175.  
 Polycarpus, Jrenäi preceptor, 175.  
 Nicolaus de Lyra, 320.

Origen, Presbyter at Adomanz, 1) 261.  
 Philo Judaeus, 50.  
 Josephus, 100.  
 Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, 111.  
 Prosper, Bishop of Rogen, Augustine's disciple, who  
 also drew together his sayings, 460.  
 Sedulius, presbyter, eldest, 430.  
 Tatianus, hereticus, heretic, 170.  
 Tertullianus, elder of Carthage, 200.  
 Thomas Aquinas, 1274.  
 Bonifacius, bishop of Mainz, 1255.  
 Bernhardus, abbot at Cisterna, 1140.  
 Hugo Parisiensis, 1130.  
 Anshelmus, 1110.

1) ^ääamantius.

## The 58th chapter.

# Of the school theologians.

1. from the terminists.
2. D. Luther's judgment of Lombardus.
3. from the time under the papacy.
4. a different one from the fathers.
5. from St. John the Martyr.
6. from St. Augustino.
7. from Hieronymo.

8. from the fathers.
9. from Gerson.
10. by Johann Hüß.
11. Luther's judgment of the school theologians, some nuns' sons.
12. from Dionysio.

### 1. from terminists.

Terminists was the name of a sect in the high schools (among which I have been): they are opposed to Thomists, Scotists and Albertists; and were also called Occamists, from Occam, their first beginner and founder, are the most recent sect, and now the most powerful also in Paris.

The dispute and quarrel among them was whether the word humanitas, humanity, and similar words, mean a common humanity that would be in all men; as Thomas and the others hold. Yes, say the occamists and terminists, it is nothing with such a common humanity, means all people in particular; just as a painted image of man interprets all people.

But now and in this matter, the terminists, the terminis propriis, must speak of a thing with proper and own words, as they are called and read in themselves, and not interpret the words strange and wild; otherwise it is called work 2) speaking of it. As, in it a carpenter, I must speak in his terminis' and with such words as they are called and used in their trade; namely, angle iron, and not crook iron; axe, and not hatchet.

So also let the words of Christ remain and speak of the Sacrament in suis Terminis, with the words as Christ spoke and used them. As: This does; shall not

2) D. i. with the tsrminis tsolinols, the terms of art.

mean: sacrifices. Item: the word corpus, body, is not written about the third book sententiarum. Occam was a supposed to mean both figures; as they now torture very perceptive scholar in method; he was eager to the words, and like to steer from the road, against the expound things and extend them to infinity. Thomas is light text. very loquacious because he is seduced by metaphysics.

2. verdict D. M. L. von Lombardus. 1) (Lauterbach, Jan. 10, 1538, p. § )

Peter Lombardus was a very diligent man, of me, yet unknowingly, over the game now for the excellent mind, and wrote many splendid things. He twentieth year. How difficult it was at first, since we would truly have been a great teacher of the church if moved to All Saints' Day in Kemberg in the year 17, he had based himself completely and righteously on where I had first resolved to write against the gross the holy scriptures; but he himself confused his book errors of indulgence, and D. Hieronymus Schurf with many useless questions. They were nevertheless resisted me: "Do you want to write against the pope? very good minds, but not such times as we have now. What do you want to do? One will not suffer it. I said: For the scholastics got to the point of teaching that If one had to suffer it? Soon after, Sylvester, Magister man was unharmed; he was wounded to some extent, sacri palatii, entered the battlefield and flashed this but he could fulfill the law even by his own powers, reason against me: Whoever doubts a word or work of without grace; but a man who had obtained grace the Roman Church is a heretic. 2) Luther doubts the could fulfill the law more easily than by his own word and work of the Roman Church. So 2c. That's powers. Such monstrosities they taught and did not where it started. For the pope distinguishes a threefold see the case of Adam, did not see that the law of God church. Essentially, it is the body of the Church itself. was spiritual. Representationally, it is the Collegium of Cardinals. According to the exercising power it is the pope himself. There is no mention of a concilium. Because the pope wants to be the church with exercising power, over the writing and the reputation of the Concilium. Duke George is only zealous for the essential church, because he wants to be the church himself. He hates the pope, therefore he wants to reform him, as a reformer of the church, so that the bishop of Mainz has only one bishopric and trots along with 14 horses, the bishop of Merseburg with three, and that the pope refrains from his simony. For all papists profess that the bishops should remain, but be reformed. But the papists must not dare to consent to a reformation. Italy has been humiliated many times, but it is still proud. Now, however, it is afraid, sees and acknowledges its wickedness. Only that it does not want to be punished by us Germans, by a barbarian nation. But if an instigator were to rise up in Italy and have a handler, he would want to do something.

### 3. time under the papacy.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 2, 1538, p. 18.)

On February 2, the Elector of Saxony, Duke Henry of Saxony, the Landgrave, Margrave John came to Wittenberg and welcomed Luther for a sermon on the following day, which he held in praise of the Lord's Prayer. That evening Luther conversed happily with Amsdorf and discussed much of the studies of the previous century, where the most astute people were engaged in useless lectures, whose sophistical expressions are quite unknown and incomprehensible to people in our time. For Scotus, Bonaventure, Gabriel, Thomas were, since the Pabstthum flourished, very idle people, they had to fantasize. Gabriel wrote a book about the Canon of the Mass, which in my opinion was the best at that time. When I read it, my heart bled. The reputation of the Bible was nothing against Gabriel. I still keep the books that thus martyred me. Scotus has very well

1) Cf. §11 of this chapter.

2) Cf. Cap. 54, § 20.

#### 4. a different one from fathers.

The *Fathers* have written many good and useful things; however, one should read them cum *Judicio*, not accept and approve of everything soon, because one has first held it against the guideline of God's Word and examined whether it also agrees with the same.

Hilarius and Augustine have written many beautiful and excellent things about the Holy Trinity and Justification, driven by heretics. Nazianzenus nothing. Gregorius is a monk. Cyprianus a pious man and orator. Tertullianus and Eusebius write only histories. Lactantius, as Augustine testifies, has tractirt foreign things. In peace they did nothing, but in conflict they were powerful. St. Bernard loves Jesus as much as anyone can; but in disputes, when one must stand against one's enemies, he is not St. Bernard. Manichaei, the heretics, provoked Augustine to fight, challenged him, and gave him reason to write so well. The papists do not understand this, but say that he talked too much and wrote too high things.

#### 5. from St. John the Martyr.

Doctor Staupitz told us (said D. M. Luther), he had heard from Doctor Andrea Proles, the best preacher, because he once went to Gotha into the monastery and saw painted Doctor Andream Zachariam (who is buried at Erfurt in the Augustinian monastery in front of the high altar, and is said to have overcome Johann Husten, as it is said) with a rose on his beret; he would have said: "God protect me that I do not wear this rose, because he has overcome Johann Husten unjustly, through a forged Bible, namely, since Ezekielis in the 34th chapter said: "Behold, I myself will punish my shepherds and not the people, non Populus. Chapter thus confessed: "Behold, I myself will punish and punish my shepherds (to this was said), and not the people, non Populus." They found this text in Johannis Hussen's own bibles, pointed it out to him, and concluded from it: "Behold, you shall not punish the Pope, but God will do it Himself. Then M. Spalatinus said: The devil has brought this text into the Bible. Yes, said D. M. Luther, it

1) This narrative is in other relation Walch, old edition, vol. XVI, 2562, U 6 and 7.

has stood in it in the same way as it has come in. So the pious, holy man was condemned and burned.

Item: M. Johannes Agricola read a scripture of Johannis Huss, full and rich in spirit, patience and prayer: and as he was martyred in prison by the stone, and despised by the emperor Sigismundo, D. M. Luther marveled at such a great spirit and steadfastness, and said: He has been a great man; for soon after his death the emperor Sigismund had no luck. M. Luther marveled at such a great spirit and steadfastness, and said: "He was a noble man, his death was well smelled; for soon after his death Emperor Sigismund had no more luck, was never well again, became the most wretched regent, and was defeated by the Turk. The Bohemians devastated Germany everywhere, Nuremberg had to give them plunder: they came as far as Zeiz. The Germans have beaten the Bohemians several times with heel money.

(Here a paragraph is omitted because contained in Cap. 27, § 142.)

#### 6. from St. Augustino.

Augustine therefore became an excellent teacher, that the heretics, the Pelagians, who defended free will, attacked him hard, that he had to defend himself vigorously, and finally collected; taught faithfully about the grace of God.

But since I understood Paulum by God's grace, I have not been able to respect any doctor; they have become very little to me. In the first I read Augustinum. But when the door was opened to me in Paul, so that I knew what the righteousness of faith was, then it was over with him. These are the most noble and best sayings in Augustine: Sin is forgiven, not that it is no longer there, but that it is not imputed. Item: The law is fulfilled when that is forgiven which neither happens nor is done. The books of Confession in which he makes his confession teach nothing, but only incite and provoke, have only examples, but it is nothing.

#### 7. from Hieronymo.

(Cordatus No. 1307.)

Among the writers, I hate none in the same way as Jerome, who has only the name of Christ; he writes of fasting,



Food, virginity, but nothing of the works of faith. Therefore Doctor Staupitz, who read him diligently, said: I would like to know how he would have been blessed, and Andreas Proles, his predecessor, said: I would not have wanted to have Jerome as prior, he was much too strange.

#### 8. from fathers.

(Contained in Cap. 57, § 2.)

#### 9. from the Gerson.

(Cordatus No. 571. 572. 573.)

Gerson saw very well that we are like lost sheep when we are alone; therefore he said that Christ instituted his supper for communion. This Gerson alone wrote about the temptation of the spirit, the others all wrote only about bodily things. None of the others, neither Augustine, nor Bernard, nor Scotus, nor Thomas 2c., has written of the pettiness of the spirit than he. William of Paris also wrote something, but the scholastic doctors did not even come to know the Catechism.

Gerson alone has comforted consciences under the pope, saying, Ah, it must not all be mortal sin that is done against the pope, for [as] a shepherd 1) do not have on, the hearers do not pray 2c. And some he has delivered from despair. He has been a very good man, but he has not come to that, that he comforted the Christians through Christ and the promises. He did not abolish the law, but lessened it, saying, Oh, all sin need not be so grievous.

When I compare Moses and Christ, Christ knocks the bottom out of the barrel and says: "Do not put your trust in Moses, but in Christ. If you are not pious, then I am pious. And this is the art of the Christian, that I may leap from my sin to the righteousness of Christ.

which is as certainly mine as this is my body. If I live, I live to him; if I die, I go to him. I am baptized in him, I receive him in the sacrament, I am taught in him. He takes care of us, only that we trust in him. I am surprised that I do not learn this science, but all my students have it down to the nail 2).

#### 10. by Johann Huß.

The blood of Johann Hussen still condemns all papists today. He was a pious, learned man, as you can see in his book about the church, and I love it. For he died, not like an Anabaptist, but like a Christian. Christian weakness is seen in him, and yet God's power is stirred in him and raises him up again. The struggle of the flesh and spirit in Christ and Hussen is sweet and lovely to see. The testimony of all is that Jerome of Prague was a very eloquent man, but Huss was very learned. He could do more than the whole world, but was innocently condemned. From that time on, the papacy began to fall. Then someone said: Costnitz is now a poor, miserable town. Yes, said D. M. Luther, I believe that God has punished them for having led the dear holy man, Hussen, to the fire with armed and fortified citizens and people.

In Johanne Huss the Holy Spirit has been very powerful, said D. M. Luther, who alone held so joyfully and firmly to God's word, against so many great people and nations, Italia, Germany, Hispania, Gallia, England, so gathered in the Concilio at Costnitz; against which clamor he alone stood and had to bear it, and was burned over it. So I will be much safer, God willing, dead than alive.

(The following at Cordatus No. 253.)

John Huss took away briars from the vineyard of God, but I came

2) To the nail test, i.e. to the most exact. - Cordatus directly follows the preceding with the piece reported in Cap. 7, § 113.

1) Schepler or Scheppler, the scapular, a shoulder garment of the religious clergy. Cf. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XIII, 2427, § 12, Erl. Vol. 29, 370 and 374.

in the fight against the pope in a flat field. When I [Cordatus] said that he had done much more against the pope than Huss, he denied it very much, that this was not true, and said: Through John Huss it had happened that gradually after him the pope had fallen more and more, who in his time would have been in highest honor and power. Moreover, after John there had always been some good men who had contradicted the pope, but before John there had been none.

### 11 Judgement of D. M. Luther of school theologians, some nuns' sons. 1)

(Cordatus No. 680.)

Magister Sententiarum 2) was a great man, for he read through all the writers; then he also knew all the concilia and decrees. If he had gotten into the Bible with this diligence, it would have worked. It was not meant to be. About his origin it is said that he was an illegitimate child of a nun, and there were three brothers: Petrus Longobardus a theologian, Gratianus

1) Cf. § 2 of this Cap.

2) D. i. Petrus Lombardus or Longobardus.

a jurist, Comestor a historian who wrote the scholastic history; each the greatest in his faculty.

### 12. from Dionysio.

(Cordatus No. 993.)

Dionysius with wondrous verbiage wrote much of the divine names, of the heavenly hierarchy and church, and by such strange stuff of words he earned himself a divine name, namely, by inventions, and it is not probable that this was the disciple of Paul; nor was it the well-known martyr Dionysius, but someone at Paris. 4)

3) In the table speeches probably more correct: "church history". Rebenstock II, 237; Bindseil III, 137.

4) The three men named Dionysius mentioned in this section are 1) Dionysius Areopagita, member of the Areopagus in Athm, first bishop of the church there. Apost. 17, 34. 2) Dionysius Alexandrinus, disciple of Origen, 248 bishop of Alexandria, d. 265 after many sufferings in the Decian and Valerian persecution. 3) Dionysius of Paris, who is said to have founded the church at Paris about the middle of the third century, or, according to Gregory of Tours, only later. (Wrampelmeyer.)

## The 59th chapter.

### Of the books of the New Testament.

- I. D. Luther's Argument and Summaries on the 5th, 6th and 7th Chapters of Matthew.
2. from St. Lucā and Johanne, as they described the Passion.
- St. John and Paul were especially sure of their teaching.
4. from St. Jacob's epistle.
5. D. Luther's Judgment of Books in the Old Testament.
6. from the preacher Salomonis.

7. why the history of the archfathers is described so briefly.
8. a clever man's thoughtlessly sacrilegious judgment of the books of the holy bible.
9. from St. John's Gospel.
- Divine truth is powerful.
11. what books to preach in the church.
12. from St. John's Gospel.
13. from the prophet Daniel.

### 1. argument and summaries of D. M. Luther on the 5th, 6th and 7th chapter of Matthäi.

(Cordatus No. 1434.)

The fifth chapter of Matthew first teaches how each person should live for himself in eight beatitudes. 2) The Magisterium, for the salt of the

Law, to the light the gospel, and both in faith. 3) The false interpretation of the law is refuted. 4) Hypocrisy in life is condemned. 5) Is taught right good works. 6) Warns against false teaching. 7) Resolves doubts. 8) Condemns hypocrites in words.

**2. from St. Lucä and Johanne, as they described the Passion.**

(Cordatus No. 1347.)

Lucas has carefully described the story of the suffering of Christ before all. John, however, writes the main action, the audience [the interrogation before Pilate]. Concordant accounts [concordantiae] are too tiring; John has resorted to brevity in this history.

**St. John and Paul were especially sure of their teaching.**

In St. Paul and John there was a peculiar, excellent certainty and plerophoria: they speak of it as if it were already ready before their eyes. Therefore Christ does not say in vain Apost. 9, 15: "He (St. Paul) shall be a chosen instrument unto me." He made him a doctor, that is why he speaks so confidently of the matter. Whoever runs Paul may rely on his words with a clear conscience. I have never read a more serious scripture in my life.

John in his Gospel describes Christ, that he is real, true, natural God, a priori, from before: "In the beginning was the Word" 2c. Item: "He who praises and honors me also honors the Father." But Paul a posteriori et effectu from that which follows, and from the work, as he says 1 Cor. 10, 9: "They tempted Christ in the wilderness" 2c.; therefore Christ is right, true God; and Acts. 20, 28: "Take heed therefore unto yourselves" 2c.

**4. from St. Jacob's epistle.**

(Cordatus No. 1645.)

Many try very hard to bring Jacob into agreement with Paul, as also Philip in the Apology, but not seriously; they argue against each other: faith justifies, faith does not justify. Whoever can rhyme these together, I will put on my beret and let him call me a fool.

**5. judgment of D. M. Luther's judgment of books in the Old Testament.**

(Cordatus No. 1007 and No. 1782.)

Jesus Sirach is only a teacher of the law, not a prophet, and knows nothing of Christ and his gospel, which deals with the first and second commandments and is above the third [which it does not care about because this was given only for a certain time, and even now serves the word.

God established the most beautiful world and church order in the fifth book of Moses, but the world always likes what is theirs better than what is God's.

**6. from the preacher Salomonis.**

(The first three paragraphs, Cordatus No. 1583. 989,990.)

About Ecclesiastes 1) he said when it was published: The book should be more complete, it has too much broken off. It has neither boots nor spurs, it rides only on sticks, like me, when I was a monk in the monastery.

I do not believe that Solomon is condemned, but what is written about him is written for the kings to fear.

I believe that the book of Jesus Sirach [Ecclesiasticus] was written at the time of the Maccabees. It is a very good book, household rules, speeches and a mixture of many books, perhaps from the library of Ptolemy Euergetes, just as the proverbs are collected from others, but from the mouth of the king, because royal majesty shines from them.

The book of the Proverbs of Solomon is a beautiful book: the rulers should read it, for therein one sees how things are in the world: there is nothing but the fear of God and prayer, in which rulers should practice. So they go about with the mathematics, and reckon: this bears so much to me, that so much; and they would take our Lord God captive; and he saith, O dear, take me not captive. No, no, they say. Now, for more than three years, he has left you behind.

1) Perhaps here, too, there is a confusion of Ecclesiastus and Ecclesiasticus (Jesus Sirach), as in No. 130 of the Cordatus. See Appendix No. II.

see. It is nothing; *Benedictio Domini divites facit*: the blessing of the Lord makes rich. So it is with mines, so it is with *Benedictio Domini*: they want to take our Lord God and his grace captive, and want to seize it; and yet he does not want to be seized nor captured. For all the Scriptures are full of it: *Lro8io in äomo Impü*: "In the house of the wicked is the curse," Proverbs 3:33. Let it be as little as we will, so let us call upon our Lord GOD and pray, if he will but give us a piece of bread, and give us a sound body in addition. But if we sin, and he chastise us for it at times, let us close our eyes to him. He shall not see it; we will do it ourselves. So we do it, and experience it with our great harm. So it is with princes and lords. For they cannot say, as David did, *Qui das salutem Regibus, et qui subdis populum meum sub me*: "Thou givest salvation to the king, and castest my people under me," Ps. 18:48, 51.

(The following four paragraphs, *Cordatus* No. 1293. 1342. . No. 1298. 1299.)

The third book of Ezra I throw into the Elbe, the fourth has dreams (But the first two books of Ezra are beautiful.) 1) And have [the third and fourth good pebbles, like that of those who dispute before the king. [3 Ezra, Cap. 3. and 4.]

The first chapter of the first book of Moses contains all of Scripture. Therefore, the ancients warned very well that no one should read it before his thirtieth year. For it has secrets which cannot be observed by inexperienced readers, and no man has ever been able to explain it as it should be explained, let alone understand it.

From the whole story in Scripture, I cannot perceive that the Book of Judith is a sacred story; there is no care for

1) The brackets are set by us. The enclosed is to be considered as a remark thrown in the middle of the sentence. In the Vulgate, the book of Ezra is called the first book of Ezra, Nehemiah the second book of Ezra. The third and fourth books of Ezra are apocrypha, which in the Vulgate are placed at the very end of the Scriptures.

the description of the country, but this book is written, like the legends of the saints, to show that God, who was worshipped in Judea, defeats all tyrants of the world and even the devil himself, and that the tyrants come to such a miserable end, like *Holofernes*, and it [the book of Judith has, as the occasion required, included the woman Judith, to describe it in her. In the same way, Homer used Troy, and Virgil Aeneas, to describe in him prudence, heroism, happiness, accident 2c).

The book of Judith is a tragedy in which the end and downfall of tyrants is described; Tobias, however, is a comedy that speaks of women. In that book is an example of the world regime, in this one an example of the household. Baruch is a hermit who has forgotten the register. He does not pay attention to the time, and the passage [Bar. 3, 38]: "He appeared on earth" is not about Christ, but about the bush of Moses.

(The following two paragraphs in *Cordatus* No. 1764 and No. 1281.)

I am hostile to the book of Esther and the second book of the Maccabees, because they are too Judaizing and have a pagan character. However, it is frightening that the book of Esther is held in higher esteem by the Jews than Isaiah or Daniel, since Isaiah proclaims Christ in the purest way, and Daniel clearly describes the world kingdoms and the kingdom of Christ.

Tobias is a Jewish poem, and not particularly appropriate, because the devil is not driven out with a fish liver, because he leads against us the right Goliath spear. For God has armed him and is still sharpening his weapons, giving him steel for his shaft, the law, 2) but he still arms him with the precaution that he [the devil], finally defeated by the faithful, must be the more ashamed and become a disgrace.

(This paragraph in *Cordatus* No. 393.)

Daniel and Isaiah have been the most excellent prophets. I am Isaiah, Phi-

2) *legern arnat, tarnen ääeo sollielte* etc. Here the comma will probably be placed after *legern* and deleted after *arnat*, so that *legern* becomes apposition to "steel".

lippus Jeremiah. The same prophet has always feared and worried, he scolded too much. So does Philip. 1)

(The following two paragraphs Cordatus No. 878 and No. 871.)

The whole sermons were not written by any prophet, but at one time they wrote a saying, and after that another saying, and so they compiled them, and so the Bible was preserved.

The books of the kings are only a Jewish calendar, in which the kings are listed in order, and how one or the other has ruled.

The books of the kings go a hundred thousand steps ahead of the one who described the Chronicles, for he only indicated the summa and noblest pieces and history, what is bad and minor, he passed over; therefore the books of the kings are to be believed more than the Chronicles.

The Book of Judges describes the great heroes and saviors sent by God, who, after the first commandment, trusting and believing in God, of whom Moses preached, began and accomplished all their deeds, and thanking God for them, brought them home to God in heaven, saying, "O Lord God, you have done it; to you alone be glory, praise and thanks;" as Ehud, Samson, 2c.

The book of Job is a very good book, written not only by him and through him, but also for the comfort of all afflicted, challenged, suffering and sorrowful hearts. When the devil and men attacked him severely and opposed him, he endured it with patience, saying, "May the name of the Lord be blessed," Job 1:21. But when God began to be angry with him, he became impatient and resentful. It grieved him and hurt him that the wicked were so well off. Therefore this should be a comfort to the poor Christians who are persecuted and have to suffer, namely, that God wants to give them such great, glorious and eternal goods in that life, and here also gives a measure of the suffering, how far and long it will be.

the chasers should grab, not as they would like.

Job did not speak thus as it is written in his book, but thought it; for it is not thus spoken in the challenge and temptation: yet it was thus done in the deed and in the work. And it is almost like an Argumentum Fabulä: how one acts and holds a play, in which several persons are introduced, where one talks and disputes with and after the other, as he feels about his heart and as he means it, therefore also the master has taken and described it; like Terentius his comedies; so that he wanted to show an example of patience.

It is possible and probable that Solomon made and wrote this book; for it is almost his way of speaking in the same book of Job as in other of his books.

Phrasis non multum est dissimilis. In addition, such a historia of Job is old and very mean, and was well known to everyone in Solomon's time, which he undertook to describe, as if I were to presume to describe the history of Joseph or Rebekah.

The poet and master of this book, be he who he may, has had such trials and tribulations, seen them, experienced them, and thus described them. Just as Virgilius describes the great hero Aeneas, and leads him through all waters, seas and inns, makes a fine, political man of the world and war out of him: And it seems and can be seen that a great, excellent theologian must have been who made this book and wrote it, he may have been whoever he wanted.

#### 7. why the histories of the archfathers are described so briefly.

Philip had a long conversation with I> Martino: If Moses had described the legends of the dear holy patriarchs and archfathers so briefly, it would have been only a rhapsodia, gathered thing, recorded on the very shortest, like a cabbala. Then spoke D. M. Luther said: "Just as the Jews call a Cabbalam, in which something is briefly described, so Moses also did not describe it.

1) Almost verbatim in Kummer p. 326 d. (Lauterbach p. 81.)

The length of the histories of the patriarchs who lived for such a long time can be written. For only think what experience and knowledge have been in those who have lived some six hundred years, more or less, and have still been as wealthy and strong in body and mind as ours when he is thirty years old.

Then he said, "Do not take it from Moses, for the evangelists have described the sermons in the New Testament in the shortest possible way: how briefly they run through, even touch, only the sermons of John the Baptist, who undoubtedly preached the most beautiful sermons; only this saying is shown, since St. John says, "Behold, the Lamb of God who bears the sin of the world" John 1:29. John says: "Behold, this is the Lamb of God who bears the sin of the world" Joh. 1, 29. I consider John the Baptist to be the greatest preacher after St. Paul, because even St. Peter in his epistle puts Paul himself far ahead of him, 2 Petr. 3, 15.

#### **8. a clever man's thoughtlessly sacrilegious judgment of the books of the holy bible.**

(Cordatus No?1647.)

It is in the nature of reason that nothing pleases one so much as what is related to his spirit. For example, there was a man who made a great judgment of the Scriptures, saying that Jesus Sirach was so great that the words of the Gospel were of little value compared to his teachings. But although this book is a good one as far as jurisprudence, understanding of the law and housekeeping are concerned, and therefore pleases the world, what is it in comparison with the gospel and the writings of the apostles? For what is life against the word of life?

#### **9. from St. John's Gospel.**

(This § is transferred to Cap. 69, § 1, where it belongs).

#### **10. truth is powerful.**

(Contained in Cap. 73, 85.)

#### **11. what books to preach in church.**

(Cordatus No. 1044. 1045.)

The Psalter, the Gospel of John, Paul are to be preached and remain in the church for those who have to contend, but Matthew for the people.

David has given to light [edit] teaching psalms, prophetic, prayer and thanksgiving psalms, the children of Korah vain comfort psalms. Among the prophetic ones the most excellent are: [Ps. 110. The Lord said to my Lord, Ps. 51. God, be gracious to me according to your goodness, Ps. 32. Blessed is he whose transgressions are forgiven, Ps. 130. From the depths I cry out to you, O Lord, Ps. 143. Lord, hear my prayer: for these teach that the forgiveness of sins takes place without the law. Therefore these psalms are purely Pauline. For what is this but [Ps. 130:4], "For with thee is forgiveness, that thou shouldest be feared?" and what Paul says [Rom. 11:32], "He hath concluded all under sin, that he might have mercy on all." "That they may fear thee," that all may take off their little hats before thee, that none may boast in his righteousness, and that forgiveness of sins may be reconciliation, not merit.

#### **12. from St. John's Gospel.**

(Cordatus No. 132.)

John speaks such simple words in his epistle and gospel that simpler ones will never come into the world. And yet, under this simplicity of his, he speaks everything that another would [put forward] with the greatest harshness and severity. For example, these two words may serve, "He that hath not the Son hath not the Father," and the other two, "The law was given by Moses, the truth was made by JESUM Christ." 1)

#### **13. from the prophet Daniel.**

(Contained in Cap. 27, § 2.)

1) Although the last two citations contain words of John the Baptist, John is probably to be understood as "the evangelist", because the epistles are also mentioned.

## The 60th chapter. Of the patriarchs and prophets.

1. from David.
2. David has to see too much things through the fingers.  
Why David did not build the temple.
4. from Judah Maccabaeo.
5. from Esau and Ishmael.
6. from Job.
- Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were poor, afflicted people.
8. revelation of the holy prophets.
9. from Isaiah, why he was killed.
10. from Elijah.
11. from the prophet Jonah. 'The prophets' sharp sermons against hypocrisy and idolatry. The word of the prophet is important.

- 14 Knowing false prophets.
15. the history of the prophet Jonah.  
It is difficult to interpret the prophets.
17. why David took Bathsheba in marriage.
18. of Abraham's legends.
19. from Job and David.
20. from Adam.
21. from Jacob.
22. from Hagar, Abraham's concubine.
23. David a rhetor.
24. from David's suffering.
25. from Simej penalty.
26. from Ezekia.
27. from Elisao.
28. from David.

### 1. from David.

(Cordatus No. 1573. 1574.)

The example of David is full of adversity, for this holy man fell into adultery, then into the most shameful murder and blasphemy. For this reason he was afflicted when the people and his own son fell away from him, as did his counselors. He became nothing, who before had the highest reputation and fortune. All kings feared him because they saw that God was with him. Now not only all the wicked rebel against him, but also the most lowly boast against him, like Shimei, and he, who before was called by the prophet [Isa. 15:5] a three-year-old heifer, that is, full of strength, whom none of the kings could overcome, now seems to be able to be overcome by all, because all set themselves against him.

This trouble has always been in the world, that the godly have always been very unhappy, and on the other hand the godless happy, as we also see today that the bishops and godless princes sit in the greatest honor and goods, while the godly are poor and despised.

### 2. David has to see through the fingers of many things.

(The first movement in Cordatus No. 1284.)

David was a good king, could well lend one a good bill. So he saw Joab, his cousin and uncle, also to and through the fingers, because he could not turn it all to bolts. David must have had worse devils than we do, for he could not have had such a great revelation and knowledge of God without such great temptations, for they are too great. He made psalms and sang them. How can we not do it?

(This paragraph at Cordatus No. 1634.)

David was an excellent man, that he preached so bravely against his son the worship of his people [1 Kings 2:1 ff], and yet he could not resist, by force he could not exterminate the sacrificers, the false teachers 2c. and since he could do nothing else, he sang a little song to our Lord God in the Psalms.

Doctor Martin Luther said: All tragedies apud Graecos are nothing compared to the history of David. 1) How great a thing it is!

1) Cf. §19 of this chapter.

that his own son slept with all his wives, 2 Sam. 16, 22, so that he had to be an undying widower for the rest of his life. After that our Lord God gave him another wife when he was old. How much of an outrage it will have been among the Gentiles, 1) that among God's people this should happen to a father from his son! It is a wonder that the other brothers, who were the children of other women, allowed it.

(The following at Cordatus No. 1408.)

Many kömge of the Jews, of whose life it is apparently written that it was godless, I believe, have become blessed through faith in the promise, and because great estates cannot keep themselves free from great sins and necessarily often lack. And therefore this is a kind word: He fell asleep with his fathers; they have all gone to heaven. The word "fell asleep" has a good meaning in Scripture, but those who are written as having been killed by their enemies or consumed by wild animals and birds are condemned.

#### **Why David did not build the temple.**

Doctor Martin Luther was asked why David did not have to build the temple, since God had told him to do so beforehand. M. Luther answered and said: "That is why he shed much blood and wielded the sword: not that he did wrong in this, but that he could not be Christ's figure or type, who should have a peaceful kingdom without sword and bloodshed; but Solomon had to do it, who is called in German Friederich, or peaceable, who had a peaceful and quiet kingdom, through which Christ's kingdom was signified.

#### **4. Judas Maccabaeus.**

Now in our time it is just like in the time of Jude Maccabee, who protected and defended his people, and nevertheless was able to defeat the enemies.

not subdue nor suppress those who held the regiment at that time; and his own people did him the greatest harm. I think he often desired to die, in so great disloyalty and ingratitude; for these two pieces make one weary.

D. M. Luther spoke of the legends of the holy patriarchs, how far and high they surpassed the holiness of all the saints, for they went about in simple obedience to God, in the works of their profession, doing what came before their hands, according to God's command without distinction; therefore Sarah, Abraham's wife, also surpassed all other wives.

Psalms were read over the table in the evening: "Lord, help your people" 2c., Ps. 28, 9. item Ps. 68, 21: "We have a God who helps, and the Lord Lord who saves from death" 2c. Then someone asked D. M. Luthern: How could it be that David, who was set and ordained king by God, had so many troubles and plagues, as his psalms indicate, which are songs of lamentation and mourning, that he did not have many good days? M. Luther answered and said: He has been so plagued by the godless and false teachers. He has seen that the people have set themselves against him and have suffered much upheaval and indignation; this has taught him to pray. Apart from the temptation, he was reckless and safe, as seen in the adultery and death of Uriah.

Oh, dear Lord God, that you would let such great people fall! This David had six wives, no doubt wise and understanding, like the wise Abigail: if they were all so, David had excellent wives. Over and above these he had ten concubines; nor did he become an adulterer.

We would gladly reign: if then we come into the reign, it is toil and trouble: then help our Lord God, who began the play, that [it] may go forth well.

#### **5. from Esau and Ishmael.**

Doctor M. Luther said: That the repudiation and rejection would have been only temporal. For the hatred against Jacob, his brother,

1) Cf. § 24 of this chapter, last paragraph.



would not last forever, but only for a time. And I believe that Ishmael and Esau were saved, because many of them accepted the word of God. They did not sin as much as Israel and the Jews who crucified Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

#### 6. from Job.

(Cordatus No. 481 and 1047.)

Job had very great temptations from his friends, who laid it hard for him, therefore this is also said in the text, which soon appears in the fourth chapter. But then his friends roared most against him when he said that he knew he was not an adulterer, murderer 2c.; but at last he overcame them with silence, as if he wanted to say: lick me in the mire.

Job is an example of God's mercy and shows that a man, be he holy, can finally fall into the most severe temptation, but that the saint is not abandoned, but is the Lord sitting", and it is probable. For he held up to redeemed by God's mercy. But I believe that he lived him the passage [Ex. 33:20]: "No man shall live who in the time of Solomon, and I believe that his book is sees me," and they could not stand anyone who said a history; therefore I do not believe that everything that he had seen or done greater things than Moses. that is written happened in order. I also believe that it [the Book of Job] is put in this order by a good teacher and in conversational form. But there were many wise and holy men under Solomon who delighted in writing such books.

#### 7. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob find been poor, afflicted people.

(Cordatus No. 1565.)

Abraham's enemies were richer than he, as can be such a heavy thing, as if to say: That St. Velten. 1) seen from the clogging of the wells, and Isaac was the come to you! Therefore they also said [2 Kings 18:17], most miserable of all. Like his father, he was accused "Thou art he that confoundeth Israel." Before that he of being a stranger. That was a belief, and I wonder often threatened them, but at last he did it, and at the how they could have grasped it; they had to suffer same time he suffered want and hunger with them. much mischievousness. And I believe that those people deserved not their sin against God, but against Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, that he had them driven out of the country, chased away and strangled.

#### 8. revelation of the holy prophets.

(Cordatus No. 598.)

To those who ask me about the revelation of the prophets and their boasting. 1) That they always said, "This is the word of the Lord; did God speak to them personally?" I answer, "They had the most holy and spiritual and certain word of God, therefore God, while they were thinking about it, spoke in their conscience the most certain things, and this certainty they considered to be a truly divine revelation, as it was, which the following fulfillment proved.

#### 9. from Esaia, why he is killed.

(Cordatus No. 1343.)

In the writings of the Jews one reads that Isaiah was killed by Ahab because he said [Is. 6, 1.]: "I saw temptation, but that the saint is not abandoned, but is the Lord sitting", and it is probable. For he held up to redeemed by God's mercy. But I believe that he lived him the passage [Ex. 33:20]: "No man shall live who in the time of Solomon, and I believe that his book is sees me," and they could not stand anyone who said a history; therefore I do not believe that everything that he had seen or done greater things than Moses.

#### 10. from Elijah.

(Cordatus No. 1499.)

The story is terrible that Elijah, such a great man, requested so many years of drought; he must have been truly angry when he saw that the pious and the preachers were killed. Therefore, when he saw that they were not converted by any preaching, he requested

#### 11. from the prophet Jonah.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 16, 1538, p. 11.)

Christ is called the sign of the prophet Jonah. The sign is the gerin-

1) Instead of glorificatio it is better to read gloriatio.

2) St. Valentine was called as a helper against falling sickness. Sometimes this name also stands for the falling sickness itself. (Wrampelmeyer.)

righteous and a shadow of the thing depicted. So Jonah was greater than Christ because he was the thing pictured by the sign. This argument is triggered by grammar because it is a Hebraism. For sign [signum] is taken in twofold sense, active and passive. Here the word sign is taken passive, i.e.: it is signified. Luther exalted the glory of the prophet Jonah, who alone converted a whole kingdom, and said, "Therefore he is rightly a sign of Christ, who reigns in weakness. It is probably annoying that Christ should only commemorate this history with three words. (Matth. 12, 39.) But so does Moses, who goes over the creation, the history of Abraham and great mysteries in so few words: but of the tabernacle, of the sacrifices and entrails, of the fat on the kidneys, of the filth, he spends much time, because he sees that the world values those outward things, but forgets the spiritual mysteries. But this history of Jonah is so great that it is almost unbelievable and seems more inconsistent than any fable of the poets. If it were not in the Bible, I would laugh it off as a lie. For if one wants to think about it, how he was in the big belly of the whale for three days, since he should have been digested in three hours and become flesh and blood of the whale. But he died a hundred times under the earth, in the sea, through the whale: doesn't that mean living in the midst of death? so that the miracle of the red sea is nothing compared to this miracle. It also happens foolishly. After that, when he was freed, he began to be angry and to complain about a very small thing, about a blade of grass. It is a great mystery. I am ashamed of my interpretation, that I have touched the subject [*statum*] 1) of this miracle so weakly.

#### The prophets' sharp sermons against hypocrisy and idolatry.

The harsh, sharp words on which the prophets speak are to the blood. For when the prophets say, Jerusalem shall be desolate

1) I.e. what it is about this miracle.

This preaching was even heretical to the Jews, they could not stand the Jews. So I say to D. Luther that the Roman church will fall and perish; this is not to be believed nor suffered, for it is impossible to believe: for it is written in the article: I believe a holy Christian church. So many kings have perished in the land of Judaea before Jerusalem, as Sennaherib 2c. And when Jeremiah saith, Jerusalem shall be destroyed: if I had heard this of him, I would have cut off his head myself. Nevertheless the Holy Spirit spoke it through Jeremiah, and it was done and came to pass.

If the pope could have brought up only one argument against me, as the Jews had against Jeremiah and other prophets, I could not have remained. The pope argues and disputes against me not from and out of the right, but with the deed and the sword. He does not need described rights, but the law of the fist. If I did not have an argument against the pope, because de facto, from the work, then I wanted to hang myself tomorrow. But Jus, the right, is my Disputatiön.

#### The word of the prophet is important.

(Cordatus No. 1488.)

The prophets have spoken the weightiest things with small and little words. They reach in with sharpness and when they say [Ps. 2, 10.]: "So now let yourselves be wise, you kings", he [David] does not speak with shooters [ABC students], nor with drunkards, but with the most powerful, wisest 2c. But the world does not consider these words and believes that they have passed away, only spoken to Herod, Pilate, Caiphas, but now they are powerless, 'therefore they surely go hunting, or snoring also.

#### 14 Knowing false prophets.

The saying Deut. 18, 15. about the new prophet, whom God promised to raise up from among their brethren: the same is actually to be understood of Christ JEsu, Son of God and Mary. For no prophet has been like Most. Now Moses died, and his grave is nowhere to be found. And in the same

In the first chapter, the proud, presumptuous, hopeful prophets are confuted, condemned and denounced, whereby they are to be recognized. But Christ is the prophet to be heard, who also disgraces the Antichrist and all heretics with the spirit of his mouth, and fights against the great dragon 2c.

False prophets are very harmful, because the word "their", where Christ says Matth. 7, 20: "By their fruits you shall know them", has a great emphasis, has much behind it, on which one must pay good attention. For as they are regarded as pious, devout, sincere and decent, conscientious, peace-loving and sensible people, and are held in high esteem by everyone, such virtues are the fruits of the people, not of the prophets, whose teachings are to be regarded first, not only their lives.

#### 15. history of the prophet Jonah.

Righteous, pious Christians are like Jonah, who was thrown into the sea, even into hell, saw the great fish open its mouth, and lay in its dark belly for three days without decay. Just think how he must have felt.

This story is supposed to be our greatest comfort and a sign of the resurrection of the dead, but it is very false: I would not believe it myself if it were not written in the Holy Scriptures. Thus God is wont to humble his own. But he became much worse after that, wanted to master God, became a great death-slayer and murderer, who wanted to destroy such a large city, in which there were so many people. This is a saint to me.

#### It is difficult to interpret the prophets.

(Cordatus No. 487.)

The translation of the prophets will become the best after the Hebrew, and has also become truly sour to us, we come once of it, want to leave it well.

#### 17. why David took Bathsheba as his wife.

One said, David did not repudiate Bathsheba, Uriah's wife, but married her.

Therefore he did not repent properly. Then said D. M. Luther said, "I mean, he has repented, how could we bear it? But that he kept her for marriage, that he had to do, forced by the law, why did he disgrace her? Therefore, he had to help her regain her honor, and God pleased him with such a marriage. However, he let the first son, begotten in adultery, die soon, as a punishment because of the anger.

#### 18. from Abraham's legend.

From the time of the apostles on, no one understood Abraham's legend correctly; indeed, the apostles did not praise Abraham's faith and mark it out according to its dignity and greatness, as it would have been worth, and I am surprised that Moses remembers it so badly.

#### 19. from Job and David.

Job loses ten children at once, and all his cattle are punished in body and goods; yet it is nothing compared to David, who goes far beyond, who has the promise that cannot fail nor be deceived, namely, you shall be king, but God well salts his kingdom away. Above David there is not a more wretched man. There is nothing at all with the Greek comedies and histories. 1)

#### 20. from Adam.

It was asked whether Adam had also begotten more children than three, who are remembered in the Bible. Luther answered: "Yes, of course; but that Seth is soon remembered is because of the line of the Lord Christ, for Christ was born from the same line. He, Adam, will undoubtedly have had many sons and daughters. I think that they must have had about two hundred children. For Adam became very old, nine hundred and thirty years; Cain will have been born some thirty years after the fall, since they were comforted again. For I hold entirely that they were often comforted by angels, otherwise it would not have been possible for them to sleep with each other; for the fright and

1) Cf. § 2 of this Cap.

The sorrow has been too great for them. After thirty years at least, they began to have children.

Eve will surpass all women in sorrow and misery at the Last Judgment, for no more wretched, sorrowful woman was ever born than she. Therefore let the women with their misery be silent before Eve; she has seen that we must all die because of her. When Cain came to do it, she hoped he would be the right seed; he would do it, but he beat Abel, his brother, to death, and was cursed. This is a case.

Then said one, Some would have Cain conceived before the promise of the seed that should bruise the serpent's head. But Martinus said, "Certainly not. I do not think that it lasted half a day, that the promise came to pass after the fall; for the hour about noon they went into the garden to eat: then they longed for the apple, and the fall came to pass about two o'clock.

#### 21. from Jacob.

I think that Jacob must have been a miserable man. I would like to make Laban out of the rich man in the Gospel of Luke, and Lazaro out of Jacob, if I could. For Jacob is Lazarus, who lies in front of the door; the rich meager food, who lives in pleasure, is Laban. And D. Pommer said, I like Rachel to sit on the idols with her buttocks, and to throw them into the mouth, to the father's displeasure.

#### 22. from Hagar, Abraham's Kewsweibe.

One of them said: Abraham has rejected Hagar, his concubine, with his son Ishmael exactly with a very small veneration, gives her only a bottle full of wine. M. Luther said: Yes, it is true, but she might come back for more. It is only a sign of good will, not of the inheritance; she should know that she would not have to claim anything from the inheritance, but what would be given to her would be out of good will, not out of obligation nor by right.

The text Gen 25:9 says: Isaac and Ishmael buried Abraham. Therefore, it appears that Ishmael was not always with his father, and was raised and nourished out of the kindness of his father. It is because of this that he wants to lead Christ through the line, therefore Ishmael is set apart, like Esau, Solomon.

#### 23. David a rhetor.

No Cicero, Virgilius, Demosthenes has been such a rhetor and eloquent as David: as is seen in the 119th Psalm, where he gives one opinion in two and twenty ways, and yet is only one sentence and sense, only that the words are changed. Therefore, he had a great gift, was highly graced by God. Therefore, I also think that God made him do such a terrible thing, so that he would not become too proud.

Moses and David are also the highest two prophets. What Isaiah has, he takes from David, and the other prophets also. We are all poor disciples compared to them; we may have a spirit, but the gifts are nowhere as great.

Item: When the 119th Psalm was read by 22 little laws or silences, D. M. Luther said: "Who can show me a Latin or Greek historian or speaker who is as rich in words as David? M. Luther: "Who can tell me about a Latin or Greek historian or orator who is as rich in words as David? He has a psalm of 22 verses, in each of which § verses are made, and yet is only of one opinion in all of them; namely, he wants to say, your law and word, Lord, is good. But he is so rich in words that he always repeats and repeats.

In sum, nothing is lacking in the Holy Scriptures except that they do not bear money; but God intended it so that one should not handle it and become rich.

Item: David was able to strike out a thing with words, if he wanted, as one sees in the 119th Psalm. He could also be short and summarize the whole religion and doctrine in one psalm, as in the 110th psalm.

#### 24. David's suffering.

David had to suffer much, none of us could have endured such things. For him not

Only the concubines have been defiled, but also all the wives, and, what is great, in a holy place. It is a great thing that it should happen to such a holy man. Certainly no thing on earth has hurt him as much as this. If God has so afflicted anyone except His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, I am amazed.

Jehoshaphat and Ezekiel had more fortune and more glorious victory than David, who waged war with his great danger and difficulty.

David's Historia is the most wonderful, a real tragedy, although it finally becomes a comedy. The anger of the pagans must have hurt him cruelly, that the pagans were angry with him, 1) because they saw that his own son had brought down his mother. This has made him so cold and taken away all his strength. I do not hope that all his wives were still alive, because the Scripture says nothing about it. If they are still alive, it is a great thing.

#### 25. from Simei penalty.

The question was asked, "Was David right in commanding Solomon his son to punish Shimei, who had cursed him and thrown dirt at him in his flight from Absalom? M. Luther said, "Yes, he did right, for the office of the authorities is to punish the wicked and guilty offenders. One of them said, "Didn't David swear to him before that he would not harm him? Answer: Yes, because he was still alive.

David had to see a lot through his fingers in such a whimsical, turbulent, evil regiment, as it was all mixed up, that one almost did not know who was cook or waiter, as they say; but after that, now that there was peace in Solomon's time, he punished him through Solomon.

One must see many things in the regiment at turbulent times, when it is going through each other so strangely, that one must not do when it is quiet and peaceful, as one also speaks in German: One must always give the devil two lights.

1) Cf. § 2 of this Cap.

The evil must be punished in the end, since only one thing can be put out of God's sight. For David says: Maledixit mihi maledictionem malam: the knave has cursed me evil.

#### 26. from Ezekia.

Ezekiel was a very pious king, full of faith, but he fell. For God does not like it that one trusts in his work. No one must go to heaven; he must have forgiveness of sins. .

#### 27. from Elisão.

Elisaeus, when he had the forty boys torn apart by two bears, because they called him bald: in this he was justified, for they mocked not him, but his God. As this also is a mockery of Elijah, whereof it is written, Thou man of God: therefore came fire and consumed them. 2 Kings 1:10 ff.

#### 28. from David.

There are many strange things in the books of kings. To the mind and to the eyes of the flesh, they seem to be bad, simple books, but in the spirit they are great. Dear David suffered much. Saul tormented him for ten whole years. But he believed that the kingdom was his, and he remained steadfast in it. I would have thrown myself into the breach 2) and run away, saying: "Lord, you deny that I am the king and that I will be martyred. It will also have confirmed and strengthened Saul very much that he had such great luck and that it went according to his will. But David is like a wall, a pious man, and will not lay his hand upon the king, and might well have done so: for he had the word, and when they had the word, they smote him.

This was followed by Muenzer. He saw that David, Moses, Abraham and others struck. Yes, it is another thing, the work, than the person. The first is the word, which makes the person: the person makes and judges.

2) d. i. Pants.

the work; that's what he was about. O it is a great thing, because the person has the word, on which he does everything.

Then said one, David loved Jonathan; he must have been a godly man? Answer: Yes, he was a godly man, and not without faith. He saw that the kingdom was David's, and that it was David's; therefore he besought him, and would not cut him off, nor his own. Jonathan also did signs, when he went over the mountain with his armor-bearer, and smote many Philistines by himself; for he

said to himself: "The Lord who overcomes with many can also overcome through me alone", 1 Sam. 14, 6.

Then M. Antonius Lauterbach said: "He nevertheless perished miserably. Yes, said D. M. Luther, so often the pious in the church must pay for evil, yet the Son of God was not spared. But I am surprised at David's history, how he could be so cruel that he ordered the rest of Saul's tribe to be exterminated.

## Chapter 61.

### Of the apostles or disciples of Christ.

1. of the fear of the disciples.

2 Why the pope does not praise St. Paul more than St. Peter. Man does not understand spiritual things from his natural powers.

4. who made the child faith.

5. from St. John's epistles and canonicals.

The apostles' miraculous signs were necessary.

The apostles were also sinners.

8. from Johanne the Evangelist.

9. God is recognized a posteriori.

10. of blindness in the papacy.

#### 1. of the fear of the disciples.

(Cordatus No. 743. 744.)

The apostles were afraid after the resurrection, since the Jews at that time did not intend anything evil against them. But when they had seen what had happened to their Lord, they feared that it would also happen to them; and they were afraid when he entered through the closed doors, because they hardly believed that he had risen from the dead, as they said [Luc. 24:21], "We hoped that he would redeem Israel," as if it was now over.

"Until ye be clothed with power from on high" [Luc. 24:49], that is, do not hasten to preach. First I will put on your armor, and it shall hold all your shots.

#### 2 Why the pope does not praise St. Paul more than St. Peter.

It was asked: Why the papists did not praise more St. Paul, who was more certain to Rome than St. Peter? M. Luther answered: "St. Paul".

has the sword, St. Peter has the keys. They were more interested in keys, to lock the boxes, to mice, and to sweep the bags, than in the sword. It is a fable that Caiphaz, Pilate, St. Peter should have come to Rome before the emperor, for the histories do not agree in this; one says this, the other that. And I am also moved by this, that Christ died under the emperor Tiberio, who reigned five years after Christ. But all histories unanimously testify that Peter and Paul died under the emperor Nerone, who reigned five and thirty years after Christ's death: but Peter reigned eighteen years after Christ's death in Jerusalem; as the epistle to the Galatians testifies: after that seven years in Antioch. And it is commonly rumored and said that he reigned in Rome five and twenty years after that.

In all the coronations of the pope some boys go before, with lighted tow, 1) the

throw them up and shout: Pater sancte, sic transit gloria Mundi, memento quod ad annos Petri non pervenies: that is: Holy Father, so the world's honor and splendor pass away, remember that you will not reach St. Peter's years 2c. For no pope has reigned five and twenty years. If one adds it up, Peter should not have been crucified under Nero, because he lacks fifteen years. Summa, the calculation in histories does not agree. St. Lucas writes that St. Paul was free in Rome for a whole year and walked around, but does not remember St. Peter at all. It is dangerous to believe.

#### **Man does not understand spiritual things from his natural powers.**

(Lauterbach, March 3, 1538, p. 45.)

Afterwards Philip said about the weakness of the human nature, which is so unlearned that it cannot understand in the least what is spiritual [i.e. God of the Holy Spirit]. For even the apostles in today's Gospel understand nothing of the cross of Christ, yes, they bear suffering and want to keep Him from it, as Peter does Matth. 16, [22.] I am silent about it, that they themselves should desire to suffer. Luther said: They have well known the prophets, psalms, but as the pope understands the Scriptures. For the Jewish conception of the outward kingdom of Christ was so deep in their hearts that they could not think of the cross, although the kingdom of the Jews was so deeply degraded before the reign of the Persians. For Cyrus restored it to some extent. But from that very presumptuous hope the Jews could not desist. They could not forget the prerogatives, hold hard about it. Oh, that we could hold fast to the true gospel, for the gospel is very glorious and the declaration of all the prophets.

#### **4. who made the child faith.**

I believe, said D. M. Luther, that the words of our Christian faith are thus arranged by the apostles, who have been with each other and have made this fine symbolism so short and comforting. It is a work of the Holy Spirit to make such a great thing so short and simple with powerful and important words.

describe it. Without the apostles and the Holy Spirit, no one would have been able to grasp it and make it, even if ten thousand worlds had made it. I D. M. Luther cannot astonish me enough, therefore one should consider the words in it well.

When M. Luther saw the images of the apostles, as they lay and stood painted, 1) he said: Dear Lord God, how uncertain are the legends of the dear holy apostles, and not described.

#### **5. from St. John's epistles and canonicals. 2)**

(Cordatus No. 294.)

When John had made every effort to write his gospel in such a way that he expressed the essence of the gospel most correctly and appropriately, that is, that Jesus was the Christ, he was finally forced, while he was still alive, to reverse his language, as it were, and instead of the salvation that is in Christ, to write in his epistle for the works. The devil rages against the gospel to such an extent that the people who have the most spiritual things are not able to understand it. The devil is so furious against the gospel that people who hear the most spiritual things abuse them in the most carnal way.

#### **The apostles' miraculous signs were necessary.**

As long as Jupiter, Diana and other idolatries and abominable idolatries of the heathen reigned, it was necessary for Christ and the apostles to perform bodily miraculous signs to confirm the doctrine of faith in Christ, and to destroy and cast down all other doctrines and idolatrous worship, and such bodily miraculous signs were to last and take place only until the gospel and baptism were confirmed. But the spiritual miracles and wonders, which Christ considers to be righteous miraculous signs, remain forever, until the end of the world; how is it that the centurion can have such great faith in Christ, who at that time was not present with his sick servant.

John the Baptist, said D. M. Luther,

1) So Stangwald instead of "stürben".

2) Stangwald, as can be seen from the content of this section, has the more correct title "Von St. Johannis Evangelio und Episteln". Canonica means the first epistle of St. John.

had a great spirit, strength and courage, who opened his mouth with earnestness against the most holy people of the Jews; for then he attacked the swarming rightly, when he said to them Matth. 3, 9: "Only do not think that you will say among yourselves, 'We have Abraham as our father'" 2c. This, verily, is highly sought after.

#### The apostles were also sinners.

(Contained in Cap. 26, § 30.)

#### 8 John the Evangelist. (Contained in Cap. 37, § 112.)

#### 9. God is recognized a posteriori.

God is miraculous, and miraculously He is also recognized by His own, as St. Paul also says in 1 Cor. 1, 21: Quia Dei Sapientiam mundus non cognovit per Sapientiam, placuit Deo per stultitiam- salvos facere credentes. The world does not want to recognize God ex creatione et misericordia, so he has revealed himself in infirmitate filii crucifixii, so that it may be angry with him to death. And it happened right to her. Because she does not want to see God face to face, in glory, she must recognize him in ignorance and look at his back. Just as it happened to King Solomon with Marcolfo. It also happened to Mosiah, Exodus 33:19 ff, who was in a cave or a rocky cliff and saw God's back: when his glory with thunder and lightning and great wind and weather was over, he saw God's backside, for he could not see his face. So we must still recognize our Lord God a posteriori, and cling to Christ, and not fall away from Him through anger and impatience.

#### 10. of blindness in the papacy.

When our Lord God's word is lost, then comes terrible blindness and darkness, that one must also worship the devil's filth for sanctity: for the devil is so wicked about us that he would gladly give us his filth to eat, if he could; as can be seen in the Vitis Patrum, in the story of Simeon on the pillar, all of which we have believed, as one has only heard it preached.

(Here a paragraph is omitted, because the same narration is already found in another relation Cap: 26, § 52. - Similarly, it is in the interpretation of the 7th cap. of the first letter to the Corinthians. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, § 60.)

Item: D. Luther told a story that when he came from Rome in 1511 and passed through Augsburg, there was a whore there, called the Virgin Ursel, who had pretended that she did not eat, drink, or do other natural necessities of life: and this whore denied the Emperor Maximilian and all the princes of the empire that they believed that the Virgin Ursel neither ate nor drank anything. And D. Luther said: He had seen her himself, and a chaplain had led him to her. He had also discussed it with her, and said: "Dear Ursel, you would like to be dead just as much, and you would like to ask our Lord God to let you die. Oh no, she said, here I know how it is, there I do not know how it is. Such a thing had greatly offended Luther; that is why he said to her: "Ursel, just see that it is done right. Oh, she said, God keep me; and she took me and the chaplain, and led us up into her chamber, where she had her devotions. There she had two altars, and on them two crucifixes, which were made with resin and blood, in wounds, hands and feet, as if blood were flowing out. But with her it was all bullshit. And she received great gifts from princes and lords, so that she collected fifteen hundred guilders. At last the Duchess of Bavaria summoned her, and it was discovered that she was a fraud. It was found that she had gingerbread under her shawl, which she had eaten. So the princess prayed for her, otherwise she would have been in trouble. After that, she attached herself to a young journeyman and went out to the gate with the money.

In tanta coecitate, blasphemis and ludibriis Diaboli one has lived under the papstacy; one does not notice it yet. But learn the gospel now whoever can learn it, and hear it whoever can hear it, and stay with it whoever can stay with it, because the devil hates the gospel; and if we lose it, it will happen to us again.



## The 62nd chapter.

### Of wars.

- 1 Through treacherousness one causes much in wars.
2. from the gun.
- 3.. Unbelief and disloyalty among great lords. About the war against Milan and about the German warriors.
4. that war is God's greatest punishment.  
The war is like a golden seed.

6. rural armor.
7. against war one should ask.
8. a newspaper from Frankfurt.
9. of Julii Caesari's battles.
- What difference has been among Simson's courage and Emperor Julii.
11. Luther's and M. Phil. Mel. Conversation on the War.

#### 1. by betraying, one causes a lot of damage in wars.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1256.)

There is no city so strong that it cannot be conquered. If only such a large way is open to it that a donkey can carry gold there. 1) Then it is won. Treachery overcomes all cities. This art is best understood by the French.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, Jan. 5, 1538, p. 3.)

On January 5, news came from Austria of a defeat by the Turks and the most shameful escape of our army, which is thrown only by the troops and skirmishers, by the roving lost piles, which is truly very shameful to the great harm that the German warriors are beaten by servants and troops and have lost 26 guns, and almost 800 people have been taken prisoner to Constantinople. Luther said: "It is not right. It is a punishment of sin. Ferdinand is very unhappy. After that he said about the happiness of Maximilian, who, although poor, nevertheless led his army happily. Once, when he had advanced with a small army before Venice, Bartholomew de Signor, 2) the commander, went to him.

1) This saying is attributed by Cicero (spist. sä/tti6uni I, 16, § 12) to King Philip of Macedonia. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) Cordatus No. 882 has, certainly more correctly, "Signor Bartholomew". The relation of Cordatus we share with Cap. 75, § 2. The Aurifaber's Table Talks call him Mr. Bartholeme de Schabato. Rebenstock II, 190: LartUoIomaues ä" LakdatUo.

the Venetian, with marvelous boldness and a mighty army, surrounded him in a valley, and sent everywhere that the people should come to the spectacle that he slaughtered the German swine. He wanted to slaughter them, even if God did not want it. But the enclosed army of Maximilian formed a square and since by chance a powder keg was broken, they diligently scattered the powder on the way. After that, the Venetians followed with the army, and since the powder was lit, they broke up; [it] broke up the order, pushed the servants up. In the extreme hardships, Maximilian was lucky; Ferdinand would not like to have that. After that, he said a lot about the Persians and Croats, who had often beaten the Turks. We Germans are too drunk and too sure. The Turkish empire has grown high in thirty years. I hope it will fall in a hurry by the last day; for God cannot bear such bloodshed of His Christians for a long time, because that tyrant slaughters the wretched Christians without any pity and [human] emotion. After that, that messenger assured that Catianus was captured and that he had confessed that he had been bribed by the Turk with four thousand florins. Luther said: "This is how it is. He fights with weapons, with money, with cunning; we snore safely and have unfaithful leaders of the army. For that Catianus is said to be a baptized Jew and to have fled from Spain, overloaded with debts, [that is, as such,] whom they call bankrupt, who is broken through the bank, who is an out-

1) has been a tornado. Such people must be entrusted with such a large war enterprise.

(This paragraph Cordatus No. 883.)

If Hannibal had had his own historian, he would have undoubtedly left behind the name of the greatest general. He has quite zzaust [torn] the Romans, because he drove them out of Africa, Sicily, Gaul, Spain and almost out of Italy.

(The following at Cordatus No. 1606.)

One of the soldiers whom the Margrave had gathered against the Turk came to Luther and said that there was a secret rumor that the gathered soldiers would eventually have to fight against the Duke of Saxony. If this were true, what should he do? He answered: "If you go forward against the Turk, strike because you are mercenaries. But if someone should lead you against the word, you know how to keep yourselves well, so that you do not do something against conscience.

### 2nd gun.

Guns and the gun is a cruel, harmful instrument, shatters walls and rocks, and leads people into the air. I believe that it is the devil's own work in hell who invented it, as he cannot fight otherwise with bodily weapons and fists. Against guns no strength nor manhood helps, they bring death, 2) before one sees them. If Adam had seen the instrument his children had made, he would have died of sorrow.

### 3. unbelief and infidelity among great lords, and of the war against Milan, and of the German warrior nation.

Maximilianus and King Louis of France had made an alliance with each other,

1) In the original: [Dicitur] "fugisse ex Hispania aere alieno obrutus, quem ipsi vocant Bancrot, qui per Bancum rupit. Der eißern ist worden." There is a mistake in the last words. Perhaps it should be read, "der reitzern ist worden," that is, a runaway because of debt. These words would then be the translation of: hui per Laueniu ruxit.

2) Here we have allowed ourselves an alteration. In Aurifaber: he is dead before he is seen. Likewise Stangwald.

into which they would have liked to have the pope as well. When he agreed to it and, to confirm it, had taken the sacrament in three parts, each a part, the pope broke the alliance and joined the Venetians. When the emperor heard this, he is said to have said: We three, who want to be the heads of Christendom, are the greatest, most desperate, most perjured evil-doers under the sun, being unfaithful not only one to the other, but also to God. But the Pope was defeated, overcome and humiliated by the French before Ravenna on Easter Day. He then secretly sent Cardinal Matthiam Lange, who was now Bishop of Salzburg, to the Emperor, who united them again against the French. Thus the French lost Milan to the Swiss. Around this bride, Milan, which gives annually over ten hundred thousand florins, has now risen above human memory great bloodshed, to this day; for she is very rich and a key in Italy, which city the King of France desired from Emperor Carl again, promising to give him annually a tribute and summa money. But the Emperor wanted to restore and deliver it to his middle son, not to the Dauphin, the eldest, nor even to the youngest, but so that it should not be hereditary; hence came the war.

And since the Frenchman had only Germans with him, he kept the victory and the field; for Germany gives the best and most loyal men of war, who are content with their pay, and protect the people: are not like Spaniards, who take away property, wife and children, with great infidelity and fornication. They want to be landlords in the house, also have the keys at their side, sweep the boxes; item: use wife and daughters to their will. That is why you do not want anyone to be your guardian. Therefore Antoni de Leva, a Spaniard by birth and one of the emperor's most distinguished and most fortunate captains, admonished the emperor at his last end that he wanted to keep the German warriors dear to him and see to it that he did not lose their favor and good will; if he lost them, it would be all over with him, for they held as one man.

#### 4. that war is God's greatest punishment.

They (the papists) truly have it in mind against poor Germany. I do not believe that our descendants will have peace. God graciously turn his wrath away from us, for war is one of the greatest punishments, as it destroys and takes away religion, worldly and domestic rule. Everything lies in ruins. Theurge and pestilence are like the tails of foxes, not to be compared with war, especially pestilence is the most merciful and lenient punishment. Therefore David chose pestilence among the three punishments, preferring to fall into God's hands rather than into the hands of man, who would be merciful.

#### 5. war a güldener Hamen.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 3, 1538, p. 23.)

Wars are a golden opportunity; you don't gain much from them. And the landgrave, a soldier and warlike man, said to me today, modestly and very God-fearing: I have won twice, I don't want to win more easily. We do not want, if God wills, to start on our side; if they will start, God will help us. This word of the prince comforted me very much.

#### 6. rural armor.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 17, 1538, p. 31.)

After that he said about the weapons of each nation. The Romans would have used throwing spears, the Gauls curved lances. Virgil calls the weapons of the Germans *categios* [catejas, Aen. VII, 741], are perhaps the halberds. Every monarchy has its special weapons, as today the Turks fight with bows and sabers.

#### 7. against war one should ask.

In 1539, Luther spoke of the great punishment, misery and misfortune that would exist because of the great security, ingratitude and wickedness of the present corrupt world and time. It is a mischievous theurge, which comes from the usurers' loud avarice, and yet they do not want to have the name. Let us only pray quickly against war, so that everything is not devastated and ruined, because

there is a great weather present. May God have mercy on us.

That same year, when the princes were together at Frankfurt, D. Luther said: "There is no peace to be hoped for, because the papists rage and rage so: they are far superior to us in wealth, quantity and force. But it is not good to war against God, for he has the privilege and the advantage of being able to strike a great multitude by a few, and to make them fearful and despondent; as many examples in the Holy Scriptures testify. Oh, that we were not so wicked! We have, praise God, a good and just cause; but, alas, we are ungrateful and wicked, that God will have to visit and punish the pious with the wicked.

#### 8th Newspaper of Frankfurt.

On April 10 of the 1539th year, letters arrived from Frankfurt to M. Luther that the state of peace was in great doubt, because the adversaries were cunningly and deceitfully using very unfair and even unrighteous, unchristian means, as if they were mocking ours. Thus the emperor's legate would have subordinated himself much differently and more and would have tried with advertising in the action than he had commanded; our people, however, would have been of good cheer, and would have waited for peace or war. Then said D. M. Luther said: "These letters must be read dialectically, not grammatically, much differently than the words read, because they obscure the consequence and the consequence. There is no hope of peace with the adversaries, because the Pope exalts himself above God and the Holy Scriptures, boasting that they have their authority and power from him. As if he wanted to say: I am much more. Thus H. v. B. is in the presumptuous delusion and hope that he thinks to inherit H[erzog] G[eorg] zu Sachsen, for he is said to have said these words: If only my skin were still whole, then I would wear the diamond wreath. These words indicate enough what he has in mind.

#### July 9 Caesari's battles.

Julius Caesar had 52 battles in which he himself had been. Eleven times a hundred thousand men perished in them.

**What difference has been among Simson's courage and Emperor Julii. 1)**

Doct. Martin Luther was asked: What difference would there be between Samson, who had great strength, and this from the spirit, and Julii Caesaris, or another great, strong man, both in body and courage? Then he said, "Samson's spirit was the Holy Spirit who sanctified him, for he brings with him movement and work, who are obedient to God and serve him. But the spirit in the Gentiles may also be called divine movement and work, as which God gives and does. It is not a movement that makes holy. I often wonder at the example of Samson. There must have been a strong forgiveness of sins with him. Human power and strength could not have done what he did.

**11 Conversation between D. M. Luther and Phil. Melanchthon about the war.**

Anno 1542, April 11, M. Johannes Mathesius, now pastor in Joachimsthal, gave his valet at Wittenberg in D. Caspar Creuziger's house, where all Professores Theologiæ and other gentlemen from the university were guests. There Dominus Phil. Melanchthon said over the table: "There is bad weather and damp air. M. Luther answered: Yes, because now winter and summer are separated. Then said Phil. Melanchthon said: "But it will not be good weather for poor soldiers who are now lying in the field. M. Luther answered: "Who can help it, why did our princes watch such a game? Phil. Melanchthon: It is said that that prince has many people with each other, D. M. Luther: It is not because of having many people and delicious war armor, but because of a good cause, who has that, and a good meeting, when they come together. As the Gentiles 2) also said:

Frangit et attollit vires in milite causa, Quae nisi justa subest, excutit arma pudor.

The cause of war breaks a warrior's spirit, or makes him hearty, and

1) D. i. Oassaris.

2) kroxert. 4, 6, 51.52. (Förstemann.)

Courage; if the matter is not good, one is ashamed to defend oneself. Then M. Veit Winsheim said: "It is true, Doctor, that von B. had three men in the feud, since his opponent had hardly one; nor was he beaten. Doctor M. said: I mean, it will be a willful scuffle: they are devilish heads, who have spun the thing so long ago. Ph. Melanchthon: One would like to suppress our Lord, that is how one deals with it. D. M. Luther: The prayers of pious Christians will be of great value and effect. As David said, "But I pray." Ps. 69, 14. Let us only pray; this clamor will not be quieted and stilled by weapons nor by human wisdom and suggestions, but only by prayer. Phil. Mel.: They will have much to do when they set themselves against one another; I hear wonders say, as J. W. also indicated to me: how C. and P. are so scornful, and should also make use of calumnies and slander, that it is exceedingly so. D. M. Luther: Well, we want to leave the art speakers and clever ones together, they will probably lead the matter out, they started it without us. Doctor Brück has often told me that those on the other side have never been good to ours, that one has always been afraid of them, that they will do some harm. Phil.: But it is a great annoyance and disgrace that they have now aroused, D. M. Luther: It is true; but how can one do it? one cannot change it now. Ph.: Now it will already be known in Rome; the pope will write it to the emperor and congratulate him, rejoice over it and be happy. The King of England will also know. M.M. will say in Paris, at the court of the King of France, that the House of Saxony is falling into itself, and is corrupting itself among itself, D.M.: That is true; do you think that the devil is celebrating? he will have brought it to Rome for a long time. The papists will laugh it into their fists. Philip: Yes, it is true, they will say: Behold, these are our evangelicals, these are the good fruits of their teaching. D. M.: Of course, they will say to Rome, "What is the point? they will beat each other and destroy the doctrine itself. This must be heard; may the merciful God turn away

it. Only pray diligently, without doubt God will turn it around. I have prayed H[Archduke] G[eorg] 1) to death, we want to pray C. and P 2) to death as well, and God grant that this game may go to beginners as it went to Judah. Philip: H[Archduke] M[oritz] 3) is a young man, barely one and twenty years old. When we have had great trouble and labor in the church to preserve the teaching against the pope and the whole world, that no one may lie down against us; then a young man comes and makes a game among ourselves, so that we do not know where we are at home. Now no one will trust in the other all his life long; there will always remain in the heart disgust and resentment, D. M. Luther: It is true that even if they make a treaty, one will always envy the other, for the hearts are divided and divided; but it will not happen without great disruption of the church, D. M. Luther: It will become a disruption and quassatio of the church, but God will preserve his church well. Duke M[oritz] is a young gentleman, does not understand the matter. He thinks his advisors mean very well for him; but he will learn to understand it one day with his great harm, and then he will believe nothing more of them. Phil. Melanchthon: The noise with HM will hardly go off without bloodshed.

And I have dared, it goes to me also with it, as God wants, I am hewn or stabbed, I must command it to God (et serio dicebat). D. M. Luther: Well, my Philip, it will not come to that, just pray. Philip: Nobody persuades me, even if I perish. Then M. D. Luther was angry with him, and said: Tace, Philippe, tu habes malam vocem: Silence, Philippe, you have a bad voice. Philip: There are more glorious men perished than I may be. Was not Judas Maccabeus a glorious man, who had done much good in Israel? nor did he perish so miserably at the last; likewise Josiah. What a beautiful man you think he was, and yet he perished so shamefully and miserably. D. M. Luther: Yes, that was not publicus casus, a common case, et erat stultissimus casus, it was a foolish case. Philip: Doctor, it is true; o, how I have thought of it so often. D. M. Luther: Well, we must be accustomed to it; great men owe our Lord God a foolishness, which they must pay him honestly. No great man does a small foolishness, but thus deceives, that he obscures wisdom and prudence, as with a shadow. What did David do? He had wives enough, but he took another man's wife and became an adulterer and a murderer. That is called being foolish. Philip: Yes, doctor, he had to pay dearly enough after that, that he was a widower for almost twenty years.

1) Thus Bindseil II, 200.

2) Bindseil II, 200: "we also want to laugh Carlowitz and Pistormm to death."

3) Binding rope II, 200.

### The 63rd chapter.

## Of excellent war chiefs and heroes.

1. By Andrea de Doria.
2. from Tamerlan.
3. from the great Alexander.
4. of the great and small Tartars.
5. heroes are God's gift.
6. from King Alexander.
7. from the papist blindness.
8. from Joab.

- God sometimes gives great miracle workers.
10. not all heroes are skilled to monarchy, to rule alone.
  11. from Kunz von der Rose.
  12. of a gentleman who went to the holy land.
  13. of a great hero and warrior office.
  14. of heroes in government office.
  15. Of the Indignation at Cologne.

**1. by Andrea de Doris.**

It is said that Andreas de Doria, Emperor Carl the Fifth's chief captain, was one of those who, when surrounded by Turks everywhere, was forced by hunger and finally driven to break through the Turks' camp and army with his small band of soldiers and fled into Italy; that he then strengthened himself again and once more forced his way through the Turks' camp and came to the previous place and encamped. This must truly be a manly deed and the work of a great hero, to break through the enemy in this way.

The rumor came that our people had won against the Turks, but that two thousand men remained. M. Luther said: "Oh, dear God, the battle happened with few pious people. We Germans are too safe and drunken people. The great Tartars, who are much closer to the Turks, he leaves well satisfied, because they are men of war, skilled in robbing and plundering, and can carry their food on horses for two weeks.

**2. from Tamerlan.**

And at that time he also spoke of Tamerlan, the Tartern king, who had defeated the Turk with two hundred thousand men and captured the Turkish emperor: he put him in an iron fence, like a birdcage, and led him around everywhere as a spectacle and a mocking bird. He also met the Turk at once with twice a hundred thousand men, and captured much territory from him. When he besieged a city, he first pitched a white camp and offered them peace. The second time a red one, which meant blood. The third day a black one, which meant destruction and devastation. He was a great tyrant, boasting that he was God's burning wrath and the world's desolation.

**3. from the great Alexander.**

Such an excellent hero and warlord was also King Alexander, who lived a short time, and in twelve years he brought into his

He was a monkey, because he destroyed the regiment and the common good. Julius Caesar wanted to imitate him, but he was only a monkey, because he disrupted and destroyed the regiment and the common good. For one sword often keeps another in its sheath.

**4. large and small tare.**

The great Tarts, wild people, are subject to no one, and are a nation of their own; yet they are always in hair, and fight with the Persians and Turks, as the small Tarts fight with the Muscovites and Poles. In sum, God is the Lord and Founder of all kingdoms, principalities and regiments. He changes and gives them to whom He wills, as Daniel says; nor shall we pattern Him, master Him, and be wise. We who cannot know ourselves, much less search out God. For who can search out only his eyes, since the eyeball can grasp heaven? nor do we want to be wise, and master God.

**5. heroes of God's gifts.**

Great people and heroes are special gifts of God, which He gives and sustains, who do not conduct their business and do great deeds with vain imaginations and cold, sleepy thoughts, but are specially moved and driven by God to accomplish their course and work; as King Alexander the Persian brought the kingdom to himself, and after him Julius Caesar the Roman Empire. In the same way, the prophets, St. Paul and other great and excellent people did and accomplished their deeds by the special grace of God; as the book of Judges shows, where it is seen how God gave and took away great things with one person.

**6. from King Alexander.**

When Darius, the Persian king, offered Alexandro peace, he refused and would not accept it. Then Parmenio, his most distinguished councilor, said, "If I were Alexander, I would accept it. But Alexander said, "If I were Parmenio, I would," as if to say, "You are not the man I am.

**7. papist blindness.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 6, 1538, p. 159.)

The papists' blindness to the revealed truth comes from the fact that they think it was revealed by One Man [Luther], as if Elijah the Thisbite, this beggar, One Man, had not done great things against so many servants of Baal. Likewise, John the Baptist, One Man, in such a short time defeated the Pharisees in such a glorious victory. It is not called One Man, but a man of God. Therefore, heroes are not One Man.

**8. from Joab.**

(Contained in Cap. 44, § 6.)

**God sometimes gives great miracle workers.**

Some times bring more excellent, great, fine, skilful people. When I was a young boy, there were fine, high, understanding, excellent, magnanimous people, both skillful in counsel and action: like Emperor Maximilian in Germany; King Sigismund in Poland; King Ladislaus in Hungary; King Ferdinand, this Emperor Carl the Fifth's ancestor, in Hispania. Pious, wise and generous princes. Likewise, there were also fine pious bishops, such as the one at Würzburg, Cologne, who would undoubtedly have accepted this doctrine with a cheerful, joyful heart if they had lived at that time. For I have often heard that they condemned the Pope's superstition and nature. And the bishop of Wuerzburg had a saying when he saw a bad boy: "Ei, in ein Kloster mit dir," he said, "du bist weder GOtt noch den Menschen nutz. As if he wanted to say: In monasteries only lazy swine and belly slaves feast, who do nothing but eat and drink, fatten themselves, go idle, sleep, laze, and serve no one but themselves, like rat mice.

**10. not all heroes are skilled to monarchy, to rule alone.**

(Lauterbach, April 3, 1538, p. 52 f.)

After that Luther said of the very great virtues of the heroes, of Alexander, of Au

gustus, Hannibal and Pompey. But not all of them would have been suitable for government, but only for war. For the warriors look only at the victory, not at the empires; such people were Hannibal and Scipio. But Alexander, Julius and Augustus took the empires into consideration. The Turk with his robbery does neither. Alexander was a very great drunkard, strong in body, who, when drunk, is said to have spent three whole days and nights in very deep sleep; the following rule is usually attributed to him: When you are full, lie down, get up and drink again. In this way, one fill drives out the other. This is the rule of Alexander. And yet he marveled at the humility of these heroes, that they took such pains to listen to soothsayers and keep them with them. These were their preachers, whom they followed. But the people were unwilling that they were with the princes. Therefore, such people were considered to be a trustworthy race; they were held dear, as the courtiers now hold the preachers. Summa, one cannot do without the scribes, yes, by them one governs. Then Luther asked Philip about the passage in Revelation (17:6) which says that the Antichrist sheds the blood of the saints and the blood of the martyrs, where it mentions a twofold blood and indicates an exceedingly great tyranny, external and internal.

**11. from Kunz von der Rose.**

Kunz von der Rose, 1) said D. M. Luther, Maximiliani's servant and a cheerful amusing man, must have been a stout-hearted fellow. For it is said that when he was riding through a forest for some time and was late, he had to go to a single inn in the same forest, where the host was a rogue and a murderer, but he received the guests kindly. There he saw that a virgin inside was very angry, and he secretly asked her why she was crying so much. She said, "There are all murderers inside, so he should be aware of them and beware, she would faithfully guard him.

1) Cf. cap. 45, § 33.

because she considered him to be an honest man. She soon told him how he should behave and said: "If the innkeeper would have the lights lit and ring a little bell, the peasants would come in as guests. When the table had been laid and the dishes had been prepared, the innkeeper would go out of the room and say, "Clean yourself up, light. For if one of the peasants were to put out the light, you would be stabbed to death. Which he took to heart, as a brave and courageous man, took care of his armor; asked the maiden to give him a light in a lantern, which he secretly placed under the bench, kept his armor on and his weapons with him, as well as his servants, whom he ordered to be aware of the game and to defend themselves honestly. As he was sitting over the table waiting, one of his pawns came up at once, as if to snuff out the light, and put it out, and wanted to stab him. But he still had his armor on, ordered the lanterns with the burning light to be pulled out, and with his servants drove the peasants all at once into flight, and stabbed them: the host, however, he captured afterwards.

#### 12. of a gentleman who went to the holy land.

(This 8, which is found in Stangwald col. 224 in another, more extensive redaction, is according to his information not by Luther. Stangwald says: Extat Tom 4. declam. Witeberg. in praefatione Philippi, in sermone de tribus virtutibus.

#### 13. of a great hero and warrior office.

A good, pious, excellent warrior's will and opinion is that he would rather preserve one citizen or man who is a friend than kill a thousand enemies; as Scipio the pagan and the Romans' supreme commander said. Therefore no right

Man of war easily and without great cause instigates a war, does not like to deliver a battle, nor besiege a city.

#### 14. of heroes in government office.

If a country or a mighty city had only one wonderful and skilful man, all the counsels and decrees would go better; but where there is no one, everything goes behind, like crabs, whether there are many who govern and advise.

(Here 5 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 65, § 6.)

#### 15 The Cologne Outrage.

Cologne, said D. M. Luther, is a very large city in Germany, larger than Nuremberg, Augsburg and Florence. A few days ago, the inhabitants and citizens of Cologne caused an uproar, because they stormed the cathedral, chased out the priestly whores, and expelled more than 200 monks and nuns, and buried the sanctuary. So writes M. Spalatinus. But M. Luther said: "Oh, that is not good: such violent deeds and actions do a great harm to the Gospel, annoy many people, and provoke the tyrants. They want to fish us with their fist before the name, since Isaiah, Cap. 11, 4, and Paul, 2 Thess. 2, 8, teach and say: "I will crush him" (the Antichrist) "with the rod of my mouth", and "with the spirit of his lips he will kill him" 2c. With this one must strike the Pabstthum. The papacy cannot be destroyed nor preserved by force, for it is built on lies and stands on them: therefore such an empire must be reversed and overthrown with the word of truth. I am hostile to those who plump and storm into it by force. It is said: Preach thou, and I will give strength 2c. But we leave off preaching, and fall in by force.



## DaS 6L. Chapter. Of the counter and emergency defense.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. whether to resist the emperor.</li> <li>2. short list and summary of the concept of D. M. Luther from the warning to the Germans of the emergency defense.</li> <li>3. from the deceitfulness of D. Luthern.</li> <li>4. final speeches of the emergency defense.</li> <li>6. another argument from the emergency defense.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. D. Luther's brief concept on the warning.</li> <li>7. whether to take revenge as well.</li> <li>8. from the saying Matth. 5, 38.: Aug um Aug. 2c.</li> <li>9. the emergency defense.</li> <li>(10) Whether to put to death a tyrant who acts contrary to justice and equity according to his pleasure.</li> <li>11. D. Luther's concerns about the emergency defense to D. W. Link.</li> </ol> |
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### 1. whether to resist the emperor.

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, April 3, Evening, p. 54.)

The question was raised: Whether it would be permissible to defend ourselves if the emperor took up arms against us? He answered: This is not a theological but a legal question. If he starts a war, he becomes a tyrant against our preaching ministry, but also against the secular regiment and household. There is no question whether one should not fight for religion. Yes, it is necessary to fight for the children and family. If I can, I will write an exhortation to all the world that they should defend their own; but this is my prophecy, that our princes will have peace, and I do not fear war for the sake of religion, but they themselves will sin against civil and domestic justice and invite punishment. It will be about the bishoprics and monasteries, for the emperor holds three bishoprics, Utrecht, Liège and Hildesheim, which he has offered to Brunswick; he thirsts and devours the church estates. Our princes will not suffer this, so they will raise their hoods over it.

(The following two paragraphs Cordatus No. 834. 835.)

If someone trespasses against me in my house, I am obliged as a landlord to defend myself, much more on the way, because neither the house thieves nor the robbers who camp along the ways do violence to us because of the gospel, nor do they attack us as preachers, but as a member of the prince, not as a

Member of Christ. Therefore, I will help keep the land pure as much as I can. In times of need, may I save a good journeyman, much more a prince his land.

But if I am attacked because of the word of God and as a preacher, then this must be endured and the judgment is to be brought home to God. A preacher should not take revenge, therefore I do not take a knife with me in the pulpit, but only on the way. Against robbers I would defend myself.

(The last three lines of this paragraph are omitted because contained in Cap. 37, § 93.)

(The following two paragraphs at Cordatus No. 381 and 382.)

It is said that the German princes are officials, therefore they could defend theirs against the emperor, if, after the concilium, the emperor was ordered by the pope to execute them. But I say, not at all. For I say that the princes are private persons against the emperor. But we will leave this to the jurists to discuss.

There are three kinds of government: despotic, civil and tyrannical. The despotic wants to have full power, as a householder has over his chickens, cows, etc., which he kills when he wants. Incidentally, according to civil law the servants are subject to the masters, so we are also subject to the emperor by certain laws, and on the other hand he is also bound by certain laws against us. If he transgressed these, he would become a tyrant by oppressing us against law and justice. Moreover, the emperor does not have as great a right over Germany as another king has in his

Rich, because he has neither coin, nor mines, nor customs, and if we theologians said otherwise, namely that one must not resist the evil, then one would speak, as the landgrave said: Herr Doctor, you advise well fine, but how, if we did not follow you ?

Item, Anno 1539, the 7th of February, was asked: Whether Christian princes also wanted to resist and defend themselves against the emperor, since he wanted to conquer and war against them for the sake of the gospel? M. Luther answered: "This question has often arisen, has been disputed, and has troubled many people, myself, Pomerania, Philip 2c. But we will deal with it here recently in a few words, and say: First, in worldly affairs, scholars and jurists do not dispute it, but approve and teach to resist the emperor who exercises unjust power, because they say that rights permit such a thing; just as one should take a sword from an insane, foolish man, so that he does not do harm. Secondly, economy and natural law teach that a son may resist and defend himself against a foolish, delusional father who wants to harm him; but godliness and respectability teach that the son should suffer and be killed rather than strangle his father. Thirdly, reason also teaches that if the head is mad and senseless and wants to destroy the other members, he should be controlled, resisted and bound.

But in theology it is argued differently when one asks: Is it proper for a Christian to resist the emperor who exercises unjust authority, because the Scripture teaches that one should suffer injustice from the authorities? Rom. 13, 2. 1 Petr. 2, 13.

1) Answer: In the secular realm and body, the emperor is the head, whose body is every subject and private person's piece and limb, to whom, as a secular and civil person, the rights of emergency defense are left, even commanded and called; for since he does not defend himself, he is a killer of his own body.

2) Secondly, the emperor is not a monarch and is the only ruler in the German Empire, just as the king of France and England are monarchs in their kingdoms and rule alone.

But the Electors are at the same time secular members with the Emperor, and members of the Emperor, to each of whom it is especially incumbent and entrusted to care for the Empire, to promote its best, and to prevent and ward off harm, although not as the most noble and supreme head, like the Emperor. For although the Electors have equal authority with the Emperor, they do not have the same dignity and dignity. These same electors, as far as they are members of the empire and emperor, are secular members and not Christians; therefore they should not be silent in what concerns the empire and their office, but should be careful and do what their duty demands. As an example: Just as a mayor and rector do not govern the city and university alone, but have next to them councilors and collegiates, professors, who are in the regiment and keep them in check, persuade them and resist them: if something should be done that would be detrimental to the city and university, then they should certainly not remain silent nor watch, and let the heads do as they wish. In the same way, the princes and other princes of the empire shall also defend the emperor, because he wants to do something improper against God and rights.

Moreover, when the emperor deposed one of the electors, he deposed them all, which he should not be allowed to do. Therefore, before we finally answer this question: Whether the emperor should remove the electors or the electors should remove and kill the emperor, it has already happened. Therefore, a proper distinction must be made here, namely: A Christian leads two kinds of persons, namely, a religious or spiritual one, and the other, a civil or secular one. The believing or spiritual one suffers everything, neither eats nor drinks, does not beget children, 2c., nor does not take on this worldly being or doing. The civil, however, is subject to worldly rights and laws, and is obliged to obey, must defend and protect itself and its own, as the laws command.

Now if a bad guy, regardless of what kind of person he is, wants to violate my wife and virgins, and watch me

I would truly put Christian 1) back and use the worldly person, strangle him in the work, or cry for help. For in the absence of authority, since it cannot be had, there is the law of the people, which allows one to call upon neighbors for help. For Christ and the gospel do not abrogate worldly rights and order, nor reprove them, but confirm and confirm them.

Summa, because the emperor is neither a monarch nor a lord who rules alone; but the electors are in equal power and administration with him, so that he does not have the power nor the right to make laws and orders alone: much less does he have the power, the authority nor the right to draw the sword and to overrun the subjects and members of the empire, unknowingly of the right, and without the prior knowledge and consent of the entire empire. Therefore, Emperor Otto wisely and well did and ordered that he placed the seven Electors next to the Emperor, 2) otherwise the Empire would not have stood for long.

This question was not difficult in the time of the apostles, for then all the authorities were Gentiles, not Christians: but now, because the princes are also Christians, or ever want to be, it is difficult to conclude; for a prince and a Christian are the closest relatives.

Above that, the emperor has only a civil and political regiment, rules over free people, is not alone lord, does not have under him and in his complete power serfs, who should be subject to him, and only do and suffer everything he wanted, without any difference and condition, as a horse, cow, donkey 2c. is under the power of its master, who owns it and is powerful; what he wants, it must do, is driven and beaten. The political regime, as Aristotle writes, has many different degrees and pieces: first, monarchia, where one alone is master and rules, as France, England, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Denmark is 2c. Secondly, as the most noble and best, so with understanding, honor and virtue-

who are gifted above others, have the rule, as in Germany and the Roman Empire, and in Venice. Thirdly, Democratia, since many of the common man rule, as in Switzerland and Ditmars. Fourth, oligocrazia, 3) where few of them rule, as in Erfurt.

Finally, one should also know this: Since the emperor wants to invade us and wage war against us, he does it not for himself, on his own authority, but for the sake of the pope, in his stead, as his liegeman and sworn servant, who would support himself to defend the pope's tyranny and atrocious idolatry. For the pope does not ask anything about the gospel. Therefore, if he disputes the gospel and starts a war over it, he wants to protect and preserve his authority, power and tyranny through the emperor. Therefore neither the emperor for his own person, nor for the sake of the gospel wars against us; but the person of Pabst, the godless archbishop, in order to preserve his abominations, wants to invade us and wage war against us. Therefore, one should not remain silent and sit still.

But since one would reproach and say: David, being chosen of God to be king, and anointed of Samuel, would not resist king Saul, nor lay his hand upon him: so shall we not resist Caesar. 2c. Answer: David had his kingdom then only by promise, not in posse, that is, it was only promised to him, but he was not in possession nor in command. But here, in this matter, we are not fighting against Saul, but against Absalom, against whom David made war, and Joab killed the rebel Absalom.

Luther said: "He would like to argue about this matter, whether the emperor should be resisted and defended? Although natural and secular laws and jurists allow it, it is a dangerous question among theologians for the sake of the saying Matth. 5, 39: "If someone strikes you on one cheek, hand him the other also"; and 1 Petr. 2, 18: "You servants, be subject with all fear.

1) I.e. the Christians.

2) Cf. cap. 27, § 35. zü end.

3) So Stangwald instead of Olicratia.

the Lord, not only the kind and gentle, but also the whimsical."

Therefore, we must be sure that we do not do anything contrary to God's word, and then be tormented and tortured in our conscience in such a dangerous matter. Therefore, one must properly distinguish a Christian from a worldly person, both of whom can be a Christian. For Christ does not abolish worldly authority and rule. If a murderer or highwayman wanted to kill me and take what is mine, I would truly need the political and secular person against him, and would not suffer his rage, but would defend myself as long as I could, I would take action. Therefore, this dispute is *de facto*, *non de jure*, what happens with the deed, not what should happen with rights. And it is not against peace, where counter- and emergency defense is permitted and allowed. But that a Christian may defend himself against his authorities is a matter of great concern.

He repeated and repeated again this question: Whether one would like to defend oneself against the overlord, who suddenly attacks one and acts against rights, also with a good conscience? Answer: The lawyers have played an evil game with the emperor, he has given away the sword, so that we have the handed over sword in our possession, *gladium traditum possessorium*. The emperor, however, has only *gladium petitorium* over us, must ask and seek it from us, since he wants to punish with it, because he alone can do nothing with rights, without the knowledge and unanimous consent of the princes, princes, and the whole empire.

These are not the times, as in the time of the martyrs, when Diocletianus alone ruled and tyrannized against the Christians. Now there is another empire, since the emperor rules with the seven princes, therefore his power is nothing without the seven; indeed, if one does not pollute, it is nothing. It is no longer a monarchy, since the regiment rests with one alone, as it did with the Turk. But if it were Diocletianus, and such a regiment, we would gladly yield to him and suffer. Nor do I hope that such a case will come to pass, nor that the emperor

If he were to become an Arian and publicly fight against God's word for himself, as an un-Christian and a pagan, then one should give way to him and suffer. Summa, I take the sword to the pope, not to the emperor; for the pope shall not be an authority nor a tyrant.

## 2. brief list of the arguments and summaries of Luther's concept on

### the warning to the Germans, from the Nothwehr. 1)

First of all, the emperor has neither the right nor the power to command this, that is certain; and since he gives it immediately, one should not obey him.

Secondly: I neither stir up nor cause a riot, but forbid and ward off the same. Let them see to it that they do not cause one, because they mandate and command what is unjust and against God, for I cannot turn it away afterward, nor control and ward it off. It is in vain for them to say, "Behold, these are the fruits of schism, discord and dissension. They want it so, so let it be done to them.

Third, do not joke too much: if you fools make Luprian drunk, see that he does not feed you in the bosom, for he is otherwise thirsty enough and likes to be filled.

The fourth: Well then, if you want to win, bow your heads in blessing. As good a cause as you have, so happy victory give you God. I D. M. Luther, your apostle, have told you, and admonished you, as I have been guilty.

## 3. deceit Against D. Luthern.

You despise my teaching and want to see Luther in his words as the Pharisees did to Christ. But if I wanted to, as I do not want to, I would have a gloss that such resistance is not against the emperor, but against H[archduke] G[eorg]. And that a

1) This warning to the dear Germans, of which this is a summarium, is found in Walch, old edition, vol. XVI, 1959 ff.

The worldly man, subject and citizen of the empire is not a Christian. For it is not Christ's opinion that he would abolish and disturb the police, the secular government and the rights. O no; but that every man in his commanded office do what he is bound to do, without violation of faith and conscience: give to God that which is God's, and to Caesar that which is Caesar's: be not obedient in that which is contrary to God and his word. This rebellion of the princes now breaks out; for they say: It is not our duty to change anything without the prior knowledge and permission of the pope; he has our souls in his hand, let him do as he pleases 2c. The wicked are not only satisfied that we teach nothing contrary to the holy Scriptures and articles of faith, but also want us to approve and praise all false doctrine, error, heresy, and idolatry, and to make ourselves partakers of all their past and future sins, and to condemn everything we have written and done that is good 2c.

Let the devil do this in my place. If the priests were pious, they would not be allowed to use Luther. Absalom was a king, and David nevertheless did not recognize him for it, but drove him out. They also steal the church goods: what one has put behind them in faithful hands, they keep, and take love and gifts.

#### 4. final speeches of the emergency defense.

First of all, our princes are not serfs.

On the other hand: The emperor is master of certain pacts and measures.

Thirdly, it is sworn to the kingdom, churl and princes.

Fourth, he swore an oath to them to preserve the kingdom in its dignity, honor, glory and justice, and to protect each one of them in what he has authority and right to do; therefore, he is not to be allowed, nor to suffer, to make it subservient and serf.

Fifth: One may well need the rights of good deeds.

The sixth: He softens cheaply and in all rights to the Christians.

The seventh: Our princes are bound by oath to the realm that they will faithfully uphold the realm's freedom and justice in political and secular matters and things, and that they will not allow anything to be taken away from them, nor will they give way to them.

Eighth: This trade is among equals, since no one is more and higher than the other; for the emperor as an emperor does not do it, cannot do it even with rights, but is driven, and forced by the pope and his bribed bishops and corrupted 1) bunch, the papists, to do it, just as if he were under the appearance of writing in Hispania.

#### 5. other arguments.

First, in this case, a Christian does not stand against his authority, which is above him, but equal to him.

Secondly: He resists, as a secular person, subject, citizen and member of the realm, who is obliged to protect his people from unjust violence.

Thirdly: If a sovereign acts tyrannically, against the law, he becomes equal to the others; for he thereby abdicates the person of the sovereign, therefore he justly loses his right against the subject, per naturam Relativorum. For lord and subject are equally bound to each other, and are obliged to keep what they have promised and pledged, according to the common saying: faithful lord, faithful servant.

Fourthly: If a tyrant attacks and persecutes one of his subjects, he attacks and persecutes all the others, or one after the other; from this it would follow, if he should be allowed to do so, that he would disrupt, devastate and destroy the whole regiment and empire.

Fifth: He is earnestly commanded and bound by his duties, indeed, he has pledged, vowed and sworn with a bodily oath to faithfully keep above the police, laws, rights and orders of the realm and to administer the same.

1) In the editions: sworn.

The sixth: The rights are over a lord and tyrant, yes, more; for these are unstable, but always certain and constant, but a man is fickle and inconstant, follows most and most gladly his lusts, where he is not kept: therefore one is more indebted and obliged to follow the rights and laws, than a tyrant.

#### 6. short concept of D. M. Luther on the warning.

First: It is not the emperor, but H[archduke] Georg's and the M[arkgrafen's] hatred and envy. Secondly: One should not be obedient to them, but more GOtte. Thirdly: He who is obedient is obedient to the devil, not to the emperor, nor to God. Cause: 1) Because it is not a common mandate, which would have been granted, decided and issued by the whole empire; because many princes and estates have not consented to it. 2) The Margrave spoke more than he should have and was ordered to. 3) The others opposed it and revoked it. 4) Duke Ludwig of Bavaria interpreted it differently. 5) It is an untruth and a lie that our Confession is confuted with the Holy Scriptures and has been mislaid. 6) They have not wanted to deliver their confession to us, nor have they publicly announced it. 7) They do not want to hear us, nor show us the cause, they have condemned us unheard and unconquered. 8) Will have approved all their things, and each one in particular, and pledged them to be right, will still defend even what they themselves have previously confessed with their own mouths to be ungodly and unjust. 9) And have condemned all of ours, and have neither changed nor punished anything in theirs. Therefore, all those who obey the emperor in such a mandate are guilty of murder, blasphemy, and theft. Above this, they do against the natural law and the order of the Holy Roman Empire; they force people to break up marriages, to rob parents of their children; against their will and the consent of the estates of the empire, they force people to attend false services, since no one should be forced to attend true services. All in all, they do as tyrants what they do.

not what they should and are obliged to do. But it is the Pabst's diabolical council and practices, want no peace, no truth, want to have only war, public lies and murders. We pray for it, but there is no hearing, we must be heretics and damned, always down with us, drowned, hanged, burned 2c. as the world's sweep offering.

I condemn rebellion with danger to life and limb, honor and property, and would gladly silence and preserve you. If you stir up and start something, I will keep quiet about it and perish with you; then you will go to hell in the name of all devils, but I will go to heaven in the name of Christ. They want to abuse our teaching, but they may see to it that they do not go astray in it. Therefore, whoever is obedient to them and serves them not only persecutes God's word, but also makes himself a party to it and becomes guilty that so many souls have been lost and condemned until now and will be condemned in the future, of all sins and abominations in the papacy. The emperor does against his baptism, vows and oath, against Christ, God and his word. Perhaps the nobility and many warriors will not respect this, nor will they ask for it. But let them come, as wild untamed beasts and swine, that they may receive and get their deserved reward. They reproach us with having taken the monasteries and ecclesiastical estates; but their lawyers have taken much more of them than ours; they can neither hold nor possess them with right and good conscience. Let it be said that ours have taken a thousand monasteries and bishoprics, but what would it be but a drop or a grain of hops compared with these atrocious, diabolical sins, so now told? But of this mote they say, and they magnify it, lest their beams should be seen.

#### 7. whether to take revenge as well.

To the saying where Christ says Matth. 5, 39: "But I say to you that you should not resist evil" 2c., there are many different solutions and answers. Some say that there are private and particular, own

Revenge is forbidden, but it is also forbidden by Moses in the law, otherwise the kingdom and reign could not have existed. That is why Christ does not rebuke special, own, self-willed, but public, common, and official revenge, otherwise he would have taught nothing more than Moses. For Christ says to his own: But you are not like this. Here three kinds of solutiones and responsibilities are given. The first, as the scholars in schools call it, ab instantia, that one throws another in the way and resists, namely, that it must be understood from the self-powerful and private speech, otherwise it would be unacceptable, yes, Christ reproves the worldly government and the authorities, which his opinion has not been, nor is; but he confirms it, as established by God, Proverbs 8, 15. 16. 1 Mos. 9, 6. 2 Chron. 19, 6. 10. Rom. 13, 1. ff. Matth. 26, 52. The other, that a distinction is made, namely, that the gospel only has to do with spiritual things, does not concern itself with worldly things. The third, that Christ here does not forbid anything that Moses forbade, but only teaches against the abuse of the law that was then among the people. The last one is a bit too weak. The first and previous answers do not rhyme with the form and essence of the argument, but they indicate that it is neither appropriate nor rhyme.

I do not know, so that I may also indicate my thoughts, whether this may be the right solution and understanding, that Christ speaks plainly of the law, and teaches that the righteousness of faith condemns the worldly and civil or external human righteousness, so that they should not think that they are therefore righteous before God, that they do not quarrel nor right before the court; and if such were to happen, and let them take everything willingly, yet the righteousness of the law would not be the right righteousness that is valid before God 2c. So that he teaches both against political and civil worldly righteousness, and against the righteousness that God demands in the law.

#### **8. an eye for an eye, Matth. 5, 38.**

This saying, when Christ says: "It was said to the ancients: an eye for an eye" 2c., is to be

understand public vengeance and official punishment. As if he wanted to say v. 39: "You shall not resist evil," that is, suffer it. Item v. 40: "Whoever wants to be right with you in court" 2c. There he means the authorities: "Will the authorities compel you by force? This is a force of the tongue; the other is and happens with the deed and the work.

#### **9. emergency defense.**

Nothwehr, said D. M. Luther, is absolutely urgent. Then H. asked him: Would he also want to defend himself if he were attacked by robbers? Yes, said the doctor, certainly, because then I wanted to be judge and prince and confidently wield the sword, because otherwise there would be no one around me who could protect me, and then I wanted to take the holy sacrament and have done a good work.

But if I were attacked as a preacher for the sake of the gospel, I would lift up my eyes to heaven with fallen hands and say: "My Lord Christ, here I am, I have confessed you, I have preached 2c. Now is the time, I commend my spirit into thy hands; and so would die.

#### **(10) Whether to put to death a tyrant who acts contrary to justice and equity according to his pleasure.**

A private and common man, who is in no public office or command, is not to be killed, even if he could; for the fifth commandment of God says: Thou shalt not kill. But if I were to seize a man, even if he were not a tyrant, by my wife or daughter, I would surely kill him. Item: If he should take by force this man's wife, another man's daughter, a third man's land and goods, and the citizens and subjects should come together, and could no longer tolerate nor suffer his violence and tyranny, they would put him to death, as they would another murderer and highwayman.

#### **11. M. Luther's concerns about the emergency defense, to D. Wenzel Link.**

(This § is Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 1220, No. 790.)

## The 65th chapter. Of the noblemen.

1. of the presumption of the noblemen.
2. noblemen despisers of good arts.
3. glim, glam, gloriam.
4. be conceited.
5. of the noblemen riding together.
6. honest ones from the nobility keep themselves noble.

- 7th Grand Men's Study.
8. those of the nobility cannot rule.
9. the rights of the princes from the nobility.
10. one of the nobility's mocking speeches against Luther.
11. the nobility is not good to the citizens.

### 1. of the presumption of the noblemen.

(Cordatus No. 671.)

If I live another year, then my poor little room must go, from which I have stormed the papacy, for which it would be worthy of eternal remembrance. But the great main chairs, main ramparts, main princes will eat it away from me, so they will persuade the prince. They want us so badly from the bottom of their hearts that out of hatred for us they have tried to turn the younger prince away from the study of the arts, saying: Most gracious lord, what may he of great cleverness, will you draw a scribe out of him? He must become a ruling prince; namely, they fear that if he were learned, he would be able to see their deceits from reading the histories. Duke Frederick could not have been moved by these boastful words. They are possessed with all seven deadly sins twofold. They have wickedness above all wickedness in them, as [the] lord is of Schöneberg, who trades in every way; is that also noble? So they do all wickedness; but is that Christian?

### 2. noblemen despisers of good arts.

The noblemen now become disgraceful loutish despisers of good arts, D. Martinus learned his Grammatica only after he had become Doctor.

### 3. glim, glam, gloriam.

One of the nobility, a canon, read in a lection Glam for Gloriam; therefore the ancients sang: Glim, Glam, Gloriam, the sow that has a choir skirt on.

### 4. be conceited.

The nobility think they are wise, therefore they despise the priests. Well, God will despise them again. They are hostile to a great man, who is hostile to them again, and sat high enough.

A nobleman makes himself believe that he understands the gospel better than St. Paul.

### 5. noblemen riding together.

Doctor Luther said of the nobility's riding up and down, that one visited the other daily and came together, feasting and stewing, eating and drinking, being good companions and banking without ceasing. Thus one corrupted the other. As Cornelius Tacitus, the historian, shows of the Germans, how they go together, help each other consume what they have; then they go from one to the other.

When he, M. Luther, was once at Grunau with the nobleman, he was received very kindly. The host asked him to sit down with his housewife, to rest and to be satisfied; Luther wondered at the beautiful, lovely and friendly child's mouth and said with a sigh: "Dear God, every class has its crosses and ills: those of the nobility must also often remain without marriage and unfreed, for the sake of the children, if there are many of them.

### 6. honest ones from the nobility keep themselves noble.

H. M., said D. M. Luther, is a great Thraso, glorious Scharrhans, who with highly-

1) Inserted by us, because otherwise the sentence would have no subject.



But great, righteous men of nobility, noble captains and heroes think much differently, keep silent, do not boast, and prove it by deed: like Mr. Bernhard of Mila, who is a noble man, has many lions in his heart, and yet is chaste and shamefaced with words.

### 7th Grand Men's Study.

(Cordatus No. 684.)

It has happened in Germany around a good world regiment. The dukes already know nothing but to buy beautiful stallions and spurs, and in the meantime, while they worry about it, the nobles rule and lead the princes into all troubles, ruin and death, as it happened to our duke before Meiningen. 1) when they put him before the guns with his whole army and then ordered him to flee. Matthias [Corvinus of Hungary] was a very good ruler, who pressed on with cutting off heads.

(The following Lauterbach, July 21, 1538, p. 100.)

On this day Eustachius von Schlieben 2) was there, whom D. Jonas praised because of his wisdom and godliness and that he had spoken evil of the Roman court. Although he had been in Italy for five years, he had remained in Rome only a few weeks because of the great wickedness of the Roman court, where there was so much contempt for God, perjury, 2c., that false oaths were taken every day for the sake of money, and he had been offered twenty ducats to swear falsely. When he rejected this, he would have been ridiculed: That beast will not take an oath for twenty ducats. Luther said: "Whoever has seen through the nature of the Roman court only to some extent will recognize that it is the realm of the devil. That is why the bishop of Mainz is a limb unfit for this body, who no longer has a conscience and, accustomed to acts of murder and robbery, dares to do anything. He not only strangled Hans Schantzen, but also took all his property from his heirs. Now his chamberlain has also been lost 2).

1) In the Peasants' War of 1525.

2) To Stülze and Baruch. (Seidemann.)

3) This last sentence, which is so in the original, is incomprehensible to us. Perhaps: "missed"?

### 8. those of the nobility cannot rule.

Those of the nobility presume and want to rule, but they cannot yet understand it. The pope, however, not only knows, but can also govern by deed. A bad pope can rule better than a hundred of the nobility at our court.

### 9. princes' rights from nobility. 4)

The wickedness of the world is so great that when a prince learns and studies the Latin language, the nobility and the councilors fear that he will be too learned and too clever for them, and say: "Damn it! 2c. What? does E. F. Gn. want to become a scribe? He must become a ruling prince, must learn worldly affairs, and what belongs to cavalry and war, so that country and people are protected and preserved, 2c. that is, remain a fool, whom we may lead around with the nose like a bear.

But Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, once said: "We certainly hear what our advisors advise, but we do not always follow them, except in what we ourselves recognize as right and good. But what kind of faithful advisors these are, who keep the princes from studying and discourage them, everyone may well assume and think.

### 10. one of the nobility ungodly and mocking speech against D. M. Luthern.

(Cordatus No. 1629.)

One of nobility, who was an enemy to me, once said, "Are you the holy man? Dear, when you go to [the] heaven, you will not dust my eyes. To whom I replied, "My dear nobleman, it may well happen that I would like to stupefy you, and I would not be able to reach you.

### 11. the nobility is not good to the citizens.

Citizens and peasants are separated by the wall. Cities are only of those of the nobility latrocinia, plucking and robbing. Therefore, those of the nobility are not good to the urban.

4) This § seems to be only another version of § 1 of this Cap.

5) Thus, Stangwald; with Aurifaber "rights."

## The 66th chapter.

### Of lawyers.

1. that the jurists are concerned only with the secular regime.
2. from the saying Ps. 2, 2: The lords counsel 2c.
3. another one from the lawyers.
4. D. Luther's serious disputation with the jurists.
5. a pious lawyer is a strange animal.
6. D. Luther's warning to the jurists.
- The majority of lawyers are servants of the pope.
8. procuratores are tongue-thrashers.
9. of the secular rights.
10. few lawyers are blessed.
11. where pious lawyers get their theology from.
- The holy scripture approves the right.
- The natural right is twofold.
14. lawyers should have conscience.
15. what lawyers are.
16. D. Luther's Prophecy of Jurists and Theologians.
17. why the lawyers strut.
18. D. Luther's divination of lawyers.
19. from the pagan rights.
20. by lawyers, from the sermon, so D. Luther on the Feast of the Three Kings from the prophet Micah in 1544.
21. by jurists, that one should not approve nor permit secret betrothal.
- 22 Another sharp admonition to the jurists.
- 23 Another different one from the lawyers.
24. faithful admonition and warning, especially to the jurists, and how one may blessedly study in law.
25. of rights and courts.
26. jurists do not know from the spiritual law any cause to indicate why the pope forbade the priests to marry.
- Luther does not want to suffer lawyers to teach him to preach.
28. that it is dangerous to be a lawyer.
- Jurists and regents must believe the testimony of witnesses, and speak and judge accordingly.
30. jurisprudence has no certain demonstrations.
31. of thorough proofs.
32. Comparison of jurisprudence and medicine against theology.
33. which is praiseworthy in rights.
34. spiritual law.
35. the jurist's art.
36. of the jurists' piety.
37. the theology preference.
38. disagreement of jurists and theologians.
- 39 Theologians praise the jurisprudence highly.
40. the scholars the perverse.
- The difference between lawyers.
- The difference between the right and the wrong.
43. from Saxon law.
44. the jurists justice.
- 45 Few lawyers, many procuratores.
- The world is ruled by opinion.
- 47: What has been proposed in D. Basilii M. Promotion proponit warden.
- 48) How pious lawyers do it.
- You can't give way to the pope at all.
- 50: The Canonists' Argument Against Luther.
- This is the first time that the author has been a member of the faculty of law.
52. wrong lawyers blasphemy.
- The most important thing to look out for in your dealings.
- 54 The jurists have only the peoples right.
- The lawyers' stand is now a dangerous stand.
56. lawyers should advise.
- The first two words are: "The first two words are the first two words.
58. a respectable council at a court,
59. lawyers do not know what the church is.
60. that the epnkia must govern in all matters.
- 61 From a whimsical case.
62. equity is to be administered, not the supreme law.

#### 1. that the jurists are concerned only with the secular regime.

Before me, said D. Martinus has not been a lawyer who knew what is right before God. They have what they have from me. It is not written in the Gospel that one should worship lawyers. It is nothing to say: God and man. If our Lord wants to judge God, what does he care about the lawyers? Before the world I will let them be right, but before God they shall be under me. If I can judge Moses and put him under me, what should the lawyers do?

be? If our Lord God says: Be you emperor, king, prince, mayor, lawyer 2c., then you are not God. The other Psalm shall be my Psalm: "Be ye therefore chastened, O ye kings" 2c., Ps. 2, 10. Since ever one shall perish, let justice go and perish always, and let Christ remain.

#### 2 Ps. 2, 2 Principes convenerunt in unum: The lords consult with one another.

Which saying D. M. Luther then interpreted it over the table and said: "The lawyers are also against Christ, roses, the word,

is not called principes, princes, but those who rule through wisdom. First, the nations and common rabble. Then the kings and wise men, who are to be against Christ. This is what David himself says, that against his Son shall be the authority, wisdom, and multitude of the world; and he shall be against the many alone, against the wise a fool, against the mighty impotent. This is a strange rule. Our Lord God lacks nothing but wise men. But behind it all, it is said: Et nunc, Reges, intelligite etc. Let yourselves therefore be instructed, O kings 2c.

### 3. one different from lawyers.

The theologians do not like the canons of the jurists and the pope's decree, they also stand as they like. They remain in their secular rights and laws and orders; but if they fall into the canons and into the Pabst's mud, they must go to ruins, they shall not resist it.

I do not want to harm the lawyers; I only want to take the Catechismum and strike them with it, and make them so afraid that they do not know where to stay with their rights; and I do not want to touch the gospel, but keep it on the thrust.

D. Jerome is a sharp jurist who loves equity. And when D. Martinus was at M.'s wedding, it was thought how and from what the ecclesiastics should be maintained? D. Martinus asked the doctor: "Mr. Jerome, don't you think, because the pope is feeding us all, that we would become papists again, according to the common saying: whose bread we eat, whose song we sing? Jerome answered, "I also praised the verdict.

If there is a jurist in all of Germany, yes, in the whole world, who knows what law is, both in fact and in law, I am surprised. (This is a great oath, if I swear thus, said D. Martinus.) 1) For according to divine law, law is divided into secular or imperial law, and fist law or deed law. So God has

1) What we have bracketed is missing in Stangwald with good reason.

Emperor CarlIn gave the right, which is made right in fact; but the fact does not make it right. He who has the right of fist or of deed can also easily have the right in the right; that is what he wants, that must be right.

In sum, if the lawyers will not ask for forgiveness of sins and crawl to the Gospel, I will mislead them, so that they will not know where from. I do not understand the right, but I am a master in the right, in matters that concern the conscience.

(Cordatus No, 27 and 1029.)

The jurists say it is dangerous to define; but that with which the theologians deal must be constant; it behooves them. To teach certain things. What else should a doubting conscience do, which desires comfort, if one answers with opinions and not with firm, certain doctrine?

The study of law is a very dirty business, and if it were not for the money, no one would stoop to this study. Tomorrow a new adder will be made against the theologians. 2)

### 4. Serious disputation of D. M. Luther with the jurists.

(Cordatus No. 621. 622 and No. 702.)

Since two doctors of law came to me, I received them like this: O you jurists, I could easily carry you, if you were based on the laws and not on the canons. But since you are doctors of both rights, you defend the pope and his canons more than the laws and the emperor, and I wanted to give my hand that all canonists and papists should have their canons, I did not want to wish them an angry devil. The Bishop of Mainz could not have three bishoprics, which you defend. You lawyers, do not trample us underfoot, otherwise we would like to bite your heels.

A Doctor Juris is a monster [chimaera], that is nothing at all, namely a [Doctor] of canon law, because they are forced to say and judge what the pope says and judges. But all,

2) Doctor of Laws.

who want to be public teachers of an art, must be confessors of their art, but you are not confessors of your art, thus 2c. By the way, laws and civil law are very good inventions of reason. But if you want to be doctors of civil law, you are half lame. "The drip has struck me (say you) on one side." The pope according to his ambition and covetousness is only a doctor of ceremonies, for where he teaches judicial and civil matters, he is only a teacher of law and an emperor, although he has subjected himself to the emperor. Therefore the pope is rightly declared by Daniel to be a man who acts according to no laws; so I will, so I command 1) 2c., that is his law. But to be an emperor is to be a keeper of the law.

When a certain lawyer said to Philip: You theologians write what you want, and we jurists determine afterwards what pleases us, you must believe in the name of the devil; I said to that: That has thereafter a continuance as long as it can. But the word of God remains while the world stands. When this comes and our Lord throws away the kingdoms, he also throws away the rights, also the constitutions, police 2c.

#### 5. a pious lawyer is a strange animal.

(Cordatus No. 1037.)

Every lawyer is an enemy and adversary of Christ, because they stand on and serve works righteousness. But whoever is really a Christian among them is, as it were, a wonder animal, is forced to beg and is called rebellious by the lawyers.

(Here, a paragraph is omitted because transferred to the previous § [Cordatus No. 621], where it belongs).

(From here to end of § at Cordatus No. 925-929.)

If the jurists want to deal with matters of conscience, they are not to suffer. If I studied law for two years, I would undoubtedly become more learned than D. C. 2) because I would deal with things, but he would argue about words.

I like the lecture of the jurists, but I dislike the application they make of it. The text of rights is nothing but "if not", that must stand in all cases and things; theology does not stand in the "if not", but in the mathematical point. The jurists need the protection of the theologians, and the theologians their expert opinions; but if they bite each other, they wreck each other.

I would like to be given a lawyer whose purpose is knowledge [of law]; all study for the sake of profit and acquisition. All courts, authorities, dominions are forced to obey the lawyers. It may be that they resist us in individual and special cases, yet they preserve the general [in law], just as when we theologians are resisted, yet the word itself remains.

The power [*autoritas*] of the theologians is that they can put down and raise up everything, and when the word comes, Moses and the Roman Empire give way. The authorities are subject to the laws, because Moses says: Judge according to the law. But the laws are subject to the word of God.

The laws of the Persians and Greeks have been abolished, the Roman laws are still a little fidgety, for when a dominion falls, so do the laws. Therefore, if the jurists can give and fortify kingdoms and emperors, they can also make their rights and customs firm. For when things fall, so do the words [for them] When the devil ceases, so do his customs. Therefore it would be ridiculous if someone wanted to bind a nun who has become a wife to the right of nuns, and we use the present rights like the [passable] coins, and whoever deals with abolished rights is like the one who in our time wanted to scold the long laces [spis] on the shoes.

#### 6. warning D. M. L. to the lawyers.

On the fourth day of the Christmas month, at D. Martina N. Amsdorf, L. Blank, M. Ph(ilippus) and D. M(elchior) C(ling). 3) There complained

3) Thus Bindseil I, 289.

1) 816 volo, sie judeo, sit pro ratione voluntas. VI, 223. The saying of all tyrants.

2) According to the Latin Table Talks, Rebenstock 1, 1396, Bindseil I, 288, Dr. Melchior Kling.

D. Martinus about the poverty and misery of the theologians, how they were plagued and oppressed everywhere, especially by those of the nobility. And turned to D. Melchior and said: "You lawyers help us honestly, and you also press us hard. But I would advise you not to do so and not to reach out to the nobility. For if the theologians fall and lie down, you lawyers must also fall and lie down.

But when D. Kling wanted to excuse himself and the faculty, D. Martinus said. Martinus said: I admonish and warn you, do not press us too hard, or you shall be paid. Then L. Blank said: I am also a lawyer, but an innocent one, I have studied several hundred guilders in law, and only earned eight Märkische Groschen with it, nor do I have a conscience about it. And he said this with great seriousness.

**7) Several lawyers are servants of the pope.**

All who serve the pope are condemned, for according to the devil there is no worse man than the pope, with his lies and human statutes, than those who are strictly against Christ; therefore he is also the antichrist. The jurists, the largest group, with very few exceptions, who are despised by others, especially by the canonists, are the pope's servants: even if they do not want to have the name, they prove it by deed, they want to rule the church and trample on its faithful servants; therefore they are damned.

There is evil in the world," he said, Martinus, "because people do not want to honor church servants, teachers and preachers; even if they are honored, they soon become proud.

**8. procuratores tongue depressor.**

Tongue-thrashers go before the learned in the world, for they can open the mouths of the unlearned and the rabble with their washing and chattering, and turn a nose with a sham and cover of the right. Just as the priest at Jessen 1) should have me here

1) The pastor in Jessen was Wolfgang Brauer (Seidemann p. 167).

in two sermons. So the world wants to be deceived; look only at what shines and shines high. Truth, as bad and simple as it is, it cannot and will not suffer.

**9. secular rights.**

Secular or imperial law is nothing other than what human reason spins, casts and orders from natural law. Spiritual law, however, is nothing other than what the pope wants and dreams. And because the papacy is founded by the devil, his rights, which do not agree with God's and natural law and justice, but are contrary to it, are also the devil's foundation and order; they appear and shine as they please, let them be approved and accepted by whoever wishes.

**10. few lawyers are blessed.**

(Contained in Cap. 22, § 2.)

**11) Where pious lawyers get their theologiam.**

That some lawyers believe and are Christians, they have not learned from their art and law books, but from me and from the holy scriptures; as the lansquenets believe, because I have instructed and taught them that a man of war can wage war with a good conscience. So also, many monks and nuns believe that I have written it thus. And I believe it.

**The right approves the holy scripture.**

The theologians approve the imperial and secular rights from God's word, therefore we theologians execute, drown, break to death; the jurists do not do it, could not do it and should not do it even with a good conscience. As happened in the papacy, where the authorities "themselves did not want to pronounce judgment on blood, but had it done by other bad people. For "what is not done by faith is sin," says St. Paul Romans 14:23.

**13. of course right is two things.**

Natural law is twofold: firstly, as regards words; secondly, as regards the thing

itself. As for the words, it is right; but as for the thing itself, it is wrong. For if the theology were not the word of God, saying, "There is one God," then justice would be called force, for he who has it in his hand does it. But whether such power is right, our Lord God will dispute.

#### 14. lawyers should have conscience.

You lawyers, only hold fast that you have only conscience, and believe that there is a right, as it must be right, because it is God's order, and established by Him, as Proverbs 8, 14. 15. 16. the wisdom of God speaks: "Mine is both counsel and action. I have understanding and power. Through Me kings rule, and the rulers establish justice. By Me princes and all rulers reign." As there are few who believe it. Just as there are now many people who believe that the theology now revealed is nothing. This happens because we are still alive; what will it become after our departure? So also many of them are pregnant with it; they want to bring it to the point that the rights should be nothing.

#### 15. what lawyers are.

A jurist is a beam bearer; a theologus a splinter bearer. And a doctor juris is a beam doctor; a theologus a splinter doctor.

A lawyer is wise according to human wisdom; but a theologian is wise according to God's wisdom. Many are more learned than I am, but that they should be more learned in the Word of God, which I teach and preach, is impossible. I will leave a shoemaker, a tailor, a lawyer, and every one of them; but if one challenges me in the preaching seat, I will send him down, and he shall be astonished. A lawyer is no more than a cobbler or tailor.

#### 16. D. M. Luther's Prophecy of Jurists and Theologians.

You lawyers, said D. Martinus to Peter Weller, will go to ruins; but we must go with you. For in St. Petro, 2 Ep. 2,

It is written of those "by whom the way of truth is blasphemed. When this happens, when blasphemy comes, the curtain of the temple is torn.

Item: If a jurist does not know more than the terminos juris and the words of rights, he is a pure fool. The jurists deal with worldly and temporal, perishable things and cases; but the theologians with heavenly, spiritual things and cases of conscience.

#### 17. why the lawyers strut.

The lawyers have realized that we theologians approve and praise the rights that are not against God and His Word. Therefore they now become proud. But if they make too much of it, I will separate the concretum and abstractum, the right custom from the abuse, the persons from the right, just like the paint from the wall, from each other and instead. This is what I tell them. They may well consider who and what they are. For a lawyer who is no more than a lawyer is a poor thing. What is jus? (which little word in Latin also means soup) and are the lawyers only soup eaters, for they only discuss dirty deeds, the seventh commandment: Thou shalt not steal; and such temporal things.

The lawyers, Medici, artists vex us theologians, and also the peasants. But when it comes to the meeting, theologia alone must help. And it is impossible for anyone to become a truly good theologian, if God himself makes him one.

#### 18. divination D. Martini by lawyers.

Because I am alive, the jurists shall, if God wills, have nothing to do with the Pope's decrees; but if I am now laid low and dead, you will see how it will go. Before I began to write, the lawyers all lived as despondent, poor, troubled people, because of their consciences: they finally had to despair, did not know that honest, good, worldly rights are God's order, and that one can also serve God with them; yes, if it comes and happens from faith in Christ. Like a doc-

tor Juris at Erfurt, when he was to die, said: O who would not have been a jurist, but a hermit or monk! and ordered that he should be buried in a monk's cap 2c. And D. Jerome once said to me: If I had ten sons, none of them should become a lawyer for me. But now they want to throw at us, because they have learned from and through us what they are. Well, they look forward, I can still throw one in their beard.

### 19. pagan rights.

If it were not for the rights of the heathen in the Roman Empire, our princes, emperors and kings would all have become fools. The rights of the Pabst are the most foolish, because they smell, even stink of vain hope and ambition, and desire to rule and reign. The rights of the heathen are better and more honest than those of the supposed Christians. But the Pabst's laws are the worst: and what is good in them is taken from the imperial laws. The decrees are the pope's law, 1) and rule the world; but the decree is no longer respected. Gratianus, who read the decree together, was an ass who did not understand anything when he wrote the decree.

With the jurists, the canons remain in their authority and prestige, but with us there is no Bachant, he wants to master the Scriptures. The jurists have the practices, that is why they stand firm; we theologians lack them, that is why it is the same with us. The jurists have to practice and put their thing into practice, otherwise they could not continue; if we also practiced our theology and experienced it in persecution and challenge, then we could also do it right.

### 20. by lawyers, from the sermon, so D. Martinus has done against them at the holy three Kings Days, Anno 1544, from the prophet Micah.

But we are to take note and learn rightly what the reign of this Bethlehemite Lord and King of Christ is, that

to make a proper distinction between temporal and spiritual rule. For he shall not be a vassal, as emperors, kings, princes, or as I am lord of the house; but he shall redeem Israel. This is an excellent, joyful, lovely prophecy, that such a Lord shall come out of Bethlehem, who shall not war nor slay, but shall help and counsel; so that we may say, Christ is a Mushel (that is, such a Lord, who is commanded to do something), is not a tyrant in his rule.

My thoughts are now these: We have written that one should distinguish between the regiments: so I have now urged our lawyers to wash their fur; they do not want to learn from us that they made a distinction between the Beghlehermitic and the imperial regiment. For I cannot suffer them to exalt themselves above this lord. I do not, you say? Yes, you do, you want to bring the pope back in, as they (the jurists) are good papists and princes. I am not here to learn from them what is right, but I want to teach them; and I would not suffer a thousand of them to be above me.

This is the right of the pope, to which they cling, like the devil in the butt, de clandestinis matrimonii, of secret betrothals. Then the pope and the lawyers said that the marriage could never be divorced. What happened? The spouses disagreed and divorced again. It happened the same way to me in the monastery; or, when they came before the official, one swore to the other, and they divorced again. Afterwards they came to me or to another in confession and said: Dear Lord, I now have a wife to whom I have secretly sworn; how do I do it more and more? Help me, dear doctor, so that I do not despair. For Greta, to whom I first became engaged, is my true wife. But this Barbara, who trusts me after this, is not my wife, and yet must I sleep with her? I may not take her, whom I would like to have, since it could be; but now I cannot: for I have another, so she also has another; but no one knows that she is my wife.

1) Thus Stangwald instead of: "Reich.

I am a woman, for only God in heaven is aware of it. O I am damned, I know no counsel? Behold, I must say that you lawyers see how you have ruled in the past. Then the pope went with his junks, the lawyers, and said that he should stay with the one with whom he had publicly married and held the wedding, and yet consider Greta, with whom he had secretly engaged himself, in his heart as his rightful wife, but he should not sleep with the one whom he had publicly led to the church, nor demand the marriage duty from her, or provoke her to evil desire, otherwise he would break the marriage with her. So he could not have her, and he could not leave the other one; for friendship does not suffer that you would leave the one with whom you have publicly gone to church. So the lawyers have advised, as their books, the pope's decree, show, they cannot deny. Counsel in a thousand devils' names with your advice, you proud ass Pope, that your heartache may come upon you with all your proud, hopeful lawyers. They are still so impudent today that they would gladly return to the day with such lousy antics (which they only have a lot of, thereby confusing the poor consciences) if they could arise. That is why we poor preachers have advised, taught and written, for the comfort and instruction of poor consciences, that secret vows should be forbidden. Thereupon the laudable Elector of Saxony, H. J[ohann] F[riedrich], has commanded that secret vows should not be permitted. And the lawyers shall not overthrow it, no matter how curly, clever and splendid they may be. But when they are questioned, they speak: What do we ask about it, the theologians will carry it out and answer for it, we let them take care of it. We must, according to our duties, speak from and according to the rights described, what is right 2c.

Thank the devil! Why won't you leave us alone? What is the Lord Christ's rule to you? Is that what it means to be a lawyer, not to look at one's own conscience or to consider what he does? So the devil is also called a lawyer; he is their doctor, with whom they go to school. I would not have thought that we still had such lawyers here. I am angry, dear people, forgive me.

It is done for God's sake, out of a great zeal to keep the teaching of the gospel pure, otherwise and without that I would let them wait for their thing. But they want to interfere with Christ and rule and confuse the consciences; that is not to be suffered.

Truly, I would not have thought that we should still have such coarse, impolite jurists, in part, here, who have had the word of God so abundantly, purely and clearly, now for some thirty years, that everyone, especially the jurists, should have read our books. But they do not look at them, so I will not look at them again: must not be ashamed to pretend such shameful doctrine, to quarrel, and still want to be right, that they thus confuse the consciences. For all their doings must be so erroneous and confused that they themselves do not know what their position is.

Item: More they say: If one is accused before a judge, who knows that the defendant is innocent, and is nevertheless publicly convicted and overcome with witnesses, the jurists say: The judge shall speak according to the testimony of the witnesses, because the Scripture says Deut. 19, 15: "In two or three mouths is all testimony"; therefore he shall condemn the innocent, because there are two or three witnesses. (The rough asses do not know what the saying means).

Yes, what should the good judge do? He knows the defendant is innocent. Should he condemn him on the testimony of such witnesses, against his conscience? because he knows that he has been wronged. Then the jurists comfort him thus: Because you judge know that the man is wronged, you know this as a private person, for yourself, not as a judge who is to speak secundum allegata et probata, according to what has been presented and proven; it does not concern you, because you are not legally required to be a witness in the proper way 2c. But they comfort the defendant thus: Since you, they say, know that you are wronged, surrender yourself to the judgment seat: let it pass over you, and suffer the wrong.

So do our proud noblemen and lawyers here in Wittenberg, and they think,

1) This number, which is found in all editions, cannot be correct. It may well read: "about thirty years."



They are right to do so. They do not read our books, they are called Catholics, they do not ask anything about our Lord God, and they do not look at our church. Well then, because they do not consider D. Pommern a bishop of this church, nor me their preacher; so they shall not be in this church either, I will not consider them my sheep either, because they do not hear my voice, and I will show them a hole to the door. If they want to be the pope's hypocrites and swarmers, let them remain so, go our idle way, and leave our church satisfied.

Now, back to the matter: To the husband I would thus say: Dear friend, the woman to whom you have secretly pledged it is not your wife, for such a betrothal is neither flush before God nor right 2c. And to the judge: Dear judge, you shall speak: I bear witness that the man is innocent: if there were ten thousand witnesses, and I know for certain that the man is innocent, I cannot and will not condemn him.

Yes, say the lawyers, you do against the emperor's right! I throw, with leave, in such law, which does injustice to the poor man. But so many witnesses against him! So I say: How many false witnesses have there been since the beginning of the world? Christ was killed by false witnesses, Stephen was stoned 2c. Witnesses can be false and instigated, and bribed with money or otherwise. The judge shall say: It has happened more that false witnesses have stood up, therefore, because I know that this man is wronged, I cannot condemn him.

Therefore, we do not want to suffer from the nasty jurists, because they have no conscience, nor do they ask much about the danger of conscience, and do not allow them to argue about God's word and law. Whether they already say: There are the witnesses: because one cannot reject them, one should accept and admit them, and judge according to their testimony. So we theologians say: We do not look at the false witnesses, God's right is thus, your right shall yield to it. And even though we have often said it, the proud jurists consider us to be vain fools, and say in addition: "They do not look at us with our

theology, but want to stick to their right.

Therefore I do not want to suffer that they cause a perplexity in my church, and want to confuse the consciences with their abused right. Should we allow the proud Junkers the arrogance that they do not recognize Doctor Pommern as a bishop of this church, nor do they consider me as a preacher, but only what they say and pretend shall be valid and right? They shall not live this down, and their arrogance shall be broken and controlled, so that they shall not revile the Christian congregation of God, which our dear Elector at Augsburg confirmed at the Imperial Diet, and all his land and people, life and limb, thereby added to it; or they themselves shall be reviled.

They think they want to sneak in again with the pope and please the bishop of M[ainz]. Well, since they do not consider us bishops and pastors, we must not be ashamed again, and consider and declare them to be papists and devil's children. For this is the serious command of our Lord. Lord's serious command that we should keep the church government pure, distribute and administer the word of God, absolution, and the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and comfort the consciences; yet they ridicule it, and consider us fools, and want to hold above the pope's law. Well then, I will see if they will set their false, untruthful law above God's true Word and Scripture.

So that I explain it with an example: We have often preached and taught (although the jurists consider us to be bachants) that if M. Fröschel took a wife after the first or second death, then he is not a digamus who has two or more wives, as the jurists understand it; therefore they consider him to be no preacher or pastor, because he has had two wives.

Dear, look, where are we at home? They have to leave our church, and they should not be in it, but we want to expel them 1) from the chair in which they are standing, because they sneak in again with the pope. We do not want to suffer that the consciences are thus deceived.

1) D. i. to show.

The pious Elector will not suffer that the Bishop of Mainz should have his lawyers here and govern our Consistory.

I will have my turn with them, and they shall do it to me no more. I will disagree with them and burn myself honestly and throw myself over with them and see whether they will bring God's word under them or I will bring them under God's word. We do not want to suffer their arrogance and the papal idolatry of the Mainz.

But I do not mean to reject what is right, as if it were nothing and all rights were abolished; but we praise the right law as God's order. For we know, praise God, as St. Paul says, that the law is good, holy and right, if it is used and kept rightly; but we do not want to and cannot suffer the evil practices and abuses of perverse lawyers, but we reject it altogether. And since they will continue in this way, we want to drive them out of the church to the devil, and we want to know that the consistory is not to stand in their right, but it is to be under the parish priest.

I would not have believed that our lawyers should still be papists. Well then, I will also act against them with all my might; for I know that their thing is dirt, as far as the conscience is concerned: but they have no conscience, take a thaler or ten, and serve evil things, with the appearance of the right, so they decorate them, make them a waxen nose. If they do not win, they have nevertheless earned the money.

This I say to you young fellows who want to become lawyers, not to frighten you, but to remind and admonish you that you want to become pious, honest and sincere lawyers. For the law is right, but do not follow your preceptors in abuses and wicked practices: do not flutter about in unrighteous matters, as if no one could be a lawyer, for he would have to use such wicked practices. No, rights are not given by God for this reason, that one should make right out of wrong, and make wrong out of right, as the unchristian lawyers do, who only study law for the sake of money. Do not be offended or mistaken by this; nevertheless, study diligently.

Behold what they do now, while we are yet alive, in the bright light of the good gospel. If any man come to them with his cause, and say, My dear doctor, help my

cause; let them ask, What is that cause? Then saith he, Thus it standeth, that and the occasion hath 2c.

And when they perceive that it is a wicked thing (as they might easily perceive, if they diligently inquired into all the circumstances), they should say, Dear friend, I will not submit to this thing, I will not accept it,

for it is wicked and unholy: go and make terms with your opposite, as best you can. Oh no, dear doctor, says he, help me, there shall be no lack of money.

Well, says such a lawyer, a wicked Christian, I want to do as much as I can, I want to raise it and play it into the harbor 1) since I cannot receive it. Can you do that, he says? Yes, he says, probably ten years, or even longer; but in the meantime you must give me ten thalers on the hand. If you want to do that, then count them.

They prove that this is true by their works, deeds and lives; then they go away and become pious, like Reinicke Fuchs, and say that they cannot carry it out or maintain it, when the poor man has put a lot of great expense, effort and work into it, and has well filled their hands. Well, he says, if you cannot, then someone else can; so such a silver lawyer says, "Well, if someone else earns the money, then I can do the art too," and he wears one on his head for it; remember, God gives where the thalers fly from, they are good in the kitchen. So he accepts it with an evil conscience and says: "Well, I will see how I can help and do my best; but there must be money, without that I do not know how to advise you.

Dear fellow, study otherwise in the right, or you are damned and go into the abyss of hell. You say that you want to raise it, although you know that the thing is evil: you help to decorate it finely, paint it with a fine dye, hang it with legal sayings, with the hair pulled to it, so that you can make a noise before the eyes of the people.

1) D. i. Length.

make it shine and seem as if it were the truth, when in fact it is a vain dyed lie! Thus you sell Christ as well as Judas, and you are also Lucifer's companion. For you say: I know that the matter is evil, and you are wrong, yet I will see if I can make it right, and if it will not be otherwise, then I can postpone it and prolong it, one, two, or ten years, or even longer.

Does that mean legally, who acts and deals with it in such a way that he makes people tired, so that they have to let go of the law, and in the resentment, hatred and envy go there, yes, even die over it? It means the hellish fire on your head. It would be no wonder that God would let the world sink for the sake of such disgraceful jurists: one should tear the tongue out of the throat of such proud drops and rabbles. So they make it so that no poor man of right may console himself: for, if he comes into the right, then the matter is lost, if one has no more thalers to give, and can no longer fill such boys' hands.

I am angry, and I want to be, because they are interfering with me, yes, with God; I cannot and will not suffer nor have that the pope and Mainz with their nasty lawyers should govern the church. I wanted to let myself be torn apart with red-hot tongs. Therefore, lift yourselves out of the church, and hit the hole, dear proud nobles, I do not want to know you in this: the Bethlehem Lord also does not want them to enter elsewhere. I say this because we have grown on each other. I will also, if God wills, be man enough for them. They shall start 2c.

#### **21. by lawyers, that one should not approve nor permit secret betrothal.**

I let the jurists do what they can in the secular government. But if they are subordinate and want to govern the church, then they are not lawyers who should hold above that which is right, but canonists and asses' heads. Now they, the greatest number, secretly consider betrothal to be a thing that can be suffered, therefore they must also abrogate God's word when, according to the Pope's Ca.

and statutes to speak and judge straightly. Just as the Jews said, "A man shall say to his father and mother, 'Corban'; that is, 'It is given to you by God to benefit you'. 2c. But what does the Lord Christ say to this? Namely, "So that no one honors his father or his mother from now on, and so you have abrogated God's commandment for your own sake, Matt. 15:5, 6.

So the pope abrogates God's word and order, even tramples it underfoot,' and sets himself above God, wants to teach him and lead him into the school. Just as he has set himself above emperors and kings 2c. and has trampled them underfoot, and still commands his subjects not to be obedient to them, and has set them free from their oaths and duties 2c. But where is it written? The devil in the butt hole. If he were God's servant, he would do like the apostles, who teach that one should be obedient to the authorities, 1 Petr. 2, 13, as Christ also says Matth. 22, 21: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." So the devil's head sets himself above and against God; as he has deposed many emperors and kings, as Emperor Henry, incited the son against the father, and brought him with great torture under the earth 2c.; yes, he does it so that no one can say enough about it.

Because secret betrothals are created and written by the devil and the pope, his creatures and beautiful fruits, and are an accursed work of the devil, therefore everyone should resist and control it, who only can and should, as preachers, lawyers, judges 2c. And since the parents are willing to do so, eloquent and moved by the pope's law, which is so deeply ingrained and rooted in the heart that it cannot easily be torn out again, as we see and experience, it is nevertheless a forced and unwilling will, a cold and lazy yes, like a poor thief who is to be hanged, since he says, "I would gladly die," 2c. when he would much rather remain alive if he did not have to. Yes, the devil works and finally gets there, as he is then a thousand-fold who does not celebrate, that the parents then take a conscience about it, that they granted this.

have been ordered against God and by the devil; thus, they grieve to death, losing their authority and obedience that God has given them.

Therefore, I, D. Martinus, command in the name of the Lord our God, that no one get engaged secretly, and then, when it has happened, ask the parents for permission, and thus seek a cover of shame and reason to gloss over his evil intentions with it 2c. And in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, condemn in the abyss of hell all those who adhere to them and help promote such devilish work (the secret betrothal), amen.

Thus, not only the secret betrothal of the children is condemned, but also the parents' consent, which is the first thing that follows. For it is not a good, free, fatherly will, but an imposed, unwilling will, for it comes from the devil's cunning, on which the secret betrothal is based, because it confirms that which was instituted by the devil and is against God; which no one can ever recognize as good and right, if one would only open one's eyes and follow God's word more than the devilish pope's statutes and tyranny. Hence it is that parents grieve to death over this without being deprived of their goods, and their consciences are confused.

And since it may be thought that I am too hard and that I am too hasty, let it be remembered that I have a serious command from God, and that I cannot do otherwise than to preach the word of God and to punish and tear up the devil's statutes and lies. I should not approve of people pretending that it is a good, honest thing; yes, a damned thing that should not be protected, nor defended as right and seen through the fingers, as if it were not done wrong when children secretly get engaged and the parents have to agree to it.

Who will blame me here for punishing? The burden is on me, I shall and must answer for it, as God says in the prophet Ezekiel, Cap. 3, 17. 18. and Cap. 33, 7. 8. says: "I have set you as a watchman" (to watch over things) "over my people, I command you; if you say anything out of my mouth, I will punish you.

hear that you are to warn them on my account. If therefore I say unto the wicked, Thou wicked must die; and thou tellest him not, that the wicked may be warned of his nature, the wicked shall die for his wickedness' sake, but his blood will I require at thine hand" 2c. Therefore, if I see that the devil entices me with secret betrothals and other misdeeds, sins and disgraces, and draws on my parents' consent, which is then forced and wrested, and is not a free good will, and I am to consent to it, and take it upon myself as if it were done right, I will leave it. I will pronounce my judgment against you, saying, "It is against God, whom you greatly anger by this, for he has earnestly commanded that children should not betroth themselves secretly, that is, steal, without the knowledge and will of their parents; for he says to Jeremiah in 29, v. 6: "Take wives for your sons, and give husbands to your daughters, as Samson did when he saw a mead in the land of the Philistines, he said to his parents, "Give her to me as a wife" 2c., Judg. 14, 2.

This is necessary to say: Firstly, so that young people know that God has thus commanded, if they want to marry, that they should request and ask their parents for it, and not to get engaged, either against their will, or with their consent. On the other hand, I have to say it also for the sake of my conscience, to save and facilitate the same. Whoever does not want to follow God, let him always go, and he will know it. Since you do not want to hear it, nor suffer it, I will stand down every hour and hand over the preaching chair to you. But see how you will answer for it. God does not joke with him; know how to judge yourselves. 13)

## 22 Another sharp admonition to the jurists.

Dear people, you want to give me credit for my thoughts, since I will be a bit fierce

1) Aurifaber's marginal gloss: Dergleichen hat der liebe Mann Gottes geschrieben sehr ernstlich an die churfürstl. sächs. In the St. Louis edition X, 694 ff.

on the lawyers, because you shall hear reason enough, why it happens. We have now written many times, almost in all books, and we have painted it in such a way that it should be easy to grasp how the spiritual kingdom of this Lord Musk, 1) Jesus Christ, at Bethlehem is to be distinguished from the worldly kingdom, that it is almost too much and superfluous; yet the most learned, most understanding lawyers do not want to know or understand it, but mix everything up, entangle it, mislead the consciences and lead them into uncertainty.

That is why I have to wash their fur here (but we do not want to forget Mr. Moschel) and take the pope and his lawyers to school: because they are so coarse and incomprehensible that they do not know, we have to teach them. But we are not to learn from them. Even if they let themselves think that they know the art, they still lack it by a long way. For since they do not yet know how far the kingdom of the Lord Christ is distinguished from the kingdom of the world, they know nothing at all, and are gross idiots.

But, dear people, do not accept my wrath, which I have against the lawyers. I will take up with them in the bite and in the right, and (if God wills) carry out with God's word. For if they will not do otherwise than they pretend, and also want to take hold of the Lord Christ's kingdom, then I will not, cannot and will not suffer it, even if a hundred thousand lawyers were melted into one heap: they shall leave this regiment to me contentedly, not mix themselves into Christ's kingdom, nor confuse and dispute the consciences, or I will give them a Latin that will be too difficult for them and will please them badly: in it they may then use all their art, understanding, wit and law, and yet everything shall be too short for them.

And even if they say, "Oh, we won't do it," I know very well that they will do it, and they will force themselves to bring the pope and the bishop of Mainz back into the church with their shit and deceit, and to re-establish the devil's kingdom, which we have rejected with God's word. No, listen, I am not here for that,

that the lawyers should teach me what it means to govern and comfort the consciences. They are still too green for it, they know, with breeding, nothing about it, how one should keep house and lead the regiment in the church of God, so this Mr. Moschels realm is. I will not suffer it from them, so they may judge themselves by it and no other. They shall learn and suffer from me, otherwise they must not take it into their heads: if a hundred thousand lawyers were sitting on top of each other, and were as wise and learned as their Papinianus, even Solomon; for they take hold of our Lord Christ's spiritual government, and want to have their hands in all things, everything shall be done and directed according to their right and head: they want to do a shaky and tottering work and cause trouble in the consciences of men, whom we have hardly raised up and brought to certainty.

No, dear fellow, it is not a matter of wavering among Christians, but of playing the game of conscience. And as St. Paul says in Eph. 4, 14: "That we be no more children, being swayed and weighed with all manner of wind and doctrine, by the craftiness of men, and deceitfulness, to deceive us." And again Col. 2:4, 8, 18: "But I say of this, that no man deceive you with reasoned words. See to it that no one deceives you through philosophy and loose seduction according to the statutes of men, and according to the statutes of the world, and not according to Christ. Let no one deprive you of your goal, who walks along in humility and the spirituality of angels of his own choice, having never seen any, and is puffed up without matter in his carnal mind" 2c. Like the pope's law and the highly learned jurists, who hang in the pope's butt like the great lumps 2c.

### 23. a different one from lawyers.

2) There is one more thing of which I must give you a reminder. I think that all devils are present with all force. Our nobles, the lawyers, are subject to it,

2) This § is the second part of the sermon against the jurists, either on Sunday Reminiscere or Judica, 1539, introduced by what we have left in h 51.

1) i.e. ruler.

to publicly read the Jus Canonicum, the papal filth, to the youth, to praise it highly and to imagine it as if it were a delicious thing; which we, with great effort and work, have expelled from our church, rejected and condemned, and have proven with sufficient causes that it is not to be suffered nor tolerated in the church. But they want to bring such papal stinking filth back into our churches with pride and to our annoyance.

But I want to admonish you very seriously: do not try me too hard; if you are too comfortable, I will drive away the tickle. If you cannot bear that I have made you beautiful and white, then I will make you black again, and the devil shall ravish you. I will tell you where your damask and velvet showers come from. And if you desire it, I offer you defiance to fight with me for it. What, do you think I don't know what lawyers can do? I will tell you, are you lustful?

I am not afraid, praise God, of any lawyer, no matter how skilled and learned he may be. Put on your horns, if you are funny, I will put on mine too, and I will push you so that your back will crack. If you do not want to believe it, try it. I would have to be a poor Doctor Theologia, if I should be afraid of the jurists or learn from them. I know better what Jus Canonicum is than you will ever learn and experience. They are donkey farts; if you like, I will give them to you to eat.

Therefore I advise: let the old dog sleep; but if you awaken him, you shall not easily bring him to rest again, and do not bachantesire and protect 1) yourself much. O! what are the theologians? say the lawyers, it is vain bachantesire and protectiveness. But I will make you bachantes and protectors again, and you shall stink. This I will have sworn to you. You shall not rule us theologians, nor reign over us. The rule and the regiment (in the church) is ours, even if you become mad and foolish all at once. If you do not want to grant it to us, then you must, and the devil shall not know how to thank you for it.

And take the donkey farts out of the church, that's what I want to have; if not, you have to. There is nothing else in the whole papal, maligned, godless law (I should say: injustice) but donkey farts, in which one cannot learn even the smallest point or the smallest thing about faith, love, or sacrament. Protectiveness, yes, bullyism it is. And you want to prove your art in disgracing this whole church and throwing it to shame, to miss the poor youth with it, to disgrace yourselves, too, with great pleasure, and above all, to defy us with it. Yes, I will teach you well.

Is the devil in you that you do not know what to do? I thought you had enough to learn and study about imperial law; you should not also neglect and prevent the innocent youth with the donkey's farts. Otherwise, Jus imperatorum, the imperial law, is studium infinitu, in which one has enough to study. You should thank God that you would be rid of donkey farts if you knew what you should do for pleasure.

But I also think that the silver lawyers of the Thaler do such disgrace because of the holy church. Come on, I will atone for your lust, you are commanded to defy me. Do you dare to do this, because I am still alive, what will you do after my death? Well, I will have admonished you and also asked you to know it. If you are so comfortable with the donkey's feet, eat them elsewhere, and do not make a stink in our church.

#### **24. faithful admonition and warning, especially to the jurists, and how one may blessedly study in law.**

The lawyers are very upset, complain vehemently, and are angry with me for preaching so harshly to them. Well, how shall I do to him? I, as a preacher, must punish and say what is wrong, at the loss of my soul's salvation, as God says in the prophet Ezekiel, Cap. 3, 17. 18., that I should give an account for you. And if I punish thee for thine iniquity and sin, wilt thou still be angry with me? If I do

1) Bachant and Schütz are beginners, ABC students.

out of foolishness and ignorance, you would have cause to be angry with me; and if I commanded you as D. Martinus, you should not obey me. But because I do it as a servant of Christ, and tell thee by commandment of God Almighty, and of the high divine Majesty, who hath commanded me to tell thee, and to proclaim it, and to warn thee, thou shalt obey me justly. For if thou repentest not and amendest thyself, thou shalt die and be eternally damned; but I, if I have told thee, shall be excused. If I did not have to give an account for your soul, believe me, I would let you go unpunished.

Therefore you should have patience with us poor preachers, who preach not our word but God's word and command, and think: The priest will be eternally damned if he does not punish you; and if he does a little too much, he does not condemn me for it, so that it will harm my soul, but will bring me to salvation. For what he does, he does not do for his own person, but in God's stead: he who punishes, teaches 2c. through him, as his instrument. Therefore I will not act so hostilely with him, nor blame him when he punishes me: otherwise, if he did not do it, and let me go thus in my own and merciful mind, and did not tell me, 2c. I would be condemned with him.

We seek nothing but the salvation and happiness of your souls; yet you have not so much brain in your heads as to think: Behold, the word is not his, but God's, the high Majesty in heaven, to whom we shall be obedient, and consider his Christian admonition and warning good, and so accept it as if God Himself spoke to you 2c.

But if thou wilt not hear the word of God, and I must be silent; then shall the devil bring thee other preachers, whom thou must hear, than the Turk, Pabst 2c. The same ones the lawyers will gladly listen to. Now you have preachers who must answer for you. If you do not want to hear them, nor have patience with them, see where you will stay. We do not seek to be lords over you, as the pope does, but for the glory of God and your salvation, that you may

May you live godly, righteous and sober. If you want to be impatient and angry, go to the devil, the pope or the Turk, and they will teach you good manners.

This is also the case in the secular government. If a mayor or a judge punishes or does something good and necessary, they throw out the windows. Who wants to govern or preach in this way? If they were people, they should think thus: God has ordered and commanded that the subjects should be obedient to their authorities: now you are under this or that authority, they have a great burden on them, which they have to bear enough. But if thou thinkest that injustice is done thee, deal with it in an orderly manner, do not storm so, do not avenge thyself. But they are not people, but devils.

Hear for God's sake what the Holy Spirit earnestly commands the Ebrews in the epistle, and says of preachers and other overlords Cap. 13, 17: "Obey your teachers and follow them, for they watch over your souls, as they must give an account for it" (that is a hard word), "that they may do it with gladness, and not with sighing, for that is not good for you." These are the words of the Holy Spirit: they must watch for you, and give an answer; and still have the heartache for it.

Well, no one wants to have sinned and done wrong, from the highest to the lowest, yes, everyone still wants to defend evil. There will never be any repentance. But where there is no knowledge and confession of sin, there can be no forgiveness; therefore our preaching and admonishing is in vain.

Now people complain about lords, noblemen, lawyers, burghers, peasants, etc., that they weigh people down hard, translate, flay and scrape, and do it as they want, beyond all measure: they drive their wickedness and drudgery longer and longer. Thus sins increase daily and get out of hand, in all classes by all means; and yet no one wants to have done wrong, nor to have sinned. One can no longer sin now. Despite who may tell me and blame me. They talk to me about my honor. Shoot, this one,

that one! What does it matter to the priest? That this and that pass him by 2c.

Now what shall I do with my exhortation to repentance, since no one does wrong? And when we punish, one as well as another, no one excepted, in all classes, they grumble and are angry, complain that we do them wrong. So now the jurists are complaining, they are very pleased and angry with me for punishing them and attacking them so harshly. But I must do it for the sake of my office and conscience, and if I did not, I would have to be condemned with them and put my soul in the stocks. I do not condemn pious lawyers; but I will faithfully advise you and tell you what you should do and how you should conduct yourself, and study blessedly with God, usefully and fruitfully in law, and become a right lawyer in whom God is pleased, and who can serve countries and people with a good conscience and glory.

So do to him now:

In the morning, when you have risen, take your Psalter or Biblia before you in the fear of God and humility, from His command, and read a psalm or a chapter, and consider it diligently. Then fall on your knees and say from your heart in the name of Christ: Almighty, eternal God, heavenly Father, you have decreed and commanded that I should study law, learn and speak what is right; therefore give me grace and blessing to seek and find the truth alone, and do only what is pleasing to you, for your honor and for the benefit of country and people, for the sake of Christ, your dear Son, my Lord and Savior 2c.

That is what God likes. And if you pray in faith with all your heart, your prayer will surely be heard. Then go to and fall into the books, study diligently and confidently with joy, and He will give His blessing and prosperity to make you a fine useful man. For one.

On the other hand: Beware of the pope, the anti-Christian. For even today one finds lawyers everywhere, even in our country, who consider his stench to be bismuth and sanctity. Then put the cross in front of you and

Say: One should be obedient, not to the preceptoribus, in this case, but to Christ; he alone should be heard. As I have said concerning secret betrothals. These, together with other foolish and puppet works, tear out of your books, even your hearts, and speak what is right, not from papal, but according to imperial laws, which are according to natural law, and are not contrary to God's word.

I am well pleased that you are and will be a lawyer; but beware of the devil, the pope and his decrees. And if they want to teach you what is contrary to God's word, put the cross in front of you and go away: for such teachers and doctors are not God's, but the servants of the wretched devil in hell who has possessed them.

Therefore, be faithfully warned and admonished. I say again: we do not despise the jurists, but only punish the abuses and the pabst's blasphemy. Beware of this, as dear to you is your blessedness. Pray, be faithful and diligent in your office, help to end things, not to prolong them; as it commonly happens that they are postponed for many years, that both parties and attorneys fly out over them and die. For this reason, shorten the proceedings and settle them with two', or at most, three sentences for judgment in good matters: for you shall not accept evil, much less serve in it, nor defend it, against your conscience.

Yes, you might say, if I don't do it, someone else will, and he'll take the thalers in the meantime and run the show for him. Alas, it is all too true, and that is also what I am complaining about. But you, if you want to be a Christian otherwise, and not be condemned forever, do not indulge in such robbery and drudgery, by which the people are sucked dry and the advocates fattened. For it is a real drudgery; as a knacker once came to a silver lawyer, and said: Luck to you, God honor the craft. Then the doctor became unwilling. Yes, said the knacker, we are indeed of a craft, although we are in a degree more sorry, and not so great knackers, as you lawyers, although you do not want to have the name; for we knock dead animals, but you live people.



### 25. of rights and courts.

(Lauterbach, March 25, 1538, p. 46.)

On March 25, a certain citizen of Wittenberg came to ask Luther for advice in his case against Albrecht, Count of Mansfeld. Luther answered: You have a good cause, you only lack judges. For in all legal matters there are mainly two obstacles. First, if someone is right without being able to prove his right. You have both of these. The second obstacle is: a judge and executor. You lack this. Truth and right are well written in books, but they are nothing in practice. That is why D. Hieronymus Schurf said: The devil lead me, if it happens so, as it is written in books. Ah, truth, justice and righteousness is a hateful thing to the world, as Pilate answers Christ. No one suffers the right who otherwise dares to defend himself. The right is in the weapons, and it happens a metathesis, jus is vis.<sup>1</sup> For if they are powerful, they drag the matter out with long circumlocutions, and long damages follow. It is very dangerous with jurisprudence. Every man of goodwill should know the law, only to defend himself, that he may understand and hinder the wicked wiles of the world. Such a man is D. Brück. Other godless jurists, who seek only their own, have the right in arms.

After that he said of the jurists at court. If they have good sense and are only mediocre in jurisprudence, they are gradually sharpened by examples so that they become excellent by practice, more than those who lecture, who are only concerned with theory. For the court has things from which wisdom comes which govern the world, and not books [govern the world]. Therefore, in all estates, things and practice make people more learned than knowledge. Reading the Bible would never have brought me to the knowledge, if the things and the occasions at the opponents had not taught me. In the beginning, I would have been able to understand the Mass and the monastic

I defended myself with life and limb, but the matter itself taught me otherwise. So with the sacrament enthusiasts, the thing taught me that I held fast over the words "this is my body" and cared nothing for their digressions, and only held fast to the thing.

### 26. lawyers do not know cause to indicate from the spiritual right why the pope has forbidden the priests to marry.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 16, 1538, p. 12.)

Luther: When I saw the godless tyranny of the celibate life to some extent in the beginning of the Gospel, I did not trust myself, and approached D. Hieronymus Schurf that he would show me the cause of the celibacy from the Decretals, why such a great tyranny was imposed on the priests. (I never thought of the monks, because they were under the vow, but only of the parish priests, who cannot maintain the household without marriage). But he could not raise anything for certain, but answered that the pope does not force anyone to the priesthood. And so he could not answer my question. 1)

### 27 M. Luther does not want to suffer lawyers to teach him.

When D. Martinus began to preach about baptism in 1532, he came to the jurists and judged them thus: I do not want to suffer that Duke George, because otherwise he cannot do anything with me, 3) brews in our lawyers, that they truss me, and dictate to me what I should preach.

### 28. that it is dangerous to be a lawyer.

(Lauterbach, May 12, 1538, p. 80.)

It is true that jurisprudence according to the pandects [civil law] is a very good faculties, but now only the practice is driven before the court. Therefore it is a very dangerous profession, and D. Benedict Pauli freely admits that if he had many sons, he would

2) What follows in this § are several phrases that are repeated in Cap. 66, § 51; most likely spurious, therefore omitted here.

3) So Selnecker instead: with not nothing.

1) Metathesis, i.e. rearrangement of letters; ius the right thereby becomes uis, force; u and v were not distinguished from each other in former times....

not allow anyone to study law. I will also forbid it to my sons 1). For true law has been abolished, just as theology under the papacy was only a name and a sham. God will preserve His kingdom against all deceivers of the devil through sincere church servants. For the Gospel is in danger from sectarians and rebellious peasants and belly servants, as once the Roman Empire was in Rome.

**Lawyers and regents must believe the testimony, and speak and judge according to it.**

D. M. Luther was asked: "Did David do right, 2 Sam. 1, 15, to kill the one who said he would have stabbed King Saul, and yet he did not do it? Then he answered and said, Yea, he hath done right. So a judge does right when he pronounces an unjust verdict on the basis of the testimony of witnesses, who must be believed in what they testify and be satisfied with it if the judge does not know otherwise. The jurists must also do this and believe the witnesses; if they find out 2) afterwards that what they have testified is not true. For truth is in the mouths of two or three. Deut. 19, 15. Thus they have a rule: A judge should speak according to what has been presented and proven, *secundum allegata et probata*.

**30. jurisprudence has no certain proof.**

*Demonstratio* remains in *specie specialissima*: certain proof cannot be missing at all, stands only in that, which has no excerpt at all, and on nothing else can be interpreted and directed. But now a jurist deals with the *particularibus*, which are common and can have various extracts, therefore he can have no demonstration and real certainty. But a theologian does not err, in that he has God's word, pure and unadulterated; but a jurist cannot.

1) Cf. § 39 and 46 of this Cap.

2) So Stangwald. Aurifaber is missing the word "gleich".

3) d. i. no exception.

He must be sure that he can say it all with a single nail, and that he can always hit the right target. As in this case, when one has killed himself, there can be no certain demonstration and proof, for it is far-reaching, like all morality, to concern outward good breeding. It is evident from the deed that he has hanged himself; but if the devil should come and conduct this affair, all princes and lawyers would be too weak to do so. For he could say that he had struck him on the neck, pushed him himself, put the knife in his own fist, and put the rope around his neck, as the devil often does and is wont to do.

Although it is true that he who kills himself does wrong, it is not strictly and certainly true that he has killed himself; therefore there is no demonstration that it is not certain and otherwise; and yet God allows such a murderer who has killed himself to be judged and condemned by the authorities. Therefore *moralis Philosophia*, the art that deals with external discipline, has no demonstration and certainty. But *Scientiae Mathematicae* and natural philosophy have demonstrations and certain rules that are not lacking; for in these there is no change, but it always remains certain: as, one always remains one, two two, three times three nine 2c.; the whole is greater than any piece of it 2c. But in moral philosophy, which stands in outward good customs and discipline, there the *materia*, that, with which it deals, is changed according to the circumstances. But a judge or jurist is excused if he does what concerns his office, and acts according to the laws described with diligence, and discusses as much as he can, in the fear of God: even if he does not hit it all at once, the same belongs to the Lord's Prayer: Forgive us our trespasses.

**31. of thorough proofs.**

Evidence is of three kinds: one is quite certain, which cannot be lacking; the other is proven, that it is commonly so; the third is *sophistical* or *evil*. In the proven one belongs what in medicine and jurisprudence comes from art, from certain causes and rules.

For 1) a jurist can say: This one has killed himself or another, therefore he is a murderer or death-beater; but it is no demonstrative nor even certain proof, which cannot be missing; because one can say: I do not know how it happened to me; because many innumerable cases are, which can happen approximately, thoughtlessly and against one's will. 1)

That is why they themselves say: in moral material, as far as external good breeding and discipline are concerned, the means of virtue should be well judged, considered, and held according to the certain purpose, so that it is hit when it is possible. But this is often lacking. But it is not so in the Scriptures, which have their certain rules and proofs that cannot fail nor be false, as when they say, "He that believeth shall be saved," Marc. 16:16. Although it cannot be known who believes, yet this is certain: He that believeth on Christ meets the right end. Circumstances do not change anything here, so whoever, if, as, where 2c. he wills, believes, he will be saved; for one cannot fail in Christ, having been presented in the Word and having believed in Him. He that lacketh, hath lacked altogether.

But in the right there is no case nor action that could not become uncertain in a case. For the same things that occur and happen beside or at the same time are innumerable, which make the substance and essence of it wrong and unjust. Thus adultery is sometimes not adultery; as if one slept ignorantly with his own wife, and thought no otherwise than that he slept with another. That is why it is said in schools: *accidentia possunt adesse, vel non*; accidental things can be there or not there. So it can sometimes happen that patricide is not always a sin, as if the son unknowingly and against his will, approximately, hit his father, and he died of it 2c.

Therefore, no certain rule can be given that cannot be missing at all, one must include in so many excerpts 3) to oerterns 4) whether one cannot always be sure of it.

1) Here with Stangwald "like" is omitted.

2) So Stangwald instead of Muthwillen.

3) d. i. Exceptions.

4) So Stangwald instead of: "zum örtern".

Nevertheless, one must not leave it standing and do nothing about it; but do as much as one can in the fear of God, from His command, and let Him rule, and say: Dear God, You have placed me in this state and commanded me to do this: I do this as much as I can with Your help, give blessing and prosperity to it; if I do too much or too little, forgive me for the sake of Your dear Son. But in theologia there is no exceptio nor excerpt, there one must be absolutely sure that it is thus and not otherwise. For a theologian and preacher must not say: Lord, if I have taught wrongly, forgive me; but what he teaches and writes publicly, of this he must be certain, and say: God has spoken, taught, written, and is his word, therefore it is certain truth.

### 32. Comparison of jurisprudence and medicine against theology.

Above I have said much about *demonstrationibus* and certain proofs, which are not lacking, but always certainly true; which has this opinion and understanding, that in rights no case can be given and indicated, which one could prove certainly, so that not at all lacked; because the quarrel is always in *Minori* and above the other proposition of the final speech.

But I like to talk about this trade, because it distinguishes the professions and ranks among the scholars in a fine way; namely, that the right are *Moralia*, deal with the things that concern external and good discipline. Therefore the emperor is a *moralis philosophus*, disciplinarian and teacher. But medicine is natural philosophy, an art that deals with natural things and has to do with them. Nature cannot come higher than to preserve the body and the mind, than to preserve health and good morals. A physician prepares the instrument, that is, the body, which a lawyer should use properly. After these comes theology, and says: We must also have something after this temporal life, namely, eternal life, which is given to us by grace, without our merit, free of charge, for Christ's sake through faith.

Aristotle is the best teacher of one in Philosophia morali, how one should lead a finely chaste external life; in naturali Philosophia he is no good. For when he disputes natural things, he says in general whether a thing moves or not. The same, however, is the same as if a physician said, "Your body has its movement from health to disease: whoever becomes ill has been healthy before; but he should call the disease by its proper name, expressly, specifically, and indicate what it is called.

But theologia has its special, explicit, certain demonstrations, reasons and rules; as Luc. 10, 16: "He who hears you", says Christ, "hears me" 2c. You hear me in him who is God's servant and teaches His word, therefore you certainly hear God Himself. Item: Whoever is baptized is baptized by God and becomes blessed. You are baptized; therefore you are baptized by God and will be saved. This we must know, that whoever is baptized will be blessed. And even though we cannot really and certainly know who believes, it is certain with God that whoever believes will be saved. Neither the jurists nor the Medici have such special, certain demonstrations and rules; they have common rules, but they do not teach anything certain.

### 33. what is praiseworthy in rights.

(Cordatus No. 395. 431. 432.)

I like that the rights are always more favorable to the defendant than to the plaintiff. For if the accused has no advocate, the court day can be postponed, which is not allowed to the plaintiff. Thus it is better for a tyrant to be in fear than for those who are plagued by him.

GOD will receive His word from earth in the pen.

The theologians are the keel on the feathers, the lawyers the stocking. 1) But if they do not want to keep the keel on the feather, they ruin the theologians and themselves.

### 34. spiritual law.

(Contained in Cap. 32, § 5.)

### 35. the jurist's art.

What great and delicious things can lawyers do, even if they boast highly and want to master and rule everything, even that does not belong to their art? For if they can do many things, they can build and erect a kitchen and a dishing house. If it tastes good in the kitchen, it tastes all the worse in the dishonest place of the house, said D. Martinus, thus touching the lawyers' belly.

### 36. of the jurists' piety.

When D. Weiler and D. M. Luther were discussing with each other about the piety of theologians and lawyers, D. M. Luther said: Being pious actually belongs to the theologians, not to the lawyers, as the world is now; although they should also be pious before others. And he went on: M. Georg Rörer and Amsdorf are pious theologians, but only one jurist is pious and wise, D. Gregorius Brück.

### 37. the theology preference.

The jurists must let the theologians sit at the top, or must go down to the lowest, they may be guided by this; otherwise nothing will come of it. However, for the sake of avoiding greater 2) evil, one should tolerate a few. This we will gladly do with the lawyers and be content; only that they do not grasp so hard at our Lord God's beard, that he cannot suffer: so we, who are his servants, shall not suffer it either. So we come to blows with one another and scuffle. But God helps the weakest here and saves his honor. Even if some of us succumb to it and fall to the ground, there is nothing to it; God will and must finally prevail and keep the field. This and no other.

The jurists are (de facto) against GOD by deed, not (de jure) by right. For since GOD is a Lord and Founder of all good and honest rights, as Solomon says in his

2) So Stangwald. Aurifaber: "great".

As Proverbs says in chapter 8, they should fear him and judge themselves and their rights according to his word and will; they should not use and interpret against him according to their own head and pleasure, to his shame and to the harm of other people. As, unfortunately, is seen and experienced all too often. Therefore, it is very dangerous to be a lawyer now; although the art, as a gift of God, is right and good, but the abuse is wrong and criminal.

### 38. disagreement of jurists and theologians.

There is an eternal quarrel and struggle between lawyers and theologians. Just as law and grace are not compatible with each other, for they are opposed to each other; so lawyers and theologians are also at odds, for one always wants to be higher than the other. This is the reason that the jurists want their thing to be considered the highest. They have now ruled for four hundred years, and have always despised the theologians, and have been disgusted with them. When I studied at Erfurt, the lawyers were allowed to offer theologia to the doctoribus: Don't the donkeys know how to walk? They were called donkeys, and yet they were cathedral provost, decanus and in the regiment. Now, because their rule is taken away from them and their things are overturned, their books are rejected and they are expelled from the church, and they do not want to let them rule the church and appoint parishes, they are lazy. Therefore the theologians and jurists will never be one: they want to be in the church and govern the conscientias with it; we do not want to suffer that. We have read their books: they do not let go of their negation.

Therefore it is a special grace, if a lawyer is to be a good Christian, there must be the Holy Spirit. For, as Doctor Henning said, if you give in to one thing, they always want to have everything. If our gospel is right, as there is no doubt about it, then the Pabst's fair cannot be right. We have finely distinguished how far the lawyers should go with their regiment; but they do not want to do it, they want to rule over everything alone. The regiment is the primogeniture of Esau and Jacob; Esau wants to rule, and Jacob owns the regiment.

At another time D. M. Luther: Our jurists pronounce a verdict for me in the Consistorio, quod pertinet ad conscientiam regendam: that belongs here in the church for me D. Martinum and other theologians. Extra conscientiam they shall speak, not intra conscientiam; they shall have jura corporum et famae, there we theologians ask nothing. But that they want to fall into the spiritualia and rule the conscientias, that we cannot stand.

Item, he said: We have to tear up the Consistory, because we do not want to have the lawyers and the Pope inside. The lawyers do not belong in Ecclesiam with their processes, otherwise they will bring the Pope in again.

### 39 Theologians praise jurisprudence highly.

Take all the lawyers in the whole world and see if one of them has praised theology and holy scripture as I have praised their profession and art. Dear sirs, we theologians praise and extol you highly; but you do not do so again. All lawyers do not esteem God's word as great and high as we esteem them. Only D. Gregorius Brück gives to God what is God's, and to the emperor what is the emperor's; but the others do not give it to God, but to themselves. He runs daily in the Bible, because he wants to be sure of the teaching. How then, truly, it is highly necessary for everyone who wants to be a Christian and to be saved.

Summa Summarum: Our life is called Remissio peccatorum, forgiveness of sin, otherwise it does not want to keep the stitch 1). Theologia deals with God, it cannot court God as much as a jurist can do with the temporal and with the thalers. That is why lawyers have greater speculation and thought, said D. Martinus.

Then he took his little son in his hands and said, "If you were to become a lawyer, I would not be satisfied with you. He must become a preacher, he must baptize, preach, administer the sacrament, go to the sick, and comfort them and other afflicted.

1) So Stangwald instead of: nothing.

**40. the scholars the perverse.**

A jurist, if he is not illuminatus doctrina Christiana; a medicus, if he is not instructus doctrina Christiana; likewise also a poet; so it is rightly called: A jurist an evil Christian; item: The scholars the perverse.

**41. difference among lawyers.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 20, 1538, p. 176.)

After that he said to Doctor Heinrich Schneidewein that he was suitable for his law faculty by his dispositions and nature, and he made classes of lawyers. Some are by nature, like D. Brück, who would be very excellent by nature, effective and powerful in practice. Some are artificial [jurists], who are capable of much in advice, like D. Hieronymus Schurs, but in practice he soon lacked. Some are quite righteous, like D. Sebalus (Münster) [in Nuremberg]. Some are quite devilish, like Türck, Breitenbach 2c.

**42. difference of the right.**

(Lauterbach, July 7, 1538, p. 97.) [MISSING TEXT.]

Natural law is the practical basis that has to do with morality, forbids evil and commands good. The given [positivum] right is a judgment, has an epitome of probable reasons and agrees with the natural right. The cause of this [natural right] is God, who created this light. But the cause of this is the authority, as theft has the punishment of hanging according to the given right for the sake of acceptable causes; not like the law of Draco, who condemned all thieves, if they had stolen even one hen, to hanging, which has no acceptable causes and is against nature. That is why that law was said to be written in blood. But still the punishment must be carried out more severely in wilder nations.

**43. of Saxon law.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 22, 1538, p. 177.)

Then he spoke of the gross barbarity of the law of the Saxons, which had very strict laws, and it was very good that the common and imperial law remained throughout the empire. But it is too deeply torn, and a change could not be made without great confusion. Thus the law of the Saxons is inequitable against women. If a man, at his death, leaves behind a wife who has lived with him faithfully for many years, she is forced to go out like a maid, because the law says that only a chair and a distaff are to be given to the widowed woman who is left behind. This is interpreted by the lawyers according to the grammar: A chair and skirt. Thus a pious woman would be worse off than a maid. But I understand chair and skirt allegorically: a house and livelihood, as also the lawyers interpret this allegorically: The four stakes for the whole house.

After that it was said that Doctor Fachs had tried to bring the Saxon law into an order and method. Luther said: He will work in vain, as if I wanted to conjugate the verbum sum regularly: sum, sus, sut.

**44. the jurists justice.**

The righteousness of lawyers is a worldly, external righteousness; but ours, of theologians, is in praedicamento relationis, 1) a foreign righteousness, namely of the Lord Christ, which God gives us out of pure grace, without all our merit and good works, to those who grasp it by the word with faith.

**45 Few lawyers, many procuratores.**

D. M. Luther said: "There are few lawyers, but many procuratores and tongue-thrashers. Now everything goes to the forms and practices for the sake of enjoyment. But you lawyers will also have to have a Luther, like the theologians.

3. 1) I. e. belongs to the category of relationship. Cf. cap. 38, z

### The world is governed by opinions.

The jurists rule the world only with opinions and opinions, not with the law; that is why many things are often postponed and conducted until the tenth year or longer. If one governed with laws, then it would go through soon and quickly. For law is called and is, first, that which is thus decided by wise men and considered good and useful; second, that which is publicized and publicly proclaimed; and third, that which people have accepted and need, which a city and all its neighbors know. That is why Doctor Henning and SchUrf used to say that they did not like to advise anyone to the Faculty, not even their own children. God keep my sons, said Doctor Martinus. My last will is that no one in Jure promonire.

#### 47. what is in D. Basilii M. Promotion proponiret.

Anno 1539, the 16th of January, was D. B. M[onner's] 1) graduation in the castle church, there was also the Abbot of the Naumburg at St. Georgen, a pious, God-fearing husband, who prepared a school on his own food and from the income of the monastery, and daily fed the schoolmaster and his journeymen together with several boys. He was placed first after the rector. After his graduation, Johannes Luther, the son of the doctor, propounded a question to the new doctor, which he was to explain, namely: Whether Augustine and Emperor Honorius had done right, that they had taken the spiritual and church goods from the heretics and given them to the Catholicis and righteous, Christian pastors and teachers? 2c. This annoyed D. j. SchUrf, and left the church soon after the actu, since the promotion had only happened, and did not come to the prandio and meal.

#### 48) How pious lawyers do it.

(Cordatus No. 649.)

It will be the same for the lawyers as for the theologians. For that is why they are hostile to us, that

1) Bindseil I, 291.

we tell the truth to the world. If the lawyers also tell the truth to the nobility, you will have it as good as we do. They despise us both, if they have to know the truth about us. In sum, they say, we theologians can do nothing' and the jurists can do nothing either. Caesar Pflug once said: They must be loose people who handle the Scriptures and have nothing else to do. Finally he died sine lux et crux. That was his business.

#### You can't give way to the pope at all.

(The first movement in Cordatus No. 1680.)

Theology gives life and blessedness, all other faculties only nourish the body. Since one of these faculties wants to resist theology, this is not to be suffered. Since we yield to the pope in only one article, we are caught in all of them. But the pope will not yield to us even in the smallest article. Well then, I will offer the chair to our lawyers, and gladly follow them, only that they do not press against the conscience of Pabst's kingdom and regiment. Since they want to defend this, there can be no peace among us.

Item: Our church after us, with our descendants, will have a great lack of righteous ministers of the gospel. Because the monasteries have been devastated, from which we nevertheless had many people for church service; so now they want to spoil our dear youth with their papal filth, and we should remain silent? That would be done against God. If they want to be against us, let them say so publicly, and we will confront them. The ancients said: A legist is a man who deals with worldly things that belong to the government; but a canonist is a pure ass and the pestilence of the church. And these are the ones we should worship?

#### 50 The Canonists' Argument against Doctor Luthern.

The canonists' most noble argument, which they use against our doctrine, is this: Yes, they say, our doctrine is confirmed by emperors and kings, but the Lutheran doctrine is not accepted, nor confirmed by them,

but condemned 2c. Answer: God is above emperors Canonists, who despised the teaching of the Gospel and kings, also above jurists; for the legal expert and confused the young law students in their lectures Baldus, one of the most distinguished jurists, clearly with papist abominations, spoke shabbily of says: That God's word and law shall be above all theologians and called them asses' heads. I do not imperial rights. But they keep God's law strictly want to give them that, he, D. Martinus, said publicly: according to their thoughts, speculative. "I have now been silent for three years; if they want to

Ah, if Bartolus and Baldus had had such time as condemn me, for my person, they do it from God's we have now, praise God! they would have been able word, not from the Pope's right. And since I would be to do it much differently. That they have erred is due to condemned, as I am not, they should hold in honor, ignorance; but our people err knowingly. Therefore the love and value our teaching, which is God's word, canonists are vain diabolists and pure devils; for which the Holy Spirit Himself leads out of our mouth, because they have now been buried, and have even if Caiphaz or Judas said so. And even if the become rich, they vex the church, and make vain canons were the best, we are not bound by them. For we do not want to worship the Pope's dung and filth despisers. The decretists and canonists, indeed, the majority of the jurists, have never been good, they for the sake of the jurists, they may keep their right for themselves, as good as it is; but they should leave our church satisfied, should not imagine godless doctrine cannot digest the pope. for themselves, as good as it is; but they should leave our church satisfied, should not imagine godless doctrine

**This is the first time that the author has written a book on the subject.**

Anno 1539, on Sunday Reminiscere, the 2nd of March, D. Martinus once again chastised the jurists in the sermon, as also soon after on Sunday Judica, 1) who reject God's word, and want to rule the church with their canonibus, or with the pope's Dreckett; refuted their definition of digamy, of more than one wife. And admonished the young lawyers to study righteously in the law for the benefit and service of the secular government, not to become the pope's servants and asses: they should only not become rich lawyers, as some and the largest number had been and still are, that is, canonists, blasphemers, enemies of Christ and his Gospel.

(Here, 5 paragraphs are omitted, because a more complete relation of this admonition to the jurists is already given in § 23 of this chapter).

**52. wrong lawyers blasphemy.**

In 1539, Feb. 23, when he had preached a serious sermon on excommunication and banishment, he severely scolded the lawyers and

1) Everything that Aurifaber mentions here as having been preached on the Sundays of Reminiscere and Judica 1539, is also found in the sermon that has already been reported in § 20 of this chapter, which is said to have been preached in 1544.

to young people in lectionibus, and mock the theologians. But the ingratitude of the rabble and the scorn and ridicule of the lawyers, which they inflict on the theologians, will deprive the church of faithful servants. At Augsburg, the papists themselves asked the pope to appoint laymen to the ministry of preaching and church service. Just as St. Ambrose was appointed bishop of Milan, even though he was a layman and a man of the world. Righteous preachers will, indeed, soon become thin. One may well thank God for giving them and hold them in honor, otherwise he will take them away from us and put them out of sight; for he cannot suffer his servants sent by him to be despised and trampled underfoot.

**The most important thing to look out for in your dealings.**

(The first paragraph Lauterbach, Dec. 5, 1538, p. 187.)

The sharpest right is the greatest wrong. (Cic. Rev. 1, 10. § 33. Terent. Heaut4, 1, 48.) Therefore *παιδεία* [equity] is necessary, which is not an audacious indulgence of the laws and of discipline, but an interpreter of the laws, which sometimes alleviates a circumstance in legal cases, especially such, of



which the law does not mainly speak. It abates them; but this abatement must be of such a kind that it is not an annihilation. For against the natural law and the divine law no abrogation is to be permitted, and necessary moral duties are to be preferred to ceremonies, except in the case of confession.

(The following Cordatus No. 603.)

Tree that brings forth fruit, though nothing is preached of it, saying: but the law is in theology; which is not begotten, but shall come to pass and be done, or does not rhyme: moreover, since natural law is appropriated and given to man, as the lawyers set and describe it, all things are admitted.

**55. lawyer stand is now a dangerous stand.**

(This § is contained in § 28 of this chapter).

A young	Lawyer Theologia n Regent	wants to have the highest	Right Holiness Obedience;
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**56. lawyers should advise.**

(Cordatus No. 1040.)

Success teaches us what this is good for.

**54 The jurists have only the peoples right.**

The jurists do not actually describe and define natural law as being common to both humans and unreasonable animals 2c. For a man, as a master, even according to the law of nature, must be distinguished from other animals and beasts, and something better and more excellent must be assigned and given to him before other animals; therefore it would be better and rightly spoken if they said: Natural law is partly animal. On the other hand, it is not so in unreasonable animals, for these have no right, but only in man; therefore it is not really called by them natural right. For right is actually that which should and must be done. So five and three are not eight, but are of themselves, by nature.

So it is not really said that the law of nature or natural law is in an animal, in that it protects and shields itself from unjust force; for the protection happens from itself and is natural. Therefore, in a beast and unreasonable animal is the deed and the work, not the right, which is only in a man. Thus begetting, bearing, nourishing and protecting children are only deeds and works, not rights. After all rights must be the debit, the must. For one may not say to a sow that she should eat. Therefore the jurists do not actually have natural law, but only the law of nations, which flows from human reason. Right is not a thing, as an animal, so begotten, as a

Jurists are not to be tongues wagger and chatters, but legal scholars and people who give an account of what is right or wrong. But if this is despised in them, they are forced to conduct lawsuits. In Italy, however, they are held in high esteem, for there they have three hundred florins, while in Germany a legal expert is hardly paid a hundred. Also the pastors should be provided with ample living; but since this is not done, they are forced to cultivate the land, to be stewards 2c.

**The first two words are: "The first two words are the first two words.**

Doctor M. Luther said: Studium Juris, to study law, would be a sordidum, impolite, and nasty thing, since one would only seek enjoyment, money, and property in order to become rich. Then Peter Weller, who was with him in the house and went to the table, said: He would not have the sense and would not do it. Then M. Luther cried out loudly and said to his family, "Wolf, go and ring the great bell and bring water to cool him down. But when he insisted on it and said yes, the doctor asked him whether he was studying in law only for the sake of knowing what is right or for the sake of pleasure. Then he would be nonsensical; but the final cause, why you become lawyers and study law, is the money, that you may become rich.

**58. a respectable council at a court.**

Nothing, said D. M. Luther, is more harmful than a respectable council. If one hears his advice and concerns, it has hands and feet; but if it is to be started and put into action, it stands like a stubborn horse that cannot be moved.

**59. lawyers do not know what the church is.**

The lawyers do not know what ecclesia (the church) is. If they searched all their books, they would not find what Ecclesia, the Church, is; therefore they should not reform us here. *Omnis Jurista est aut nequista, aut ignorista*: Every jurist is either a mischievous one, or an ass that knows nothing in divine matters. And if a lawyer wants to talk about it, say to him: "Do you hear, fellow, a lawyer should not talk here before a sow: so he should say: "Thank you, dear grandmother, I have not heard a sermon for a long time. They shall not teach us what ecclesia (church) means. There is an old saying: A lawyer is a bad Christian. That is true.

**6V. That the *Epiikia* must rule in all matters.**

The 15th of February Anno 1546 D. Martinus said at Eisleben: That Aristotle had written no better book than *Quintum Ethicorum*, and he put a beautiful definition, *quod justitia sit virtus consistens in mediocritate*, prout sapiens eam determinat; there he threw in *ἐπιχειρίαν*; and said further: *Legislator rudi materia rem determinat, et si omnes casus praevidisset, tum eos signasset: ergo prout sapiens determinat, etc.* This is very nicely spoken. The jurists now want straight, *quod justitia sit virtus, consistens tantum in mediocritate*. Do not want to allow that, prout sapiens determinat. But what is bonus magistratus, vel bonus princeps? Respondeo: est viva lex. If he wants to be mortua lex, and do only according to what is written on the parchment, it often turns out badly. Therefore, one must have *ἐπιχειρίαν*.

But Doctor Levin von Enden of Magdeburg said to D. Luther: That Baldus wrote:

*Illum bestiam esse, qui pateretur se fieri arbitrum, quia onus illud in se transferri patitur, quod alioqui multis prudentibus relinqueretur deliberandum.* Then O. Martinus said on it: *Melius est, unam esse bestiam, quam ut multi homines sint bestiae.* And what are 1) also jurists, so evil, 1) different, because 1)68tiL6?

Then D. Jonas said: "Doctor, now we are accused of this: Since the laity have the power to judge Christian doctrine, they also want to settle and reconcile worldly disputes, and then involve princes and lords in such disputes that nothing good comes of it. Each one wants to be the *Vir sapiens*. Then the doctor answered: "One should see to it, *ut habeant virum vere prudentem; ἐπιχειρία* must remain.

Mantuanus vocat *jurisconsultos legum tyrannos, cum dicit: Legumque Tyranni rabulae forenses.*

**61. a whimsical case.**

(Cordatus No. 602.)

Cases that happen by chance make a mockery of the highest law of jurists, and it is because the strongest law must not be exercised, but equity. Example: A donkey, which is pulled into a ship and tied to it, moves the empty ship elsewhere, while the skipper is absent so long that the loosened ship and the donkey are wrecked. Here it asks itself now, which of both can be forced to the payment. So also the theologians must preach, keeping the greatest equity, that the people do not become too holy or too evil.

**62. *aequitas habenda, non summum jus.***

(Cordatus No. 452 and 857.)

Those who love equity need not resort to the strictest right, for it must be forgiveness of sins. Before quarreling, one should cut off half the neck of the strictest right, and then equity could find a place.

The strongest medicine is the greatest weakness, the sharpest right is the greatest wrong, the greatest theologian is the greatest sinner.

1) So Stangwald instead of "to be".

## The 67th chapter.

# Of schools, universities and good arts.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. where to get preachers and pastors.</li> <li>2. what houses most comfortable.</li> <li>3. from the University of Erfurt.</li> <li>4. the benefits that come from schools.</li> <li>5. several universities and schools in Germany, so Christian are.</li> <li>6. from the deposition.</li> <li>7. deposition, what it is useful for.</li> <li>8. from the University of Wittenberg.</li> <li>9. of degrees and doctorates in universities, and of good arts.</li> <li>10. God sustains good arts and schools.</li> <li>11. that it is better to study now than in the past.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. from the dialectica.</li> <li>13. what the dialectica is.</li> <li>14 A question from the Dialectica.</li> <li>15 Another question from the Dialectica.</li> <li>16. the difference between dialectics and rhetoric. What the Grammatica teaches.</li> <li>18. from disputations.</li> <li>19. from weekly disputations.</li> <li>20. what is the eloquence.</li> <li>How dialectics is used in schools, teaching and training.</li> <li>22. schools maintain the church.</li> </ol> |
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### 1. where to get preachers and pastors.

Schools must be given by pastors and preachers, as is also done in the papacy; but what has come to cathedrals and vicarages has become rotten and done no good.

At another time, Luther said: "From schools one must take pastors and preachers, who must build and maintain churches. Schools and parishes are better than the concilia; that is why I have preferred them to the concilia in my booklet, which will annoy the papists.

In 1539, on January 28, Luther said how now the youth had such a good time and comfort to study, because all arts were taught in a fine, orderly and correct way, so that one could easily grasp who was not a fool. In this way, the boys would not be held so harshly. In former times, the youth was pulled too hard, so that they were called martyrs in school: especially they were plagued with the Lupo and Casualibus and Temporalibus, which was no use at all, very annoying and burdensome, also unfunny, so that one only spent the good time and spoiled many a fine, skilful head; but it did not last beyond six years. Now, at this time, when God has again given good arts, and those who can teach them finely correctly, the youth does not want to study, is lazy, careless and disgruntled. And read the young Hans von A. a good

Text for the sake of his disobedience and indiscipline, since he had a fine head and ingenuity for studying, and his parents had a lot of interest in him, they wanted him to learn something, and since he would not improve, he wanted to trample him underfoot himself. For I do not want to know or suffer such examples of disobedience in my house and over my table," he said, "even if you had earls' estates: you judge yourself by them, I do not want you to suffer them.

### 2. which houses are the most comfortable.

D. M. Luther praised the houses in cities above others, and said that those were the best for married couples, which had two rooms high and well situated to the churches and the market.

(The following Cordatus No. 1110. 1111.)

I hope that the universities of Erfurt and Leipzig will flourish again, since they agree with our theology. But some must lay down their heads first.

Theology maintains the universities, lawyers do not. It is allhie no more than a Schindleich. Erfurt is in the best position where a city must stand, even if it should be destroyed. It is now no more than a stable full of pigs. Where evil food is, there are funny people, because they have to search. Where fat fields are, there they do not build the houses, but fatten the bellies. Bavaria and Switzerland are barren, but well cultivated.

### 3. from the University of Erfurt.

(Cordatus No. 1004.)

The University of Erfurt was once so large that all the others were hardly Particularschulen. I do not believe that there has been a larger secular school in the world than [the number of those] who wanted to be graduated [there] as Magisters. 1)

### 4. useful, so comes out of schools.

(The beginning of this § in Lauterbach, Oct. 1, 1538, p. 139 f.). What then follows until the end, 12 Dec. 1538, p. 189.)

On October 1, he praised the usefulness of the schools, which, although they had little prestige, nevertheless created great benefit, which was simply the preservation of the church. For there the youth is educated to godliness and sent to all ranks. From them, collaborators and school teachers are chosen to be servants of the church. Woe to Germany, because it neglects the schools so much! Woe to the bishop of Mainz, who destroys the universities in Erfurt and Mainz, which he could preserve with one word! Only this corner in Wittenberg flourishes in studies. The papists -will probably build the stable in time, when the wolf has eaten the cattle. The bishop of Mainz is guilty of this sin; indeed, he is the ruin of the schools and of all Germany. He deserves the punishment for it, because he has a pale color in his face, earth-colored, deadly, as if clay is stained with blood. As he is by nature and character, so he has his color. He has certainly incited Lemnius against D. Brück, that he should call him the most excellent rabulist [chatterer]. He does not care much about my person, because he is dead in the first table [of the holy ten commandments, but he fears the bridge in the second table. Therefore Lemnius is instigated to attack him. For it is probable that his courtiers and lawyers are the most spiteful enemies of Brück, who want to retaliate against him with this attack. I want to tease D. Brück with this "Rabulist".

On December 12, there was a lot of talk about universities and their ceremonies; the be-

1) *quam erat promotio Magistrandorum.*

The most famous, and which would have the largest number of students, would be the one in Paris, where the theologians would have your own and very pleasant place in the city, called the Sorbonne. I believe it is so called from the sorbis, the apples near the dead sea, which outwardly have a very beautiful appearance, but inwardly they are ashes. Thus the University of Paris is very frequented, which is the mother of many errors; for it holds quite boorish disputations; they shout among themselves, as in a tavern, Latin, French, Italian, and finally they enforce silence by clapping hands. But they do not award a doctorate in theology to anyone who has not proven himself for ten years, admittedly, in their futile sophistry. In Bourges, too, they adorn the graduated doctors and give them fish traps to catch people with.

### 5. quite a few universities and schools in Germany Christian.

(This § is transferred to Cap. 4, § 71, where it belongs).

### 6. from the deposition.

And when D. Martinus was at a deposition together with some excellent scholars, he graduated three boys and said: "This ceremony is used so that you may be humbled, not be hopeful and presumptuous, nor become accustomed to evil. For such vices are strange monstrous beasts, which have horns not befitting a student, and are evil. Therefore humble yourselves and learn to suffer and have patience, for you will be deposited all your lives. In great offices, the burghers, peasants, the nobility, and your wives will one day depose you and plague you. If such things happen to you, do not become fainthearted, despondent and impatient, for they will not overcome you; but be confident, and suffer such crosses with patience, without murmuring: remember that you are consecrated to suffer at Wittenberg, and you can say when it comes: "Well, I have first begun to be deposited at Wittenberg, that must be done.

last my whole life long. So this deposition of ours is only a figure and image of human life, in all kinds of misfortunes, plagues and chastisements. Poured wine on their heads and absolved them from bean and bachanten.

#### **7. the deposition, to which it is close.**

When at a different time M. Antonii Lauterbach's famulus, B. Tham, was deposited, and D. M. Luther graduated him from the Bachanterei, he admonished him to the fear of God, to the right knowledge of God, to good morals and respectability, to patience and suffering, and to diligent study, and said: He should know that his study and this student status would be subject to many misfortunes, displeasure and resistance and would have all kinds of offence. It starts with deposition and conspiracy, and it remains until the pit, therefore he should be patient. For deposition is nothing other than a work of the law, which teaches us that we should know ourselves, who and how we are, and humble ourselves, both before God and men, as befits each in his station: that one not become arrogant and proud, as the young students, baccalaureates, magistri and doctores do in their gifts, which God gives them out of pure grace. Therefore, God also sends them many depositions, so that they may be well deposited and humbled. And depositions are an old custom and habit in universities and high schools.

#### **8. from the University of Wittenberg.**

Oh, how bitterly hostile is the devil to our church and school, which he attacks before others and storms into it. This church was called the dear bread, bread roll, therefore it is contested everywhere from within and without: Tyranny and sectarianism prevail with all violence, since all the members of the body in the church are against one another; even we, who are of one heart, plague one another. I think that there are many bad boys and lurkers here who listen to us, and are glad when trouble and disunity arise, therefore one should

Pray and watch diligently; if God does not preserve us, we are finished. It can be said thus. Pray, pray. This school is like a foundation and the bedrock of pure religion; therefore it is maintained with lectionary and remuneration, against Satan's raging and fury.

In 1539 an Italian from Sems ate with D. M. Luther, talked a lot with him, and stayed there for several weeks, perhaps to find out how things were here. M. Luther said: "We like to have them, because we act publicly and do not shy away from the light: perhaps he is dispatched here by devout God-fearing people, so that he could inquire and see whether such shameful things are happening and being committed here, as they say and tell us.

I have told D. Pommer before: That whoever will despise the authority of this school after my death, since it remains otherwise only as it is now, both school and church, the same is a heretic and a perverse man. For God first revealed and purified His Word in this school, and now this school and city, both in doctrine and life, may be compared with all others; although we are not perfect, but still frail in life. Those who are now the highest and most distinguished theologians and scholars, they hold with us, as Amsdorf, Brentius, Rhegius, desire our friendship, write to us; and all those who flee us, secretly poke at us and speak ill of us, they have left the faith and fallen away, as Jeckel and Grickel, they alone can do it, and have learned nothing from us. As Zwingel also boasts. Who could do something five and twenty years ago? Who stood by me one and twenty years ago, when God led me into the game against my knowledge and will? But Ladünklein has the misfortune.

D. M. Luther said that the universities were not old in Germania. Fulda and some rich monasteries would have been universities at first, and they would have read, preached and worked so that the youth would be taught about God and good arts, otherwise no one would have taken care of the youth. But after the founders and monasteries had become rich, they would have put off the work, and the studia would have been corrupted.

At the same time nothing was valid, because Papa, and the poor Ecclesiae gemebant, clamabant, suspirabant, they have opened the heavens to our Lord God; as God says in the Psalm: Propter miseriam inopum et gemitum pauperum nunc exurgam, Ps. 12, 6. 12, 6. Gemitus pauperum, the groaning of the poor, is a great thing in the sight of our Lord God, for when the Gemitus goes, the devil and the world beware. The pope remembers: "Wait, they must cry out and groan; as the world now also presses us hard and everything is flooded with sins. The cries and groans are going on now, and they will become even greater. The nobles and merchants 1) are now exhausting land and people with usury, so that many people will have to die of hunger because of poverty, so that one will not be able to come ad conjugium, as the voces are always ready to go: I would gladly take a wife, if I knew how I should feed her; will thus become a forced celibate. That is not good. In this way the nobility will also come and take over the parishes. Ita conticescet vox Evangelii, then the last day will come in threes. We have left them the large monasteries and church estates, so that they should provide us with the parishes alone; but they do not do it. My most gracious Lord is still doing something; praise be to God!

I often reckon him, and come closer and closer to forty years; 2) then I think it should have an end. For St. Paul did not preach longer than forty years; item, the prophet Jeremiah also did not preach longer than forty years; the same also St. Augustine. And when the forty years had often passed, during which the divine word was preached purely, it ceased, and a great calamity came upon it.

Tempora Aarii have been quite miserable, miserable times, there have been no more than two righteous pious bishops. Who presided over them? Our Lord God.

## 9. of degrees and doctorates in universities, and of good arts.

3)

D. Carlstadt Bodenstein publicly condemned the degrees and doctorates, when one makes Magistros and Doctores in universities. And since he himself was present, he said: "I know that I do wrong, that I promote these two to doctors, only for the sake of two florins; but I promise and swear that I will henceforth no longer promote anyone. And he did this publicly in the castle church in Wittenberg, where it was customary to make doctores. For this reason, I and other good people punished him severely. And [he] wrote to the cathedra and chair, where the doctores theologiæ are used to stand: You shall not let yourselves be called masters; and spouted such blasphemous words that it is not to be said, and yet even for the sake of two florins he took his doctorate, saying: This little profit and little enjoyment I accept in the meantime.

But all his blasphemous words he wanted to gloss over with the saying Matth. 23, 8. where Christ says: "You shall not be called Rabbi", that is, Magister. And he made himself so useless with evil blasphemous words that all those who sat by and listened to it were grieved, and became unhappy about it; they were angry, and could hardly refrain from paying him again with such words. But I, finding it written on the catheter and chair, wrote under it: This saying is not to be understood thus: You shall not let yourselves be called masters; but thus: You shall not devise new doctrine, nor bring forth anything new; let it remain with that which I have taught, and commanded you that you should teach and show it to others.

In 1538, the day after the holy day of Christ, Luther admonished the people of the church that they should keep the ceremonies held and used in universities and schools honestly, for the honor and glory of God, and for the benefit of religion and the government; so that the youth might know and see how and for what purpose good arts are useful and

1) Usurers.

2) This is not to be understood of years of life, but, as is immediately apparent from what follows, of years of action.

3) The narrative in the first two paragraphs is in other relation Cap. 9, § 2.

and said, as one compared an unlearned man to a dead man, but a learned man to a living man. Experience shows that all those who have not studied complain and are sorry that they despised good arts and did not learn them in their youth, even though they would have learned to read and write least of all. Knowledge of languages, especially Latin, is useful to all, even to soldiers and merchants, so that they can converse with foreign nations and deal with them without interpreters, and not only remain German brothers. You parents (he continued) can leave your children no better nor more certain treasure than that you let them study and learn good arts: house and farm burn and go, but art is good to bear and remains. When we are far from each other in body, yet we can be present by letters and writing, and one can speak to another and show his heart: I can speak here to one in Rome by letters.

He, M. Luther, also spoke fiercely against those who could not do anything themselves and were hostile to good arts and scholars. He told a story about how a miser and an unlearned man should have advised and said in the council: One should spare the money, and not keep a town clerk; but one should trade with notched woods over land. Such clumsy ruffians and asses would not like to see the right pure religion and secular government advised, but would much rather see them perish. Now we would like to advise Germany, so good arts despised; well, she will probably realize it in time. But I am glad that a school is being established here, and it is my greatest concern and care that it be preserved, for the church is seeded and planted with such grafts and trees.

#### 10. God sustains good arts and schools.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1317.)

God sustains the arts, not the people, but for each of them he assigns some gifted people [ingenia]; and this is a delicious art, which is considered worthless in the world'.

D. M. Luther marveled that there were so many useful arts, and said: "If our Lord God has so highly adorned this miserable life with such lovely gifts, what will be in that life? Therefore, a special patron and patron saint was given and assigned to each art, who presided over it; as, the patron saint of the artists was St. Catherine, St. Augustine of the theologians. In the beginning, St. Paul was the patron of the University of Wittenberg, after which it was changed in seals; St. Paul still reigns in our university.

#### 11. now is better to study, neither before times.

(Cordatus No. 832.)

All the arts are now very splendid and all the languages, which were formerly buried in such great barbarism that even the greatest doctor could not have delivered A Latin speech, but the barbarians 1) spoke barbarously and formed barbarous words.

#### 12. from the dialectica.

(Cordatus No. 1577.)

If I had to write dialectical things, I would banish all such words as syllogism, enthymema, 2) proposition, exemplum, because they are foreign and Greek, and are not understood. Proposition, that is status, the thing; syllogism is a taking off, as one speaks: You can well take that off with you, not an entangled speech, as some are wise [i.e. nose-wise].

#### 13. what dialectica is.

(Cordatus No. 1578.)

The dialectic speaks simply, as if I said: Give me to drink. The rhetoric decorates: Give me the sweet juice in the cellar, which stands fine in the jar, makes the people happy.

1) A barbarian was the name given by the Greeks and Romans to one who did not know their language.

2) εν&vμημα a kind of hidden inference in logic, in which one of the two premises is concealed., (Wrampelmeyer.)

**14. question from the dialectica.**

(Cordatus No. 776.)

Dialectic is when one says a thing differently and clearly with short words, but rhetoric deals with coaxing and dissuading. This has its commonplaces: the good, the honorable, the useful, the easy. Paul summarized this in the shortest possible way when he said: "If anyone teaches, let him wait for teaching; if anyone exhorts, let him wait for exhortation. As if I wanted to instruct a farmer, according to dialectic I would describe his life, his labors, his house, his fruits, and everything that constitutes the content of his life. Then, according to the rhetoric, I would praise his life, saying that it is a very quiet, prosperous, safe life, and I would exhort him to it by persuasion and admonish him from any other way of life by dissuasion. If I want to rebuke, I condemn their vices and exaggerate their crude nature.

**15. another question.**

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 779.)

Dialectic does not give the ability to talk about every thing, but it is a tool to talk about a thing, which we know. That I should speak dialectically about the mine, I can't, because I don't know how to sink 1) or to dig, or how to paint the tunnels, as the miners know. But if I tried to do that, I'd want to talk about it better than any miner. It teaches not the thing, but the order of speaking.

(Here, one paragraph is omitted because it forms the conclusion of Cordatus No. 777, which we have included in Appendix No. II. - After that, two paragraphs are omitted because they are contained in Cap. 45, §36.)

Dialectics is a useful and necessary art, which one should study and learn at a reasonable price, like arithmetic and arithmetic. And although some astute minds can naturally deduce and calculate something in matters of sense, it is uncertain and dangerous if art does not also come to the rescue.

For dialectics finely shows the way how one should speak of things properly and correctly, where one should take it from and what is right or wrong, actually and certainly recognize, and judge or judge. As if one wanted to defend this proposition: Faith alone makes one righteous, pious and blessed. Here I must proceed dialectically, as this art teaches and instructs, namely, that no one is justified before God by the law or good works, for no one keeps them, nor does they do them fully; therefore faith makes one just, if one hangs on the promise of God and takes hold of it, and God accepts and gives it out of pure grace, free of charge, without any merit or worthiness on our part, for the sake of Christ, His dear Son. Such faith alone, which the Holy Spirit works in the heart through the Word and Sacraments, makes righteous and a happy conscience. This justification, how one becomes righteous before God, is righteous and certain.

So, if one wanted to act on this saying, "Unless your righteousness is better than that of the Pharisees and scribes, you cannot enter the kingdom of heaven," Matt. 5:20, the word "better" must be understood correctly and dialectically, for it does not mean doing many laws and works like the Pharisees, but the righteousness of faith is necessary for our obedience.

(Medicinā ... Sinners at Cordatus No. 90.)

Medicina makes the sick, mathematica makes the sad, theologia makes sinners. Dialectica is necessary to be used, not only in schools, but also in consistories, courts, and churches, where it is most needed: for often a bad argument makes a noise and fog before one's eyes; but if one looks at it rightly, at each piece in particular, one can easily guard against error and deceit. As in the argument that Demosthenes, the most eloquent Greek, put forward against King Philip of Macedonia, the great Alexander's father: although it had a great appearance and painted hue, yet it was harmful to those of Athens and the whole of Greece; namely, this: He that hath an evil thing hath no fortune in it: Philip the Macedonian

1) To drive a shaft vertically. - Digging, scraping the surface for ore.



King, has an evil thing, therefore he will have no luck.

This argument made those of Athens safe and presumptuous; for they did not know that the godless bad boys are generally the most blissful, and it is best for them, according to the common saying: The greater the mischief, the better the luck. That is why one cannot do without dialecticam; and the disputations, so that things are done sensibly and demurely and the 'right truth is sought, with seriousness without bickering, are of great benefit to young people, so that they are well practiced in them.

#### 16. difference between dialectics and rhetoric.

(The first paragraph of this § at Cordatus No. 282.)

Dialectic teaches, rhetoric moves; the former addresses the mind, the latter the will. Paul has summed up both Rom. 12 [7. 8.], saying, "If any man teach, let him wait for teaching; if any man exhort, let him wait for exhortation." And these two constitute the [proper] way of preaching, concerning which many things were said in former times, but very unskillfully. But there is a third thing added, which makes the preaching clear, which also belongs to the speakers. This is done by means of scriptures, examples, parables and other such ornaments, by which the listeners can be made to believe and obey the words you preach. But it is an exhortation when you say: Oh, I would like you to follow me and believe. The entire fourth chapter to the Romans is rhetorical, except for one passage where he explains what faith and justification are.

The noblest fruit and use of dialectics is to define and describe a thing finely, briefly and actually, which it certainly is. Therefore, one should be accustomed to good, righteous, intelligible words, which are in common use and indicate and give a thing actually and understandably; which is a special grace and gift of God, whoever is able to do so; for many rascals and clever ones often darken a thing deliberately, with strange, unusual words, devise new ways of speaking, so that one is not able to understand it.

are doubtful, two-faced, and screwed, which can be interpreted as one wishes, according to the circumstances, as the heretics do.

#### 17. what grammatica teaches.

(Cordatus No. 664.)

Grammar teaches what concerns the expression; what concerns the thing must first be learned. One who wants to preach must first know the thing and then the designation, namely, what the thing is of which he wants to speak. Grammar teaches only words that are signs of things, such as "the righteous lives by faith. Grammar says what faith is, what righteousness is. But to defend these words against the scoffers requires perfect art, and does not belong to grammar as well as to theology.

#### 18. from disputations.

(Lauterbach, Oct. 11, 1538, p. 148.)

After that, one spoke of the benefit of the disputations, which are called circulares, which would bring great benefit and training to the youth, and one leads the proud journeymen under the rut, so that they learn what kind of people they are. That is why I praise the young people for their arguments, even if they are not in order, and I dislike Philip Melancthon's sharp manner, that he so soon takes the poor journeymen by surprise. For we must ascend step by step on one staircase to the other, for no one suddenly becomes the highest.

#### 19. weekly disputations.

(Lauterbach, Dec. 17, 1538, p. 192.)

Luther praised the circular disputations very highly because these preliminary exercises served very well to train the minds of young people. In the past, these disputations were very frequent, but the material was lacking. Now that the material is available, we snore; therefore, God willing, we will establish them again. Even if the young people are not skilled at all, it is enough if only there is no evil will and presumption, but good will, according to the word: In great things it is enough to have the will [In magnis satis est voluisse] (Propert. 11, 8, 10. Tibuli. IV, 1, 7.). No one will at once

the highest. There is no tree that has not been a shrub before. Therefore we praise the will of the young. So also Augustine says: God crowns the [good] will inwardly, even if they do not have the ability outwardly; but the hope against the [good] will and the ability he puts to shame.

### 20. eloquence, what it is.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 25, 1538, p. 182.)

Eloquence is not a far-fetched adornment of words, but a well-placed speech that presents a matter in a pithy manner and clearly, like a beautiful painting. But those who invent new words also introduce new things, like Scotus with his *realitas*, *hiccitas*, and the Anabaptists with their decoarsening, sprinkling, purification. One must beware of all who use new, unusual and uncommon words. For this way of speaking is completely contrary to eloquence.

### 21. in schools, teaching and training.

Anno 1539, on May 15, M. Ph. once again sent out his *Dialecticam* through the printing press; it was highly praised by D. M. Luther. For, he said, a man's noblest office, for which he was created, is to praise God, which is done by speaking and teaching: therefore

The art of dialectics is to be praised highly, as through it God's praise and human society is preserved. Therefore, a faithful teacher is far above a warlord than one who protects and preserves only human society, body and goods; although the Scharrhansen think that it is they alone who carry heaven and earth. But let such companions go; the work praises its master, says Jesus Sirach Cap. 9, 24.

### 22. schools maintain the church.

If schools increase, it is well, and the church remains righteous; yes, so also the doctrine, which is pure. Let us only be called doctors and masters; young pupils and students are seeds and springs of the church. If we are dead, where would others be who would take our place if there were no schools? For the sake of the Church, Christian schools must be had and maintained: for God sustains the Church through schools, schools sustain the Church. They may not have a pretty reputation, but they are very useful and necessary. In schools, the little children have nevertheless learned the Paternoster, Our Father, and the faith, and the churches have been whimsically preserved through the little schools.

The philosophia is the theologia of the pagans and reason: righteous, truthful histories, even among the pagans, point to God's will, like silent letters.

## The 68th chapter.

### Of Musica.

1. from the music benefit and power.
2. from singing.
3. from David's music.

4. of secular and spiritual songs.
5. music should not be despised.

### 1. from the music benefit and power.

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 493.)

A very good and divine gift is music, by which many temptations are dispelled. Therefore, the devil hates it very much and does not persevere with it. 1)

1) Cf. Cap. 24, § 121, and § 2 and § 5 of this Cap.

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 683.)

Music is a very good art, through which the notes can bring the text to life. It drives away all sadness of spirit, as it is written by Saul. The nobles believe they have saved my most gracious lord three thousand florins a year on music, but in the meantime they are wasting it on him.

useless thirty thousand guilders. Princes and kings must preserve music and the other arts.

H[erzog] Georg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and H[erzog] Friedrich, Elector of Saxony, kept singers and cantors; now the Duke of Bavaria, King Ferdinand and Emperor Carl keep them. Therefore, it is found in the Bible that the pious kings ordered, kept and paid singers.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, Aug. 8, 1538, p. 111.)

Music is the best refreshment for a sorrowful person, if he sings even a little. As that [poet] said: Tu calamos inflare leves, Ego dicere versus. (Virg. Eclog. V, 2.) Sing thou the notes, and I will sing the words.

Musica is half a discipline and disciplinarian, which makes people softer and gentler, more decent and more sensible. The evil fiddlers and violinists serve to make us see and hear how musica is one of his good arts: for white things can be better recognized if black things are held up against them.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, 17 Dec. 1538, p. 192.)

On December 17, there were some singers who sang wonderful motets. Since Luther admired them, he said: "If our Lord God has given such noble gifts to the shithouse in this life, what will happen in that eternal life, where everything will be completely perfect and most lovely? But here is only the rough material [materia prima].

I have always loved musicam. He who knows this art is of a good nature, capable of everything. Musicam must be kept in schools because of necessity. A schoolmaster must be able to sing, otherwise I will not look at him. Young journeymen should not be appointed to the preaching ministry, for they have tried and practiced well in school.

When some fine, lovely motets of Senfels were sung, D. M. Luther was astonished and praised them very much. M. Luther was astonished and praised them very much, and said: "I would not be able to make such a motet, even if I were to tear myself apart, just as he, in turn, would not be able to preach a psalm as I do. Therefore the gifts of the Holy Spirit are diverse, just as in one body there are many gifts.

are all limbs. But no one is satisfied with his gift, is not satisfied with what God has given him; they all want to be the whole body, not limbs.

(This paragraph to "skillful people" in Lauterbach, April 5, 1538, p. 56.)

Afterwards, in the house of D. Wolf Reißbusch, singers were singing at the table, Luther said: "Music is an excellent gift of God and the closest to theology. I did not want to deprive myself of my little music [for] something great, and the youth must be accustomed to this art, it makes fine skillful people. The beautiful, excellent gift of God, to speak, is very strange in the world; for although all men are especially born to speak, and many can speak languages, yet speaking is a strange gift. Gregory Bridge can talk.

## 2. singing.

(Cordatus No. 468.)

Singing is the best art and exercise. A singer has nothing to do in the world. For singers do not have to deal with disputes in courts of law, do not worry and are not sad, but shake off all sorrows from their hearts.

## 3. David's Musica.

Doctor M. Luther once said to a harpist: "Dear, play me a little song like the one David played. I think that if David were to rise from the dead now, he would be very surprised at how high people would get with music. It has never been higher than now. When David played the harp, it would be like the Magnificat anima mea Dominum, in octavo tono, because David did not have a decachordum.

## 4. of western and spiritual songs.

And further said: How is it that in Carnalibus we have so many fine poems and so many beautiful Carmen, and in Spiritualibus we have so coldly lazy things; et recitabat aliquas Germanicas cantilenas, den.

Thurnier from the full. I think this is the reason, as St. Paul says Rom. 7, 23: Video aliam legem repugnantem in membris meis, it does not want to flow there, it does not happen there as it does there. In Ecclesiasticis commendabat praecipue illud: Vita in ligno. Et dicebat, tempore Gregorii illud et similia esse composita, ante ejus tempora non fuisse. There have been some fine schoolmasters and parish priests who have made such carmina and poemata, and received them accordingly. The schools did most of the work in the church, and the parish priests were the ecclesiastics, and they worked. No one else took care of the youth. After that, it was corrupted by the monasteries and the convents, which were also schools at first, sed cum creverunt opibus, so they put off the work. The dear Mother of God, Mary, had much more beautiful singing and more than her child Jesus.

A beautiful sequence is sung in Advent: Mittitur ad Virginem etc.. It is not so coarse, but rather well-crafted. St. Mary has been celebrated more in grammatica, musica and rhetorica than her child, Jesus.

#### 5. do not despise the musicam.

Who despises the musicam (said D. M. Luther), as all enthusiasts do, I am not satisfied with them. For the Musica is a gift and present of God, not a gift of man. Thus it also drives away evil, and makes people happy: one forgets all anger, unchastity, pride, and other vices. According to theology, I give musica the closest locum and highest honor. And one sees how David and all the saints have put their godly thoughts into verses, rhymes and songs. Quia pacis tempore regnat Musica.

### The 69th chapter.

## Of languages.

1. of the Greek, Hebrew and Latin languages.
  2. languages are preserved by God alone.
- The tongue is the instrument of speech.

#### 1. of the Greek, Hebrew and Latin languages.

(Cordatus No. 991. 992. 997. 998. 955. 956. 1615. 1616. 1617. 1618.)

The wisdom of the Greeks, compared to the wisdom of the Hebrews, is quite animalistic, because without the knowledge of the true God there can be no true wisdom. The purpose of their wisdom is virtue, but the wisdom of the Jews is to trust and fear God, and yet the Greek wisdom is very pleasing to the world. That is why Daniel calls all the kingdoms of the earth beasts.

The Greeks spoke with the best and sweetest words, the Hebrew language

but stands out for such simplicity and majesty that it cannot be imitated. The evangelist John almost imitates it. For what do you think that these are words: In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with GOD 2c.? He expresses the highest majesty with the simplest words. If an imitator of Plautus or Virgil were to write such things, he would have used only strange stuff of words, as those did who spoke of the being [de ente] and of the essence [essentia], of the heavenly and divine impetus [impetu].

they do not designate anything understandable.

The Hebrew language is the best and richest in root words and is a pure language. It does not go begging, it has its own color. Not so the Greek, Latin and German languages, they all go begging and have many compound words, like the German words: Mitlaufen, fortlaufen, eilendlaufen, weglaufen 2c.

The word heart has a very multiple use among the Germans: He has no heart, Das Herz sagt mirs, Sein Herz brennt ihm, i.e. he is angry; for each of these the Hebrew has a special word in the Hebrew language.

All languages are intermingled; for, since the regions are adjacent to each other, they borrow individual words from each other. The Bohemian language is largely Scythian, the Hebrew language was corrupted after the Babylonian [captivity], and the same thing happened to the Hebrews as to the Italians, who made Italian out of Latin. Thus those have mixed their language with the Chaldean. And although I can speak neither Greek nor Hebrew, I want to meet a Greek and a Hebrew fairly.

The languages in themselves do not make a theologian, but are a means of help, because one must know the thing before the languages can express it. And I speak a kind of general language and not a special one, therefore I can be understood in Lower and Upper Germany. I speak according to the Saxon chancellery, whose language all princes of Germany borrow [for use]. Maximilian and Frederick have thus brought the entire empire to a certain way of speaking, have thus drawn all language into one another.

The Hebrew language is completely despised out of godlessness, or perhaps because one despairs of learning it [artis]. Although the phrases and the constructions cannot be taught, they can be communicated grammatically, although the sentence connection can be taught grammatically.

changes the meaning of the words. As when I say, Do after me, this is an expression that refers only to imitation [imitative]. But if I say: I will do it before, then do it after me, this is an expression that refers to what precedes [processive dictum]. Thus the connection changes the words, and I have by comparison of different passages

more than by [strict] observation of the grammar. Without this language there can be no knowledge of the Scriptures, for even the New Testament, although it is written in Greek, is full of Hebrew idiom [hebraismis]. That is why it has been said that the Hebrews drink from springs, the Greeks from books, and the Latins from puddles. I am not a Hebrew as far as grammar is concerned, nor do I want to be one, because I do not want to be bound by rules, but I move freely, in this language. For whoever has the gifts for languages, he cannot immediately translate from one language into the other, and to interpret is a special gift of God.

The seventy interpreters (septuaginta) did not know the Hebrew language, therefore their translation is nothing, although they have words and phrases, and we prefer the translation of Jerome to them, although we confess that he does not judge right who calls Jerome a good Hebrew; he does him violence. But he has something to excuse him, namely, that this language was so corrupted after the Babylonian captivity that it could not be restored.

If Moses and the prophets came back now, they would not understand their own language; so corrupt is this language, like everything else that is truly GOD's, and the Latin language is so corrupt that even Cicero would not understand what is written after his time, if he revived.

Lyra was the best Hebrew before others and a diligent interpreter of the Old Testament. If I were to lay on this language anew, I would consult the grammarians, especially the best, such as DavidA Kimchi and Moses Kimchi, who have been the purest. After that, I would read Moses.

1) In the original: thematibus. Both ancient grammarians call the root word in contrast to derived and compound words. (Wrampelmeyer.)

because of its special meaning, then David, then the proverbs, and finally the prophets who speak figuratively.

## 2. languages are obtained from God alone.

(Cordatus No. 1619.)

Great are the gifts of languages; therefore they are not respected by people, and so it is absolutely necessary that they be exalted only by God, and [even then] they (like all arts) have appeared only among a few and private persons, and so they appear now.

### The tongue is the instrument of speech.

(The first paragraph of this § in Lauterbach, 1 Dec. 1538, p. 184.)

Luther said of the wonderful work of God on the human tongue, which could produce articulate and intelligible sounds and words, although different nations have different dialects. The Greeks produce their X [r] only through the throat with a certain breath, so that it became very difficult for Demosthenes to pronounce the letter X, but at last he overcame the natural defect through practice. For through too much moisture of the brain the

Tongue heavy (as perceived in drunkards) and too much dryness weakens the tongue. God has given nature its tool.

No language has so many fancy, figurative words as the Hebrew. In the epistle of St. Peter there is not a single simple word. Moses and David wrote badly and plainly. Solomon is different. The Greeks have a lot of *propria*, own, clear words. To speak properly and intelligibly is a special gift of God; figurative and foggy speeches are rarely used and should be finely sweet.

Since we were translating the Bible, spoke D. M. Luther, I gave them, who helped me, these rules: First, the Holy Scriptures speak of divine works and things. Second, if a saying and opinion agrees with the New Testament, accept it. Thirdly, that one has respect for the grammaticam.

(The following at Cordatus No. 488.)

When translating, I always keep this rule, that one does not violate grammar. And whoever understands this correctly recognizes that the letter gives [the right meaning], not the spirit.

## The 70th chapter.

### Of astronomy and star art.

1. of the movement of the heavens and the course of the stars.
2. how far one should approve astronomy.
3. argumenta and concluding speeches Against Astrology.

4. a different Against astrology.
5. from the seventh year, which is a gradual year.

#### 1. of the movement of the heavens and the course of the stars.

(Cordatus No. 909. 910. and 523.)

Astronomy is the oldest science and has brought with it many arts. It was very well known to the ancients and especially to the Hebrews, who observed the course of the heavens very carefully. About them God spoke to the

Abraham [Gen. 15:5], "Look toward heaven and count the stars."

Heaven has a threefold movement. The first is the original one, by which it happens that the whole machine of the sky is undoubtedly turned around completely by the angels in twenty-four hours. In this short period of time, such a great mass is moved about a thousand miles. If

If the sun and the stars were made of iron, or of any other metal, they would soon melt in such an impetuous course. The second movement is that of the planets, and is carried out by individual spirits; the third is trembling, which one has recently invented and which is quite uncertain.

I praise the astronomy and the mathematics which deal with proofs, to the astrology I attribute nothing.

## 2. how far one should approve Astronomiam.

(The first paragraph in Cordatus No. 1183.)

Astronomy is not to be approved insofar as it predicts what will happen to everyone. But it is to be approved as a gift of God, if it remains within its limits. Chiromancy, however, is to be condemned. It is true that the soothsayers can predict what kind of death an ungodly person will die, for he [the devil] knows the counsels and thoughts of the ungodly, for he is the prince of the world. But there are twofold signs, of times and of events. The signs of the times are certain because they are from the Word.

There was a new astrologer who wanted to prove that the earth moved and circulated, not the sky or the firmament, the sun and the moon; as if someone sitting on a chariot or in a ship and being moved thought he was sitting still and at rest, but the earth and the trees circulated and moved. But now it is like this: whoever wants to be wise should not let others please him; he must make something of his own, which must be the very best, the way he does it. The fool wants to reverse the whole art of astronomy. But as the holy scripture indicates, Joshua called the sun to stand still, not the earth. Jos. 10, 12, 13.

(This paragraph at Cordatus No. 169.)

In the stars there is not a power, but a meaning. Therefore, we have a just complaint against the astrologers who attribute to them a power which God did not put into them, and that they usually interpret it in the worst way. This should rather have been

to the comets, which foreshadow only evil, with the exception of the star that appeared to the wise men [from the East], for this signified that the revelation of the Gospel was already present.

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 1056.)

The passages of Scripture can be mocked, but not refuted. Our eloquent people, who now give public lectures, dare to say that the passage Jeremiah 10:2 is to be understood of the signs of the Gentiles. Moses also speaks of the signs of the heavens, and praises astronomy very little, and of the signs of the earth and of the sea; but the heathen were not so foolish as to fear the sun, or the moon, but the strange and marvelous appearances [portenta ac monstra] they revered as well as they feared them. And astronomy, for which they argue so assiduously, is not an art, because it has no foundations or proofs, but they indicate everything from the occurrence and the accidental events [ex eventu et casibus], and from what has happened once, they conclude that it will happen every time. What is true, they know; what is missing, they keep silent. Art exists (they are forced to confess that), but nobody has it. They do not have the experience (that is, to make a conclusion from many individual things to the general), but some events and indeed very uncertain ones.

(This paragraph at Cordatus No. 1136.)

I have come so far and have brought astronomy so far that I believe it is nothing, although Philip thinks that the art is there, but one has no artists. This they have invented in the almanac [as] certain, that one should not put snow in summer, nor thunder in winter; that one should [not] 1) sow in spring and [not] 1) reap in autumn, that the farmers also know well.

1) The "not", which is in both places in the original, should probably be missing; because although the winter grain is sown in autumn and harvested in July, the sowing time is generally in spring and the harvest in autumn. In Bindseil II, 151 "not" is missing.

(This paragraph at Cordatus No. 1243.)

The astronomers are very unhappy, who impose on themselves from the celestial bodies sufferings that God does not interpret; therefore they always advertise defeated; for example, when they say that the people who are born in the balance after midnight become unhappy.

Astrologia is uncertain. Just as the predicaments in the Dialectica are fictitious words; so Astronomia has the fictitious Astrologiam: and as the ancient theologians knew nothing of the schoolteacher's imagination and theology; so the ancient astronomers knew nothing of Astrologia.

D. M. Luther had his Nativity, Ciceronis and many others printed at Nuremberg; there he said: I do not think anything of it, do not agree with them at all, but I would like them to give me this argument: Esau and Jacob are born of one father and one mother, at one time, and under the same star, and yet of a very repugnant nature, kind and mind. Summa, what happens from God and is his work, that is not to be attributed to the stars. Ah, heaven does not ask about this, just as our Lord God does not ask about heaven. The true Christian religion confutes and refutes such fairy tales and fables. The world, apart from religion, is Lucian and Epicurean, as Erasmus was: he disputed whether it would be useful and advisable for a philosopher and scholar to put himself under the yoke of matrimony and take a wife. Blessed is he who obeys God's word in faith!

Astrology is a fine art, but very uncertain, one finds no one who could indicate and prove something certain: it requires good interpretation and much thought, as our canons of Meissen are doing now, who want to defend their thing with interpretation.

When one of them showed D. M. Luther a nativity (as it is called), he said: It is a fine funny fantasy and pleases reason, because one always goes neatly from one line to the other. Therefore, the way of making and calculating nativity, and the like, is like the pontifical, since the outward ceremonies, ostentation

and order of reason, as the consecrated water, candles, organs, cymbals, singing, ringing and interpreting 2c. But it is not a true science and certain knowledge, and those who want to make a certain art and knowledge out of this thing are very much mistaken, since there is none; for it does not come from the nature of astronomy, which is an art; this is man's proposition.

That astrology is a certain knowledge and art, no one will persuade Philip yet. Philip has often tried and tried hard to persuade me to approve his opinion and to agree with him; but he has never been able to persuade me to do so, nor to get me to do so; I stand firm and firm on the opinion that the peasants have, with whom I hold that when there is a hot summer, it is followed by a cold winter. This whole business is against philosophy.

I have often talked to Philip about it, and told him my whole life, how it has gone one after the other, and how I have done it. I am a farmer's son, my father, grandfather and ancestor were real farmers. Then he said: I would have been a governor, mayor, home burger, and whatever other offices they have in the village, or some kind of chief servant over the others. After that, I said, my father went to Mansfeld and became a miner there; that's where I came from.

But that I have become a baccalaureate, a master, a monk 2c. is not written in the stars. But have I not brought great shame upon myself, that I have become a monk, that I have laid aside the little brown beret, and brought it to others? Which, indeed, made my father angry and hurt him; nevertheless, I fell into the pope's hair, and he fell into mine again, took a runaway nun as my wife, and fathered several children with her; who saw this in the stars? Who would have told me before that this would happen?

The astrologer 1) and stargazer reminds me like one who carries dice for sale and says: Behold, I have good dice, they cast

1) So Stangwald instead of: Astrologiä.



always twelve. Well, you often pointed out that when you get twelve, the art is right. But one does not see how often one has thrown 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 before. So do the astrologers; if it comes true once or twice, they cannot praise, extol and exalt the art enough; but of the other, which has failed so often, they remain silent.

Astronomiam I accept, and I like it because of its manifold use: for the dear David remembers in the Psalter, in the 19th Psalm, v. 2. ff, of the marvelous work and creature of God in the firmament of the heavens and the stars, and takes pleasure in it; as also Job remembers the Orionis, which is called Peter's or Jacob's staff, the seven-pointed star and the Gluckhenne 2c., Job 38, 31. The example of Esau and Jacob makes their whole art a jugglery, and to shame. They pave themselves with it all the time.

### 3rd argument" and final speeches against astrology.

1) The doctrine that deals with matter is uncertain; for matter is informal, shapeless, without form, and without some quality and skill. The astrologers' and stargazers' doctrine deals with matter; therefore it is uncertain.

2) Common prophecies and proclamations, where one proclaims something in general beforehand, how it should turn out, do not rhyme nor do they refer to individual and special things and persons, non competunt specialibus et individuus. But astrology and stargazing doctrine have common praedictiones and proclamations, which cannot be directed to individual things; therefore, stargazers and astrologers do wrong by drawing them to particular, individual, certain things and people.

3) If many of them are killed, shot or slain at the same time in a battle, they were not born and raised in the same star? And yet they all die at the same time in one hour, yes, often in a flash, especially from the gun. M. Luther answered and said: Philippus solvirt's so: Generalia cedere specialibus, gemeinere Rede und Anzeigung weichen.

particular and individual. Then D. M. Luther laughed and said to Philip: "Ergo, so you say yourselves and confess that your Astrologia teaches and understands only what is common: as Philip has often said to me before that it is a flat, straight force. And they say of an even clear force and effect, and that the star gives an affection, but does not require it: and be not their, the astrologers', opinion, that it must happen and proceed straight thus and not otherwise. Yes, said D. M. Luther, you say it and interpret it from certain people and places, and, what is even more and the greatest, you affirm it and proclaim it beforehand to this and that country that it will happen this way. Oh, what can I say? You are rough fellows, you presume much that is impossible for you.

But he, Philip, remained on his opinion, defended astrology, and spoke: They speak of matter, that thus could happen, and that matter would be skillful and capable for such a thing. Then D. M. Luther laughed out loud and said: "What else is this said, than if Greger Tischer came to me and said: "A table can be made out of the board, yes, a table or something else can be made out of it. But what is this said? What do you presume to say about all things so certainly, as if none of the things you say could be missing?

But what you say about matter is nothing, because it is without all quality and skill, and informis, has no form nor shape. This said D. M. Luther, when he spoke of the hour in which the fruit is conceived in the womb, after which they, the astrologers, use to make and erect the nativities and praedictiones. And refuted and disproved him, when he said: The seed would be the matter; which D. M. Luther denied, but said for constant and certain: It would be a substantia, a self-existent thing, not a matter, because the same would be informis, without all quality, would have no form nor shape.

I believe that M. P. Astrologia and astrology are the same as drinking a strong drink of wine or beer when I have thoughts.

#### 4. against astrology.

In the first place, the Astrologia is regarded as such a trade as the Sophists de decem Praedicamentis realiter distinctis, essentially different from the ten words which they call Praedicamenta; since everything is false and fictitious, although such vanity whimsically agrees and rhymes with arguments, Solutionibus, and other trades, so that in so many hundred years, among so many sects, Thomists, Albertists, Scotists, nothing has been considered so true as the same. Secondly, they do not teach you what you should know most of all, but how long you should live: they do not say anything certain beforehand, neither time nor place: it is only a vain mystery: they only show the person, and often lack it. Third, God has set a certain end. Babylon otherwise said: I will remain seated. Rome said: I have been given the reign without end; item, Alexandro and the other empires and kingdoms. Astrology teaches nothing of this, that such great empires should be, nor how long they would stand and remain. Fourth, it was invented and fabricated by the devil, so that people would be deterred from the state of marriage and all divine and human offices and states. For they say nothing good of the heavenly bodies, make consciences fear future misfortune, which is uncertain and in God's hands, and vex and torment the whole life by such suspicion and useless thoughts. Fifthly, God's creatures do violence and injustice, for God created them and set them in the firmament to illuminate the earth, that is, to make it joyful, and to be good signs of the years and times, as Genesis 1:10 and the 5th book of Moses say: "And God saw that it was good"; and: "Which the Lord thy God hath ordained unto all nations under the whole heaven.

But they, the stargazers, and those from the stars, want to prophesy and proclaim how one should fare, inventing that they darken and afflict the earth and are harmful. For all creatures of God are good, and created by God only for good use. But

Man makes them evil with his abuse. And they are signs, not monsters. The eclipses are monsters and monstra, like abortions.

D. M. Luther said about the foolishness of the Mathematicorum and Astrologorum, the stargazers, who had said about a flood or great waters, so Anno 1524 should come, which nevertheless did not happen; but the following 25th year the peasants were delayed, and became rebellious. Astrologus did not say a word about this. But he spoke of the mayor Hohndorf: he had a quarter of beer brought up to his house, and wanted to wait there for the flood, as if he would not have anything to drink when it came. But at the time of the wrath there was a conjunctive called sin and God's wrath, which was a different conjuncture than the one in the 24th year.

(Cordatus No. 864. 865.)

Believing the stars is idolatry against the first commandment. Ezekiel is against it...

If we strike the Turk away, Daniel will be gone and the Last Day will certainly be present.

#### 5. Septimus annus Climactericus.

(Cordatus No. 1490.)

My Hans goes into the seventh year. This [every seventh year] is always a step year, that is such a one, which brings a change with itself. The seventh year always changes the people. For the first change is childhood, and in the second change, namely with the fourteenth year, they begin to see into the world, and it is the boyhood, in which the foundation of the arts is laid, in the one and twentieth the young men desire marriage, in the eighth and twentieth the young men are householders and fathers of families, but the men are in secular and ecclesiastical offices in the fifth and thirtieth years, until the second and fortieth years, then we are kings, and soon after we begin to gradually decline. Thus, the seventh year always brings a new situation its new] people, [new] customs. This has happened to me and happens to all, 1)

1) Annus climactericus, a gradual year, alternate year. The third and sixtieth is called "the great gradual year.

## The 71st chapter.

### Of signs and weather.

Anno 1517, when the Gospel went out, a beautiful bright Crucifix was seen in the moon at Weimar by both Electors and Princes of Saxony 2c.

In 1516, Duke Johannes of Saxony in Weimar saw a large red star, which at first changed into a bright light, then into a cross, then into a yellow star, and finally became a common star again.

This happened the year before the gospel began. At that time, I, M. Luther, interpreted it as the Gospel. The same went out red in the first, then it burned and brought the cross, because it was obscured by riots and sects. But I do not think anything certain of such signs, because they are usually devilish and deceitful signs. We have seen many such signs these fifteen years.

In 1536, on September 16, on Saturday evening, between six and seven o'clock, there was a great lightning and a great thunderclap, because eight days before there had been a great cold. The mathematicians call it Chasma, and it means great dryness in the air: D. M. Luther and D. Pommer had also heard and seen it at home, and said that it had been wonderful and not far from the seven stars, which the peasants call the chariot, towards midnight; and would be enough, if it happened in Africa, Asia and hot countries, under the Tropico Cancri.

It is, said D. M. Luther, it is devilish. I think that the devils wanted to set up a disputation, and an angel prevented it by the Chasma, tore them a hole through the Propositiones. But the world does not pay attention to such signs, which happen innumerable times, it always remains safe.

Anno 1539, on April 18, at four o'clock in the evening, there was an eclipse of the sun, which D. M. Luther sighed diligently, near to the end, and asked that God would give a better outlook.

We did not want to give any more signs than we feared, but that all people would be moved to repentance and prayer against God through these and other signs.

After that, at six, there came thunder with a very fruitful rain, awakening and moistening the earth and the trees. Then he spoke with thanksgiving: This is beautiful weather, which you give us, dear God, who are so ungrateful, wicked and stingy. Well then, you are a pious God. The devil would not do that, I am sure. This is a fruitful thunder that shakes the earth so that it is opened, and gives a smell, just as the prayer of pious Christians gives a smell before God.

When M. Luther was on his way to Leipzig and saw the seed standing in the field so beautiful and lovely and horny, he prayed and gave thanks, saying: "Oh, dear Lord God, you want to give us a good year, truly, not for the sake of our piety, but for the sake of your name. Grant, dear Father, that we may improve ourselves and grow and increase in your word, for these are nothing else but miraculous works, that out of the earth, yes, out of the sand, which is crushed pebbles, you bring forth stalks and ears. Dear Father, give us, your children, our daily bread.

In 1539, a comet was seen in Leo for ten days. M. Luther: We have enough signs of divine wrath, from the holy scriptures, in the sky and on earth, but it follows, unfortunately, no improvement. God's wrathful visitation and visitation must come, otherwise it is not the last day, which will clean up everything. The comet's tail was not long, and stretched towards noon.

Anno 1539, on the 21st of April, came a thunderous and fruitful weather; then M. Luther prayed, thanked God and said: "Ah, how noble weather, which our Lord God gives us, not for the sake of our piety, but

for his name's sake, that he not be blasphemed. As if to say: I will give the boys another good year; therefore let us pray for daily bread.

Since there was a very fertile weather in the sky, M. Luther said with a sigh: "Oh, praise God, this is a beautiful weather! God is merciful, who gives such things to the unworthy and undeserving, so that we would also become more pious. If this were to happen, we would have paradise and heaven here. All plagues and everything that is annoying and repugnant to us would be changed and would cease, caterpillars, ants, butterflies and all worms and vermin would not harm our fruit, but everything would grow and bear sweetly. But the punishment of original sin goes on in the whole world, over all creatures. Now, in Thuringia and Meissen, the seed must be scraped with great lust; but we Saxons here may not, therefore we have a harvest before them.

Since a very merry time and beautiful weather was in May, which is a figure of the resurrection, D. M. Luther said: Behold, how the trees mate and marry 1) each other! How sweetly green it is! How delicious a May is this, the like of which I do not remember. Since it thus continues, then a very good and fruitful year will become, as the world is also full. Oh, that we could trust in God! What will become of that life, if God can show such pleasure in this pilgrimage and miserable life?

Anno 1539, den 10. Junii, kam ein groß greulich Wetter, welches eil: Unglück bedeutet, so vorhanden war; da sprach D. M. Luther: "Oh, how many ways God has to humble us, and yet cannot bring us to humble ourselves and to recognize and call upon Him through righteous repentance and faith. This evening there came a very fruitful and sweet rain, which moistened the ground. After that he said: Oh, we do not know what theurung and hunger are. Look at the time of the prophet Elijah, what distress and famine there was, when in three years and six months there was no famine.

and all the wells were dried up, so that all men and animals died of hunger, and only the king's horses and those of his counselors remained alive. For Elijah said, "As surely as the LORD God of Israel lives, before whom I stand, there shall be neither dew nor rain for these years, I tell you. And so he departed, 1 Kings 17:1. I think that they took Eliam for a sorcerer, and sought after him in all places.

As there was beautiful weather at harvest time, D. M. Luther: "This year our dear Lord God has done everything according to our will, has miraculously given us peace, and has controlled the impending wars and bloodshed. He blesses us with fruit and grain in the midst of the storm. He is equal to us, as the saying in Psalms says: "He does what the godly desire, and hears their cry, and helps them", Ps. 145, 19. But what do we do? Yes, God freely despised, cursed, blasphemed. Then all misfortune must follow, that he will have to retract his hand.

## (2) Satan's prophecies are screwed and two-faced.

(Cordatus No. 672. 673.)

Since I am asked, because the devils always give ambiguous answers, how they would have answered certain things in relation to Saul through the supposed Samuel: Tomorrow you will be with me [1 Sam. 28, 19.], I answer: In the expression "tomorrow" there is an ambiguity, he. has met or missed, this day or the other.

It is certain that the devil does not know the certain outcome, yes, he answers ambiguously. It is called turning screws, if he cannot deny or assert with certainty and yet does not want to keep quiet. So also Christ answers about the interest of the emperor [Matth. 22, 20. 21.], so Abraham delivered his wife to the king [Gen. 20, 2.], so David fought against Amalek with the godless king and said to Achish [1 Sam. 29, 8.]: I will fight with my lord 2c., since the text says that he hid his face. That is, in courtly, turned screws, in German: ausdrehen.

1) So Stangwald instead of: zuehelichen.

## The 72nd chapter. Of studies.

1. good books, and the little, you should read often.
2. from comedies.
3. of various arts and crafts.
4. of the infidelity of craftsmen.

5. from the painters.
6. the art of the seig.
7. from the exercise with singing and fencing.

### 1. good books, and the little, you should read often.

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 1138.)

A student who does not want to lose his effort should read and reread any good writer in such a way that it becomes second nature to him. For useless reading [lectiones -- lectures] confuses, but does not teach. Likewise, reading many but good things makes the student one who is at home everywhere, and therefore nowhere. And just as in human society we do not cultivate friendship with every single friend every day, but with select ones, so it should be in study.

Anno 1538, on the 15th day of August, a fine, skilful student fell into madness, worked and made himself weak and unwell with constant waking and talking. The cause of his illness was that he had lain too much over the books and was fond of a maiden. With the latter, D. Martin Luther dealt with her in the most friendly way, waited for her to get better, and said: "That love was the cause of his illness, but study would bring this effect and effect in very few; just as something similar had happened to him in the beginning of the Gospels.

He told an example of a student who had been his room-mate in Erfurt for two years. He said that he did not look at a book, but at last, since he had been admonished so often to stop for a full week, when he had done so and had sat for half an hour looking at the book, he got up, became angry, threw the book on the ground, stepped on it with his feet, and said, "Do you want to make me foolish? Studeo, Studes, Studui, Studere habet Stultum in Supino: Studiren macht zu Narren.

### 2. from comedies.

(Cordatus No. 1709.)

Comedies must be recited by the boys, first, so that they have practice in the Latin language; then the people are instructed by the fictional characters, and each is reminded of his office. Moreover, the cunning plots of immoral women are set forth, and how parents should exalt their children in honor, and how children should obey their parents in it. And if the comedies should not be performed among Christians because of some offensive [obscena] things, the Bible should not be read either. But he who takes offense at such things takes offense where no one gives it.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, May 29, 1538, p. 89.)

I like the comedies of the Romans, whose main purpose was to encourage young people to marry. For the world regiment cannot exist without the marriage state. That is why those reasonable people enticed the youth to marriage in the best possible way by means of comedies, as well as by means of pictures; for fornication and a life without marriage are the ruin of the state.

### 3. of various feats and crafts.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 4, 1538, p. 107.)

After that, the Fugger was shown handwriting that changed the letters in various ways so that no one could read it. He said: This is invented by the best minds, and is caused by very evil times, as one reads of Julius Caesar, that he also used such letters. And it is said that our Emperor Carl because of the infidelity

He said that he always writes two letters to his scribes on important matters, which have opposite meanings, and then he secretly seals one of them without them knowing.

#### 4. of the infidelity of craftsmen.

(Lauterbach, Aug. 4, 1538, p. 111.)

He said a lot about the proud behavior and carelessness of the craftsmen, who had too little care and too much pay. I have enough cloth, but I don't want to have pants made. I have mended this pair of pants four times myself, and I will mend them even more before I have new ones made, because it is not diligence: it takes a lot of fabric, but gives no chic. That's why they have it very well arranged in Italy, where the tailors have a special guild that only makes pants. Here they cast pants, dusters, skirts, everything in one mold.

#### 5. from painters.

In 1539, February 9, Luther spoke of German painters, how skillful and meaningful they were, because they could follow and imitate nature so masterfully and actually in paintings, that they not only give the right natural color and shape to all limbs, but also the gesture, as if they lived and moved.

Flanders follows and imitates them to a certain extent; for the Dutch, especially the Flemings, are mischievous and cunning, and soon and easily learn foreign languages.

They have a nimble and ready tongue, and if you were to take a flaming in a sack through Italy or France, he would soon learn the language.

#### 6. the art of the seig.

(Cordatus No. 968.)

Wonderful is the invention of a clock that tells the time so accurately. If it could talk, it would really have the office of a human being.

#### 7. exercise with singing and fencing.

It is, said D. M. Luther, very well considered and ordered by the ancients that the people exercise themselves, and intend something honest and useful, so that they do not get into revelry, fornication, eating, drinking and playing. That is why I like these two exercises and amusements best of all, namely musica and jousting, with fencing, wrestling 2c., among which the first drives away the sorrow of the heart and melancholy thoughts; the other makes fine dexterous limbs on the body, and keeps it in health with jumping 2c. The final cause is also that one does not get into carousing, fornication, gambling and doubling; as one sees now, unfortunately, in courts and in cities, there is no more, because: It's up to you! Drink up! After that, people gamble for several hundred or more guilders. So it goes, if one despises such honorable exercises and knightly games and lets them go.

### The 73rd chapter.

## Of scholars.

1. future shortage of learned people.
- The world cannot be governed without learned people.
3. history writers are few.
4. from Cicero and Aristotle.
5. the power of the pure word of God.
6. from Strabo.
7. of history writers and poets.
8. from Lucanus.
9. from Aesopus.
10. which books should be discarded.
11. by some scholars of our time.

12. special speakers.
- 12a. From Thomas More.
13. by D. Staupitz.
14. what and how to preach for the young milk Christians.
15. simple-minded preachers the best.
16. from Brentius.
17. by Bucerus.
18. by M. Ammerbach.
19. of the difference of the gifts.
20. from Aristotle and Cicero.

**1. future shortage of learned people. 1)** (Cordatus No. 433.)

Before two years will have passed, we will experience a shortage of learned men that one would like to cut them out of boards and dig them out of the earth if only one could. One sins against God too much now.

**The world cannot be governed without learned people.**

(Cordatus No. 1054.)

Scholarship, wisdom and the scribes shall rule the world, and if [God] once in His wrath took away all the scholars from the world, what would the remaining people be but cattle? And the law, yes, even the word itself, is nothing without lawyers and preachers, whose service God uses as people He may not do without. Where there are not wise people through the word and the laws, bears, lions, goats and dogs hold the world's rule and preside over the household.

**3. few history writers.**

(Lauterbach, Nov. 25, 1538, p. 179.)

One spoke of the small number of historians at all times, especially of Germany. He said: Yes, who wants to write histories and write the truth without great hatred? For the character of the Greeks was very cunning, that of the Italians hopeful, the Germans wild. Livius wrote in praise of the Romans, not the Carthaginians. Blondus and Platina flatter only the popes. The Italians were more temperate before they ruled, but when they gained sole rule, they degenerated. Now that [Italy] is humbled, it hopes to rule again. For the pope does not allow the emperor and Ferdinand to plunder the church estates in vain.

**4. from Cicero and Aristotle.**

(The first paragraph Cordatus No. 522.)

I can't help but wonder why now the philosophy of Aristotle is being

1) Cf. cap. 22, § 94.

and not rather that of Cicero, a man who was overwhelmed with all kinds of affairs, as his "Officia" testify, which are much better than the books Ethicorum of Aristotle, a man who had no office, but an abundance of money. Cicero treats things, Aristotle dialectics; the latter has come very close to the knowledge of many Christian things, what his disputations of the soul, of the nature of the gods 2c. testify. Aristotle did not know these things, nor did he touch them, like the latter; also in his book Physicorum he disputed about the first author [motor], until he confused himself [usque ad implicationem sui].

Cicero has become a very wise man, has written more than all philosophers, and read through all the books of the Greeks. I am surprised that man, in so much business and dealings, has been able to read and write so much. No one really understands Ciceroni's epistles, unless he had been in an excellent regiment for twenty years.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, July 27, 1538, p. 103.)

Then he mentioned Cicero, the best, wisest and most diligent man, how much he had suffered and done. I hope, he said, that our Lord God will also be merciful to him and his kind, although it is not up to us to say and determine this, but [we] should remain with what has been revealed: "He who believes and is baptized" 2c. (Marc. 16, 16.) But that God cannot slacken with others and make a distinction among other peoples, of this it is not for us here to know the time and manner. For there will be a new heaven and a new earth, much greater and wider; and He can reward each one according to his deserts.

**5. power of God's pure word.**

(Cordatus No. 1028.)

Through experience we recognize the power of divine truth; for the more it is read, the more impression it makes. Cicero could not do that with all his eloquence; he cannot do it above himself. You must stay down. Otherwise I wonder very much

about Cicero, that he wrote and read such great things under such great official duties.

#### 6. from Strabo.

Strabo's writings and histories are very good, because he lived at the time of Emperor Augustus, and saw all the deeds and history in the camps and wars. But he writes of Moses that he was a sorcerer and had invented much idolatry. Then said D. Luther said, "It is true that the land of Canaan lies between Egypt and Syria, which were superstitious peoples, full of idolatry: therefore Canaan was undoubtedly also infected with sorcery and besmirched.

#### 7. of history writers and poets.

How miserably have so many great, excellent histories and deeds perished, which are not described! only the Greeks and Romans have historians. Of Livius, hardly a small part is left; the rest is obscured, lost and perished. Sabellicus wanted to follow and imitate him, Livius, but did nothing.

Ovidius is an excellent poet, surpasses the others all with pretty sayings, which he masterfully and sweetly summarizes in verse. As:

Nox et amor, vinumque nihil moderabile suadent.

The night, the love, in addition the wine, to nothing good Rathgeber be.

Is fine clear and light.

Virgilius is superior to the others all with glory and bravery, heroica gravitate, is all imperious and important, with an earnestness.

#### 8. from Lucanus.

When Luther had bought and read Lucanus, he said: "I do not know whether he is a poet or a historian. For thus they are distinguished: a historian says what is true; an orator and eloquent speaker, what is similar to truth; but a poet writes what is neither true nor similar to truth. Therefore Aristotle says: "Poets lie a great deal, for if they have a little cause, they make a thing very great.

and clean it up high. There must be a lot of lies. Like good painters, they paint a person much more beautiful than he is.

Julius Caesar said: "As often as I read Brutus' writings, I let myself think that I am eloquent; but when I read Ciceroni's Orationes, I am unspeaking and babble like a child.

#### 9. from Aesopus.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 6, 1538, p. 158.)

On Nov. 6, he read his preface to Aesop. He highly recommended this book because it was full of good teaching, manners and experience. Then he added: "He who can speak well is a man. For speech is wisdom, wisdom is speech. Speech comes from counsel, otherwise it is called washed and not spoken. Thus Aesopus speaks, he does not prate; he presents the matter and truth under the guise of a foolish fool, nor must he be persecuted for it.

#### 10. which books should be discarded.

(Lauterbach, Sept. 15, 1538, p. 132.)

After that, he said that it was very necessary that the books of Juvenal, Martial, Catullus and the Priapus of Virgil be removed from the plays and schools, because they were so mean and actor-like that they could not be read without harm.

#### 11. by some scholars of our time.

(Cordatus No. 932 and No. 503.)

Doctor Muth 1) believed that there was no God. Finally he despaired because of his poverty and killed himself with poison. He left a book about his religion, which he did not dare to publish during his life. Yes, Erasmus also wants to leave his faith behind, which he did not dare to confess during his life. Such people know what they do not want to talk about. They are knaves who want to measure everything according to their wisdom and

1) This refers to the famous humanist Conrad Muth, called Mutianus Rutus (Mutz in the Latin manuscript is probably an abbreviation of Mutianus), since 1503 Canonicus at Gotha. He died in 1526 in the greatest misery. As far as is known, he did not leave a work about his views on religion. ([Wmmpelmeyer](#).)



If God were, he would probably make another world that would be more pious. But our God will save that into that world. This world is only a preparation for that world. The scaffolding is torn down when the construction is ready. The painter needs brush and paint until he has made the picture. So this world is a preparation for the other.

Carton, 1) formerly my adversary, once dared in his "Practica" to predict the day and the year in which Luther was to be burned; but the day on which he got so drunk that he died of it, he never predicted.

### 12. special speakers.

A preacher brought a supplication to M. Luther and verbally told him his cause with many high words. M. Luther was angry about it and said: "This rough ass also wants to master our Lord God and be wiser than God and me. He also said, "Oh, dear God, how much I have mastered my art in one year, and I am still a pupil myself; but it is said: *Justificata est sapientia a filiis suis*: "Wisdom must be taught and led into the school by her own children and pupils," Matth. 11, 19. That is why it is said that N. N. is one of the scholars, the like of which cannot be found far and wide. Perhaps he is learned in his avarice, in which he is so drowned that he cannot see God's glory. Well, let us take his back from Spalatino and let the matter reach [the] prince 2c. Wrote him two sharp letters.

Licentiate Amsdorf teaches purely, and speaks his mind finely rounded and sincere. As he was at Schmalkalden on the day when he preached a sermon, 2) he said: This gospel

1) D. Joh. Canon, born 1499 at Bietigheim in Württemberg, died 1537, court mechanic of the Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg, at the same time teacher of mathematics at the court of Berlin, historian, physician and astrologer. "Practica" is the title of one of his astrological works. The last remark about his end seems to have been added by Cordatus on the occasion of the collection of Luther's speeches in 1537, since these conversations seem to fall into the year 1532. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) Cf. cap. 22, §60.

The Lord's prayer is for the sick, the weak, and poor sinners; but there are none here, for great rich princes and lords do not feel their sickness and weakness. So he also goes straight to disputationibus. He is a theologian by nature, D. Creuziger, D. Jonas 2c. are made and imagined theologians. However, I and D. Pommer do not let us take much.

Anno 1536, den 1. Augusti, wrote D. M. Luther on his table: *Res et verba Philippus; Verba sine re Erasmus;*<sup>3</sup> ) *Res sine verbis Lutherus; nec rem nec verba Carolosta-* dius; that is what Philippus writes, that has hands and feet, the matter is good, so are the words; Erasmus makes a lot of words, but there is nothing behind them; Lutherus has good matter, but the words are not good; Carlstadt has neither good matter nor good words.

Then Philip came about, smiled at D. Basilius, and said: "Erasmus and Carlstadt would be judged and judged correctly, but too much would be given to him, and D. Luther should also be credited with good words, and that he could speak well.

### 12a. By Thomas More.

(Contained in Cap. 45, § 47.)

### 13. by D. Staupitz.

Doctor M. Luther praised and extolled the high intellect, honesty and sincerity of D. Staupitzen, Augustinian Order Provincial, who would always have been of a noble (as he was of the nobility), not dishonorable and servile mind. But at last he was persuaded by the bishop of Salzburg, Lange, left and moved from the Elector Duke Frederick of Saxony 2c. and became an abbot; which honor he had not two years, because God has seasoned him. Although I hope good things of him, as his confession testifies; but we may nevertheless pray, who see such examples, not to be sure, and remember, as St. Paul warns: "Let him who stands see that he does not fall," 1 Cor. 10, 12.

3) Cf. cap. 37, §108.

**14. what and how to preach for the young milk Christians.**

(Kummer p. 304 d. [Lauterbach p. 141, note]).

Long sermons destroy the devotion and the desire to listen in the listeners, and the preachers do themselves harm. He chastised Mag. Georg Major for his pusillanimity and told him not to look at those who were more learned than he, but to pay attention to the people so that he could teach them. One should pull out the teats on the preaching chair and feed the common people with milk, because a new church is growing up every day, which needs the first initial foundations. Therefore, only the catechism should be diligently practiced and the milk distributed; the high thoughts and strong wine should be kept private for the little ones. I do not want D. Pommer, Jonas, Philipp in my sermon, because they know better than I do. Nor do I preach to them, but to my Lenichen, Hänsichen, Elsichen, to whom I pay attention. It would have to be a great gardener who wanted to cultivate only one flower in a large garden and neglect all the others. Therefore, see to it that you teach purely and simply.

**15. simple-minded preachers the best.**

Doctor M. Luther once said that Albrecht Dürer, the famous painter at Nuremberg, used to say: He had no desire for pictures that were painted with many colors, but which were made in the most simple and fine bad way. So he said that he would also like to preach sermons, which went along fine simple, because one could understand what one preached.

**16. from Brentius.**

(Cordatus No. 352.)

There is no one among all the theologians of our time who acts and explains the Scriptures as Brenz does, for he treats them simply and so clearly that I very often admire him and despair of my strength. And what he has accomplished in the interpretation of the Gospel of John, none of ours will accomplish. But if he sometimes dwells on his thoughts, this is to his credit, since he does not depart from the simple opinion of the Word.

**17. by Bucerus.**

(This § in Kummer p. 291. [Lauterbach p. 66, note]).

In the translation of my books, no one is better or more careful than M. Bucer, because he gives my meaning and opinion so actually, where he would not mix in his opinions of the Sacrament, that I, if I wanted to express my meaning with words and to show my opinion, could not do it more actually.

(Also in Cordatus No. 351.)

In the translation of my books, no one has ever been more careful, or one who has reproduced my meaning and opinion so accurately, than M. Bucer. But I do not approve of his opinions, which he has mixed in.

**18. by M. Ammerbach.**

Our disputation, said D. M. Luther, with M. Ammerbach is like that of the Lord Christ with Nicodemo; for Ammerbachius says: My opinion, yes opinion, is that man becomes pleasant, just and blessed before God for the sake of good works.

**19. difference of the gifts.**

There was talk about how there was such a great difference among the scholars that they were not all the same who studied there, and that there were various different heads, and not all of them would awaken the dead with their art. Then said D. M. Luther said: "It is not given to all, nor to any: to whom God gives it, he has it. God has also divided it very finely, that the learned may serve the unlearned; again, the unlearned must humble himself before the learned, of which he has need. If all men were equal, no one could arise, no one would serve the other, there would be no peace.

The peacock lamented that he had not the voice of the nightingale. Therefore, God has made the greatest equality with inequality; for we see that when one is something excellent, has more and greater gifts than another, he becomes arrogant and proud, wants to rule over all the others and despise them, and

rule. He thinks that his filth alone stinks. Therefore, God has very finely and well pictured and presented the human society among each other in the members of the human body, where there are many and unequal members, and one must reach out and help the other, none can do without the other. The most honest members are under the face, but the nose, the house of shame, must still be above the mouth and below the eyes. If only two people had noses, they would be considered monsters; but because we are all snotty and muddy, the nose makes us humble.

After that, consider also the gifts of the belly and the buttocks, how necessary they are, as without them we could not live. A man can live without eyes, ears, hands, feet, but without the ars, to speak with breeding, no man can live. So great and necessary is the use and benefit of this one limb, the buttocks, which is such a limb that belongs to the essence and preservation of the human body. That is why St. Paul says 1 Cor. 12, 22. 23: "The members of the body, which seem to us to be the weakest, are the most necessary, and those which seem to us to be the most dishonest, to them we give the greatest honor."

#### 20. from Aristotle and Cicero.

Aristotle is even an epicure, considers that God does not ask about human things, does not pay attention to what and how we do it.

and go about, let us keep house as we please, as if it were none of his business: and since he believes it at once, he thinks that God rules the world, as a sleepy maid weighs a child. But Cicero has come much further. I believe that he has read and brought together what he has found good in all Greek scribes and teachers, in their books. For this is a very good argument, which has often moved me much and highly and has gone to my heart: that he proves from the fact that the living creatures, cattle and men, one begets and gives birth to the other, which is similar and like him, that there is one God. A cow always gives birth to a cow, a horse to a horse 2c. No cow gives birth to a horse, nor a horse to a cow 2c. Therefore it must follow irrefutably that there is something that governs all things. We can finely discern God from the certain and unchanging movement, course, and motion of the heavenly body in the sky. We find the sun rising and setting in its place every day; item, from certainty of time, that we thus have certain winter and summer. But because this is always and daily happening and common, we neither respect it nor wonder at it. But if a child were brought up in a dark place from his youth, and then let out in his twentieth year, he would wonder at the sun, what it was, and how it always had a certain course, how it had a certain time; but it is nothing to us, because what is common and happens daily is not respected.

### The 74th chapter.

## Of the Jews.

1. the Jews' fame.  
The Jews' Handling and Superstition.  
The Jews' fame and stubbornness.
4. Jews are poor people.  
Proverbs of the Scriptures Against the Jews.  
The pride and glory of the Jews from the word of God lies down.
7. from what violence Christ drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple.
8. from the temple of Solomon.

9. of the disturbance of the temple at Jerusalem, and the Jews' defiance, security and presumption.
10. Germany and Welschland have been full of Jews in the past.
11. Jews are blasphemers.
12. the priests of the Jews, by which they lived and were fed.  
The Jews cannot call Jesus the crucified one.
14. powerful argument Against the Jews.

Another argument against the Jews.

- 16 The Jews think they can keep the law.
- 17. The destruction of Jerusalem is the most horrible and terrible wrath.
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- 19 The Jewish Mind.
- 20. the wickedness of the Jews who pretend to be doctors.
- 21 The Jews no longer know their tribes.
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- The Jews have had some excellent people.
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The Jews boast of being God's people, yet they have killed the Messiah.

- The Jews were commonly blasphemers.
- 28. take the deceased brother's wife.
- 29: The Lies of the Jews by King Og.
- 30. of Jews and Arians.
- The tribe of the Jews is corrupt.
- The Jews custom with their Easter pancakes.
- 33. the Jews' deception.
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- 35 The Jews' Sorcery.
- 36. of the wickedness of the Jews.
- 37. of a Jew who wanted to be baptized, but first went to Rome.
- 38. from the Jews argument.

### 1. the Jews fame.

(Cordatus No. 1575.)

All Jews have boasted that they are Abraham's children, and it has been a great glory to them, and the rich man, after he was buried, still said in hell: "Father Abraham", and on the other hand it is said to him [Luc. 16, 24. 25.]: "Son, you" 2c. But our Lord God can separate these children, to some He gives their reward here, to others in the life to come. But the Jews did not boast for Abraham's sake, but for their own glory, just as the clergy now boast of Christ, that they receive great fiefdoms.

### 2. the Jews' handling and superstition.

Jews are the poorest of all peoples on earth, plagued here and there, scattered to and fro in countries, having no certain place where they can certainly stay, sitting like on a hovel, always worrying that they will be driven out, having neither land nor people, no regiment anywhere 2c. And yet they suffer it all, wait with great eagerness, console themselves and say: It will soon be better with us. So stubborn are they that they may still boast in the highest disgrace.

(The following at Cordatus No. 1097.)

I counsel that no lord be made, for he that is made sitteth on the right hand of the Father: for the Jews will make another lord. A wretched people,

They are not allowed to work, nor to trade, nor to keep cattle, but to practice shameful usury and horse trading. They have innumerable statutes, like all those who do not want the One Faith of Christ, like the Papists and the Turks. And since they do not want freedom in Christ, they choose bondage for freedom.

### 3. the Jews' fame and stubbornness.

(Cordatus No. 1172-1175.)

It is a very certain sign of the exceedingly great wrath of God against the Jews that they have to be in exile like this and are constantly cast out from one country to another. And yet they do not cease to expect their Messiah and to boast about their privileges, which Paul also exalts in his letter to the Romans, but how he belittles them in the same letter, in the second chapter!

To reject the fame and the reputation of the Jews became very sour to St. Paul Rom. 9, [4. 5.]. For since the world still stubbornly holds on to the pope, who sits in the temple of God without any word of God, what should the Jews have done to preserve their Judaism? It was no joy at all for Paul to say [Acts 13:46], "Behold, we turn to the Gentiles."

If I were a Jew, I would rather be wheeled ten times than go to the pope. The papacy has given the Jews a great deal of trouble.

I believe that many Jews would be converted if they heard our preaching and the interpretation of the Old Testament. But by disputing they are only hardened, because they are too presumptuous. If one or the other rabbi would fall away, there should be a fall, they are sheer tired.

#### 4. Jews are poor people.

Jews are the most miserable people on earth, are driven out almost at all ends; and yet they do not become more pious, remain for and for as they are; in few places and cities do they suffer, they must be stuck in each other. I wanted to take fifty of them into this room, so that they could help themselves inside. There are many of them in Frankfurt am Main, they have a gaff in which all the houses are full, they have to wear yellow rings on their coats and clothes in front, so that they are known, they have neither houses nor fields that are their own, only movable or movable goods, no one is allowed to lend on houses or fields, only on vehicles.

#### 5. sayings of the scriptures against the Jews.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 3, 1538, p. 23.)

Afterwards Luther said to Amsdorf: "Mr. Licentiate, give me a lecture on the 17th chapter of Genesis. For I have the highest passages of Scripture in this chapter, which are the foundation and the goal [scopus] of the Jews against us, where God speaks to Abraham: "I will make my covenant between me and you, that it may be an everlasting covenant." Then the Jews stand up and defy, as the Papists do on the spot, "Thou art Peter." This glory I would gladly take and lay. We soon took away Mosi's law from the passage Jeremiah 31:31-33: "I will make a new covenant. I will put my law in their hearts, not as the covenant was which I made with their fathers." There the Jews must give themselves captive and say that the law of Moses is only temporary and must be done away with. But here in the covenant of circumcision before Moses, between God and Abraham and his seed Isaac and his descendants, it becomes a perpetual one.

The covenant is given to them. They stand on the everlasting one, they do not let it be taken away from them. Moses may reject their circumcision alone and insist on the circumcision of the heart, but this [circumcision] and the eternal covenant they praise from the word of God. Even if they concede the argument that circumcision does not justify, but it is a sign of justification, as Paul also calls it. Therefore we must grant them circumcision, only that we may be free from their circumcision. Therefore, if they leave Moses' law the same, they insist on the everlasting covenant: where Moses ceases, let circumcision remain. I have for myself and for the godly a sufficiently tenable solution, that circumcision is only a temporary commandment, which is directed to the future Messiah. When the Messiah comes, this commandment will also cease. Moses is wise, he has taken care, because he does not write anything about circumcision in all four books after Genesis, he only insists on the circumcision of the heart in Deuteronomy. In Genesis he only tells the story. He does not insist on it as a commandment, since on the other hand he insists very much on the sacrifices, the Sabbath, the shewbrot; and this covenant he neglects, as if to say, There is not much in it. If it were so great, he would probably have insisted on it more vehemently. Summa: Christ, another prophet, will come. Him you shall hear. Into his mouth I will put my words. After that, in the book of Joshua, circumcision is mentioned again. The blinded papists, who do not follow the Scriptures, could not refute an argument of the Jews. Ah, dear God, what a horrible blindness!

#### The Jews' pride and glory in God's word lies low.

(Lauterbach, Feb. 22, 1538, p. 37.)

The verse (13) of the 115th Psalm is set quite appropriately: "He blesses those who fear the Lord, both small and great." It is a thunderbolt against the glorified Jews and also the papists, who want to be God's people alone and do not want to allow any other besides their church; as if he wanted to say: The little children also belong here, GOD has

"Many of the Gentiles were saved without circumcision and law. In the same way also outside of the Pabstium. But they in their hope do not stop. As still today in Moravia the Jews, dje Sabbathers, force the Christians to circumcision. This circumcision was a big thing with the Jews until Christ. That they should have forced us to it, that will not happen. I do not hope that I will become so foolish as to accept circumcision. Rather, my Kâthe and all the women would have to have their left breasts cut off. But they already dare to plague the Christians. I am very angry with Ferdinand, who devastates the Protestant churches and allows those Jews to enter. Great is the hope of the Jews that they boast of righteousness alone and do not see that Abraham was justified in the foreskin. Moreover, the Jews do not consider circumcision according to the commandment of God, but have a very silly argument, namely they say: Therefore man must be circumcised in this part of the body, because otherwise there is no superfluous member in the whole body. Thus these asses want to measure the reason of the divine wisdom according to their carnal opinions. Why should not rather the earlobes be cut off? This part has also no use in the body, or a finger? Fie you of the nonsense! God wanted to confirm his covenant in the people with his sign only for a time, on this part of the body.... *Ἀχροτομία*, praeputium, we have translated it Voxhaut, because we could not find a more significant word. The barbers call it Häublein; the ancients translated it Ueberwachsung. In short, I admit that the circumcision of the Jews has great glory; this is true in the sight of Christ. But that they want that without it there is no people of God, we deny. For even in circumcision they are not a people, but rejected. If the Jews had not been rejected fifteen hundred years, and Jerusalem destroyed, no one could have taken it away from the Jews, it has such a great appearance. Therefore the Ebionites, that is, the poor, kept both the Old and New Testaments, circumcision and baptism, and all that is written.

#### **7. from what force Christ drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple.**

(Lauterbach, May 26, 1538, p. 86.)

Christ drove the sellers and buyers out of the temple not by temporal authority but by ecclesiastical authority. This right was also given to every high priest [in the Temple] who was commanded to him, and if the Temple in Jerusalem were still standing, there would be a high priest against whom no man would dare to rebel, because Jerusalem is the place that God has chosen and confirmed. The pretense is so great that the whole world would be forced to worship this Temple, but GOD according to His marvelous grace destroyed this Jerusalem to disgrace the Jews. Rome is nothing against it. Peter came there, did not find a straw cloth there. And Peter is said to have been in the fishery in ancient Rome. If Christ had preached to Rome, what a boast that would have been! Therefore the reputation of Rome is nothing compared to that of Jerusalem.

#### **8. from the temple of Solomon.**

Solomon never built such a beautiful temple as Torgau has today. After that, the pagans built a temple to the idol Diana in Ephesus, and perhaps they wanted to imitate and surpass the Jews with such a building.

#### **9. from the disturbance of Jerusalem and the Jews defiance, security and presumption.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 29, Thursday, 1538, p. t24.)

On August 29 he read the history of the destruction of Jerusalem. It was a great city in power and wealth, but it was destroyed by the siege of Titus and Vespasianus. That hurt the Jews very much. For there God had to become a liar, because the Jews understood all promises of God carnally, like this word of Jeremiah (17, 12.): "The place of our sanctuary has always remained firm." The Jews insisted on defiance and many more sayings and even murdered the prophets, but finally they saw that their security and presumption would be put to shame.

**10. german and welschland has been stan full of jews.**

(Lauterbach, Aug. 29, 1538, p. 125.)

After that they spoke about the flight of the Jews to Italy and Germany. For Cicero in the speech for Flaccus complains about the superstition of the Jews in Italy and we see all over Germany their traces. Is yet no city or village, it has names, signs and gapes [of Jews] and it is said that Jews have been in Regensburg and lived long before the time of Christ. They have been a great, powerful people.

**11. Jews are blasphemers.**

When it was said of the blasphemies of the Jews, who now at this time read our books and writings, and from the same dispute against us, 2c. M. Luther: "They are a people who only blaspheme and blaspheme, just as the jurists, papists and all our adversaries take the knowledge of things from our writings and use the same weapons and weapons against us. But, praise be to God, our cause has a certain, good and lasting reason, namely, God and His Word. We also have fine martyrs over it, for M. Henricus became a martyr in faith for the faith in Ditmars, as did Leonhard Kaiser in Bavaria and the two boys in Brussels.

**12. the priests of the Jews, by which they lived and were fed.**

A beautiful fruit of good pears and peaches was brought forward. Martinus looked at them with diligence and said: "The priests of the Jews had a surplus of fruits from the decem and first fruits of all kinds, because our Lord God has well provided for the people. Although the twelve tribes were poor, because the people were numerous and the Jewish land was small, they had to give the firstfruits of all the grown fruits and animals, which were the priest's alone. The decem was common to both the priests and Levites, because 1) the Levites had to

1) For that ---- except that. Binding rope 1, 465.

give tithes from their goods to the priests.

But the people did not give it to them gladly, but gave them the most fearful and unprofitable things, so that even the prophet Malachias and Haggaeus thundered and flashed against them, that they sacrificed lame and unprofitable cattle for the decem and firstfruits. But the people of Israel were a poor people, living meagerly; as it is written of David, when he dedicated the tabernacle, he made a great feast, giving to each person a roll, a cup of porridge, and a morsel of flesh. Now it is all done with eating and drinking and all the rest of the splendor.

**The Jews cannot hear Jesus called the crucified one.**

About two Jewish rabbis, Shamaria and Jacob, came to me, said Doctor Martin Luther, talked with me and asked me to give them letters of support. The same pleased them well, if only I had not put the Tola, that is, Jesus the Crucified, in it. For they cannot help it, they must blaspheme the name of Jesus; and they are exceedingly hostile to the little song "Christ is risen. One gets tired of all the songs with time, but that Christ is risen, one must sing again every year.

Item: Another Jew said: "If so many thousands of innocent people have been killed, all of them are now silent; only Jesus, the crucified one, must always be remembered, whose death cannot be forgotten.

**14. powerful argument against the Jews.**

The Jews must be met with strong arguments. How this is, said D. M. Luther, Jer. 23, 5. 6. where he speaks of Christ, the offspring of David, "who shall be a righteous offspring, and a king, who shall rule well, and do justice and righteousness. In that day Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely. And this shall be his name, that they shall call him: LORD our righteousness.

The Jews cannot solve this argument. And because they do not want this Christ-

They must give us another king from David, who shall reign because the sun and the moon shine, as the prophets promised.

#### 15 Another Argument Against the Jews.

Either God must be unjust, or you Jews must be wicked; for you have been in misery and outcast, cast out and driven away, longer than in the promised land. For the Jews have not been in the Promised Land for more than three hundred years, while Solomon's temple was still standing, and now they have been in misery and driven out for more than fifteen hundred years. Nor can they be comforted by the example of the Babylonian prisons, when the time was determined to be seventy years, and yet they were not without prophets, nor without rule; yea, they wrought and did more at Babylon than at Jerusalem. For Daniel was a greater and mightier ruler at Babylon than David and Solomon were at Jerusalem. Therefore the Babylonian prison was only a paternal rod. But this last punishment is the real end.

They hope that we will join them, because we are now also dealing with the Ebrew language, and are teaching and learning it; but this is not to happen. They must accept our religion and the crucified Christ, and overcome all the troubles, especially that the Sabbath is postponed, which moves them very much and hits them hard in the head, and the apostles have arranged it this way, in honor of the resurrection of the Lord.

#### 16 The Jews think they can keep the law.

The poor, blind, hardened Jews praise the righteousness of the Law, which they cannot keep; indeed, they blaspheme God with such zeal over the Law, which they are not to keep except in the Promised Land.

Summa, the Jews cannot solve this argument, they have to leave it unbitten, because it strikes them down like thunder: namely, they have to show cause why they have been abandoned for more than fifteen hundred years, a people without regiment, without law, without prophets, without a temple. They can show no other cause than their sin.

#### 17. The destruction of Jerusalem is the most terrible and greatest wrath.

The destruction of Jerusalem was cruel, miserable and terrible, so that all other monarchies and emperors falls and plagues, floods, Sodomae, Pharaonis 2c. are nothing compared to this devastation. For this city has been God's city, dwelling place, refuge and bed; as the Psalm says: "Here will I dwell, for I have chosen it" 2c., Ps. 132, 14. There was the law, priesthood, the temple, there is David, Solomon, Isaiah 2c., there are innumerable prophets buried; so that the Jews may well have defied such great privileges.

What are we poor, wretched Gentiles and Rome against Jerusalem? Our God is not our prisoner. He has not yet drunk much Wittenberg and Torgau beer. Has he handed over the beautiful Jerusalem, which he had thus adorned with his word, law, blood friends 2c.: it will, verily, also apply to us. Truly, he will not give it to us either, we may judge ourselves by it.

Summa: This destruction of Jerusalem is more horrible and terrible than all plagues on earth have ever been and will ever be. It was also too much that his own people should lead his own son out of the city and crucify him.

#### 18. the Jews' stubbornness and blasphemous praying.

The Jews still do not want to listen today: although they have been disgraced for more than fifteen hundred years 1) and have been publicly condemned and decided, they still do not believe. It should break a man's heart when he sees the Jews so scattered that the blood of Jesus Christ 2) should almost burn everything in hell: they are scattered everywhere in the kingdom, according to their words, which they said to Pilate: "We have no king but Caesar" 2c., Joh. 19, 15. But they are a harmful people, they exhaust everything with usury: where they pay an authority a thousand guilders, they pay a thousand guilders.

1) Cf. cap. 2, § 40.

2) I.e. the Jews, who are of the same blood as Jesus Christ. Stangwald offers: that the friendship of Jesus Christ 2c.



On the other hand, they suck twenty thousand guilders from the poor inferiors.

After that, the doctor read some of their very proud prayers from a book of the Bible, in which they praise God and call upon Him as if they were His people alone, and curse all other peoples; for this they use the 23rd Psalm: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want"; as if it were actually and primarily written by them. Summa, the poor people are not to be helped, they do not want to hear God's word, but only their thoughts and little bundles.

#### 19. the Jews mind.

On April 12, Luther read in a book of the Bible in which were written the prayers and feasts of the Jews, which they now keep, and was very surprised at the great presumption and hopefulness. There was no knowledge of the Scriptures, but vain glory in dead privileges, which are now gone and extinguished. They understand nothing of God's grace, nor of the righteousness of faith, how God is merciful out of pure grace for Christ's sake, and that faith in Christ makes one righteous, pious and blessed; of this they know less than nothing, but want to be holy by nature and by nature, as the heathen are by the will of the flesh. But the papists seek the means, are neither Jews nor true Christians, want to be righteous neither from the will of the flesh, nor from the blood, but from the will of the man 1). But all this is rejected and condemned; as John says, Cap. 1, 13. that "they are the children of God and are justified who are born of God".

#### 20. the wickedness of the Jews who pretend to be doctors.

The Jews, who pretend to be doctors, deprive the Christians, who need their medicine, of life and property, because they think they are doing God a service, if they only plague the Christians and kill them secretly. And we mad fools still have recourse to our enemies and the repulsive in danger of our lives.

1) I.e. from human assets. Aurifaber asked "name" instead of "man". Bindseil I, 460: viri.

So God is trying them. And he told of the wickedness and infidelity of some Jewish physicians, which they had committed and practiced.

#### 21 The Jews no longer know their tribes.

It is only a vain glory that the Jews make, because they have been deprived of all their privileges for more than fifteen hundred years: for in seventy years, when they were taken captive at Babylon, they were thus made desolate and mixed, and went among themselves, so that at that time they could scarcely know and discern which tribe one was of; what then should have happened so long ago, since they were so often driven away, chased out, and taken captive by the Gentiles? Since the soldiers have not spared their wives and daughters? So that they are now almost all sons of whores, and none knoweth not of what tribe he is.

And D. M. Luther recounted the prophecy of a great rabbi, who was supposed to have said to the bishop of Camin: My father was a great rabbi, who read much, and waited for the Messiah, but finally despaired, without all hope, and indicated: If the Messiah does not come, if one writes fifteen hundred, and does not know how many years (which is over), then Christ Jesus must certainly be the same.

#### Jews have had great privileges over other peoples.

When it was said how blind and stiff-necked the Jews were, D. M. Luther said: "The Jews have a great privilege above all other peoples and Gentiles, the greatest promises and highest services, which are much more pleasing to reason and human wisdom than the services of faith in the New Testament. The Jews can compare themselves much better with the Turks than with the Christians; for Jews and Turks are one, and confess that there is only One God, but they do not believe that there are three Persons in One Divine Being; item, with washing and bathing, with circumcision and other outward services and ceremonies, in this they agree.

#### **Jews have had some excellent people.**

We love the people (the Jews), said D. M. Luther, and yet they are so hopeful and proud. Truly, this people has had excellent men, as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, Daniel, Samuel, Paulum 2c. Who would not be sorry and grieved that such a great and glorious people should perish and be lost so miserably? The Latin Church has not had a more excellent man and teacher than Augustine, and the Church against tomorrow Athanasius; although he was nothing special. Therefore we are branches grafted into the right vine. The prophets call the Jews, but especially the line of Abraham, a beautiful little vine, and Christ himself had to come from such a beautiful plant. We Gentiles are no longer orthodox, righteous believers. Several of us are washers.

(Here, 6 lines are omitted because transferred to Cap. 7, § 56, where they belong).

#### **24. this time ungodliness.**

Now we also do as the Jews do, as is evident; therefore God will also punish us. This is what happens to lost children who do not want to obey their parents; after that, they do not respect them either, and even make them blind. No one has ever written about it, and no one can write about it, because all good talk is too little, indeed nothing, to erase such a wrath of God.

O heavenly Father, let us stay with the sun, and let us not fall from your word. But the Jews still do not listen, but continue to blaspheme. How they ravish the good handmaid Mariam: though she had been a Gentile, the Aenea Sylvia, it were too much and gross: she hath done nothing; yet do they blaspheme and ravish her. Behold, and consider what they have suffered these fifteen hundred years; what will it be in hell? There it will be much more miserable. There is no nation under the sun that is more wickedly dealt with and destroyed than the Jews.

Do not tell a Jew that Christ is the true God, for he will not believe it. Therefore I do not dispute with any Jew. Rabbi Akibl 1) says: Messiah has come, but it would not be the Christ, but a star child, born from the star of Jacob 2c. This was also the reason why Jerusalem was besieged. All were under the delusion that Messiah had come; now they deny it. Then the Jews who came after them said that he was a lying child. Then they pretended that there were two of them, Joseph's son and David's son, and that none of them would be among the beggars until he was called God. The third, they dream that he will come, they are waiting for him.

I believe that the present Jews are vain Epicureans, good fellows who have despaired of the Messiah. They believe that whoever does much good will be righteous; whoever hears Moses will be blessed. Messiah comes or does not come, they do not care; they say: Messiah will restore the law, not abolish it. They also think of a worldly kingdom that Messiah will establish.

#### **25: Of a baptized Jew who had been a dean in Cologne.**

Doctor Martin Luther said that in a church in Cologne there was a dean who had a cat in one hand and a mouse in the other. This deacon had been a Jew, and had been baptized and converted to Christianity: after his death he had himself hewn in stone on the church door, so that he might show how little the cat can be good to the mouse, so little is a Jew good to a Christian. And it is true, said D. M. Luther, the Jews do not grant us anything good, we are to them as death or as a burnt sorrow. It grieves them that we pass before their eyes. The Jews have no consolation, for only usury sustains them; but if I were a lord of the land, I would also forbid them usury.

1) Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XX, 2436 f. § 214 ff.

2) So Stangwald instead of "the".

**The Jews boast of being God's people, yet they have killed their Messiah.**

The Jews knew that the Messiah would come and that he would be heard. But that this Jesus would be the Christ and Messiah, no one could persuade them. But now they have persecuted and murdered him, and yet they boast that they are God's people.

**The Jews have always been blasphemers.**

The majority of the Jews have blasphemed God, strangled the pious prophets. So the dear arch-fathers and patriarchs had blasphemers in their houses, Abraham had Ishmael, Isaac had Esau, who persecuted his father and mother, and Jacob, his brother, to whom he put all the sorrow of heart, so that he had to escape from him.

**28. take the deceased brother's wife.**

From the law of Moses, that the brother had to raise up the dead brother's seed, I think that our Lord God wanted to nourish the womenfolk. For the majority of the men perished in war and elsewhere, but the female generation remained, and therefore our Lord God willed to give them this benefit, and so provided for them and fed them. But since one of them did not want to live and sleep with his dead brother's wife, he still had to feed her. And therefore I think that Solomon had so many wives.

**29. the Jews lies from the king Og.**

(Cordatus No. 742.)

The Jews told of King Og that 1) he took a great mountain to throw at the great multitude of his enemies. But as soon as he brought the mountain down on his head, God dropped it on his neck, and after that great spikes grew out of his mouth for teeth, so that he could never put down the great mass. They have had much finer wisdom.

**30. Jews and Arians.**

The Jews cannot stand the teaching that Christ is King, God and Man. The Arians are the most subtle of all heretics. But the articles of faith must be judged by the Holy Spirit, not by our reason. Reason is killed by these articles, must give itself up as a prisoner, and say: The things are indeed unbelievable to me, but because God says it, I will believe it, because he is true, does not lie nor deceive.

**The Jews' tribe is corrupted.**

(Cordatus No. 725.)

Nothing at all can be made from a vine, as Ezekiel says [Cap. 17.], it only bears wine. So also the Jews. By throwing them into the fire as if they were worthless, like vines, they have given us apostles and great prophets, yes, even Christ himself. But now the tribe is worthless.

**The Jews custom with their Easter pancakes.**

The Jews have the custom that they put three pancakes on a table, one above the other, and eat nothing from the top and bottom, but they pull out the middle one and break it. This they have, no doubt, from the fathers, and the fathers wanted to indicate the Holy Trinity, but Christ's humanity must be grasped.

**33. the Jews deception.**

Doctor M. Luther said of a Jew: "What should one grant to the boys who damage people's bodies and property and turn away many Christians with their superstition and superstition?"

For in Moravia they have circumcised many Christians and call them by a new name the Sabbath-keepers. 2) So it is in the places where Protestant preachers are driven out, there one must suffer Jews. Thus it is said that H[archduke] Georgen swore that before he would suffer the Lutherans, he would

2) Cf. Cap. 74, § 6.

1) This fable is found in the Talmud in Tractate Berachoth.

before all churches, baptism and sacrament are destroyed 2c. Just as if we did not also preach Christ, right worship and sacraments. Summa, the world wants to be deceived.

#### 34. jews stubbornness.

(Cordatus No. 260.)

The Jews knew and desired the presence of the Messiah, but they believed all their being would remain untouched. When Christ did not want that, he was crucified.

#### 35. Jews magic.

When the Jews were spoken of, D. M. Luther said: "The Jews have their sorcery as well as other sorcerers. They think: If it is good for us, it is good for us; if not, it is good for a Christian: what do we care? For they regard a Christian as a dog.

But Duke Albrecht of Saxony 2c. was right. When a Jew gave him a button with strange characteristics and signs, which was supposed to serve for cold irons, stabbing and shooting, he said: "I will first try this with you, Jew; he led the Jew to the gate, hung the button on his neck, pulled out his sword and stabbed him. So, he said, it would have happened to me, too, if I had trusted you.

As it is impossible that the aglaster 1) leaves its hopping and sneaking 2), the snake its stinging; so little does the Jew leave from his mind to kill and murder Christians wherever he can. They still sit with us in great honor.

#### 36. wickedness of the Jews.

The Lord Doctor said about the wickedness of the Jews. When Christians come to them, they receive the same: Seth wants to come, that is, the devil wants to come. For Seth, or Satan, is called the devil.

If I were in the Lord's presence in N. N., I would call all the Jews together and ask them: Why they call Christ a son of a bitch?

his mother a whore, and Mariam a shithouse? 3) If they could prove it, I would give them a thousand guilders; but if they could not prove it, I would have their tongues torn out from their necks. In sum, the Jews are not to suffer with us; one is not to eat or drink with them.

Then said one, Is it not written, that the Jews shall be converted before the last day? Doctor Martin Luther said, "Where is it written? I do not know of a certain saying. Rom. 9. they do bring forth a saying, but it cannot be proved from that. Then his wife said, "And there will be one sheepfold and one shepherd," John 10:16. Yes, said the doctor, dear Käthe, it has already happened since the Gentiles came to the gospel.

There is a hard people around the Jews. And the prophet Isaiah knows this well, because he says: I know you well, you have iron veins, a rather hard forehead. But they stand badly on this argument, from it one cannot tear them: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the bloom, the nobility: on it they defy very much. But what does God ask on earth about nobility and prosperity?

That is true, there must be a difference between the persons: A man must not be a woman, a master not a servant 2c.; but to insist on this, God cannot suffer. And it is no wonder that they are so stiff-necked, for they raise their children to this from their youth. For as soon as a child can speak, they stand there and say: Son, son, listen, the Christians are a maledicted people 2c. What is taught to children in their youth, they do not easily forget. So the devil is also there, he has great claws, and whom he seizes, he holds fast. As we learn enough in the priesthood, and it is still seen daily in the mobs, we should always pray and fear God.

#### 37. of a Jew who wanted to be baptized, but first went to Rome.

A Jew who wanted to be baptized and accept the Christian faith confessed to a priest, saying, "He wanted to go to Rome first.

3) Cf. Walch, old edition, vol. XX, 2631, § 3.

1) d. i. Magpie.

2) d. i. croaking, dudes.

He wanted to go and see the supreme head of Christianity before he was baptized, which the priest tried hard to prevent, because he feared that if he saw the trouble and evil in Rome, he would be deterred from Christianity. But the Jew went to Rome, and when he had seen enough horrible things, he came again to the priest and asked for baptism, saying: "Now I will gladly worship the Christian God, for he is patient enough: if he can suffer such evil and wickedness at Rome, he can also suffer all the wickedness and badness of the world; but God is not cruel enough that he has afflicted us, his people, so much.

According to this history, he, M. Luther, thought about how Rome was situated, which he had passed through and seen with great danger for fourteen days, and the same place, the old Rome, where the best and most beautiful buildings would have been, would have been razed by the Goths and made equal and even to the earth. On the mountain and castle, the Capitolio, would have been a barefoot monastery, and the mountain, called Tarpeius, was higher than the Aventine mountain, Capitolinus and Quirinalis. 1) The theater and playhouse would be built round, fifteen steps high in the round around raised above each other, so that one could sit and watch in layers, in two hundred thousand people: of which stand-

1) In Aurifaber: Capitolium and Quiriter.

The walls and the foundation still exist. After that, there would be a churchyard of St. Calixtus, where several thousand martyrs would be buried.

### 38. Jews Argument.

Jews and Turks have one argument, that is: Cursed are all those who worship more than one God: Christians do that, therefore they are cursed. The minor and other propositions, they say, are proven by this, because they believe in God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit 2c.

Tell them what you want and how you want, so they cannot believe that three are one. But I will keep my faith without all effort and work, even when I am asleep, I know that: and even if I stumble, since God is before me, I will still stick to what I have learned.

A Christian never holds on to his Christ as firmly as a Jew or even a fanatic holds on to his doctrine. For even though a Christian sticks to his doctrine even unto death, he often stumbles and begins to doubt. But this is not the case with the enthusiasts, who stand firm and hold stiffly over their enthusiasm; as Marcus of Zwickau, the devil-prophet, did. I said to him, "He should take care that he does not go astray. Then he said: God shall not bring me from this. 2c.

## The 75th chapter.

### Of the Turk.

1. about the Turk and his wars and victories.
2. D. Luther's admonition on how to fight the Turk.
3. about the prayer against the Turk.

#### 1. about the Turk and his wars and victories.

(First three paragraphs at Cordatus No. 626-628.)

Daniel [11:45] says of the Turk: "He will pitch the tent of his palace between two seas for the sake of the precious holy

Mountain, that is, he will come to Rome. I would like him to avenge the blood of many martyrs who were killed and buried in Rome, into which the pope broke, so that he would sit in the holy place, namely he [the pope is that abomination. But since

he came to Rome, the last day is near at hand. The Turk did not rule for more than two hundred years, but the Saracens ruled for about eight hundred years.

Christ has redeemed our souls before, so he will also redeem our bodies. We only wait for the man; the others may fear his coming, which we desire.

I often think of the misery of Germany that is in store for it and often break a sweat over it. I am truly worried that the Turk will pull through and through. No one beats the Turk, and the Germans will not let themselves be advised. If the man called Christ does not help, neither the emperor nor the princes will do anything, and the Lord's Prayer must do something.

When they were talking about the Turk, D. M. Luther said: "It is not a matter of gathering much people together, it must be done by the one who is above. Jonathan, King Saul's son, said 1 Sam. 14, 6: "God can help even through little" 2c. That is what God can do, to make an army go astray, so that they tear each other apart. Then said the Doctor: Ei, behüt uns GOtt vor dem Türken. No, said Doctor Martin Luther, he must come once and louse our fur.

If the Turk comes with as many ships as they say, with four hundred, then it is certainly fulfilled what Daniel says: On many waters. If God wanted the Turk to be defeated in Germany, Egypt, Persia, 2c., his own countries, would fall away from him in half a year.

It is said that the Turk had four of his sons circumcised, and held a great feast and pomp, to which he invited the great Eliam, priest John, the Persian king, and the Venetians.

It is also said that he considers Christ a great prophet, but that his Mahomet is greater and higher; for Christ sinned against God with one word, saying: "I am the life, the way and the truth", Joh. 14, 6.

(The following paragraph Cordatus No. 668.)

The Turk keeps the peace among his own with righteous fear, so that whoever has his escort, which is written in golden letters: V J E T, can pass safely through all his territories. To him was sent an excellent man as an envoy, named Schmalz, a citizen of Hagenau. He asked him how old Luther was. He answered, 49 years. The Turk said: "Oh, that he were younger, he should know a gracious lord in me. When I heard this, I raised my hand, made the sign of the cross and said: God protect me from this merciful Lord.

(The following two paragraphs Cordatus No. 880 and 881.)

The Turk is a cunning fighter who does not win by bravery and boldness as well as by deception and cunning, and he tires people more by outsmarting them than by fighting. He does not fight if he is not sure of victory. He does like the musicians, if one wants him and offers battle, he turns away; if one does not understand him, he makes himself prominent, like the musicians do when they are asked. That is why one writing calls him a fox that comes out of the caves of the Caucasus mountains.

The Germans, however, are bold and daring, and especially the French are full of delight after a victory, can hold on to [the victory]. Our people, especially the Dutch, 2) they stand before the fire.

And a historia said of a mayor of Magdeburg that he had given the bishop this answer about the wall, which they should buy from him another time: We do not want to do that, we want to stretch our necks on it, and mine shall be the first. But the victory is not with us and in our power. To prevail against the Turk and to beat him has its time; to lose and to lie down has also its time. The king of France was proud and brave for a long time, and he was a courtier until he was caught in his majesty. The pope despised God and man until he was miserable.

2) The Low Germans in contrast to the Upper Germans).

1) This paragraph was inserted in the middle of the immediately following number of the Cordatus.

fell in a disgraceful and shameful way. So Emperor Maximilianus beat the Venetians with a small bunch.

(Cordatus No. 713.)

Hieronymus von Laschka [Lasky], who was with me in Torgau, called the emperor, with regard to the Turk, the tail of the empire, which was very offensive to me. I love to hear people speak disgracefully of us. It is a sign that the Turk will come to us because of our court.

(This paragraph also in Kummer, 2. Theil p. 209b [Lauterbach p. 203]).

Jerome of Lasca, who was with Luther in Torgau, called the emperor the tail of the empire in regard to the Turk, which was very spiteful. Luther replied: I hear it very gladly, if one speaks thus disgracefully of us, it is a sign that the Turk will perish because of his Hoffahrt. 1)

(The following two paragraphs Cordatus No. 1599 and 1600.)

The power of the Turk is very great because he receives twice a hundred thousand soldiers at his expense throughout the year, but his rule is nothing but pure wickedness. We, however, are tender martyrs who are unable to do anything because we are oppressed by different rulers. One corrupts the other. We wanted 2) to resist the Turk with the Lord's Prayer, for it is written: Deliver us from evil, if Germany had not shed so much blood and, on top of that, not pursued the recognized truth. Therefore God will look for us at home.

God will punish us as He once punished Sodom and Gomorrah, Seboim, the five cities, because of pride. After that, he will raise up an Abraham, who will punish the four kings again. So if I were to be God's counselor, if He wanted to punish Germany, I would advise that when it was punished by the Turk, He [God] also punished it afterwards by some bad boy and struck it to the ground. But God will do it.

(The following paragraph Cordatus No. 895.)

God recently chased the Turk from Vienna. Since everything was available in the imperial army, he had to buy the bread, which was sold for four pennies, for one guilder.

(The following two paragraphs Cordatus No. 944 and 943.)

The Turk is not a prince, but a robber who devastates everything that even a bad (simple) nobleman could. He swears and lies, both for his benefit.

Hungary should fight the Spaniards, also Germany, which is prouder than it deserves. Hungary has fallen away from the faith twice; if it deviates for the third time, it will not return.

The Turks are very proud and hopeful of their great fortune and victory; they devoured the Saracens thirty years ago when the Sultan perished. They think that they alone are God's people; they say that Abraham sacrificed Ishmael, not Isaac; they' are Ishmael's seed, 3) to whom the kingdom on earth belongs, as to whom it is promised and promised: they call us idolaters for the sake of the article of the Holy Trinity: They also say that there is only one God, that Jesus Christ sits at the left hand, but Mahomet sits at the right hand: Christ's law and doctrine would be too difficult and impossible, therefore Mahomet has given others, which are easier and more painful, as the evil lusts and desires do not condemn so much. But they keep their worship very strict and stiff with praying, fasting, think much of Christ, honor the mountain Oreb, but they do not want to build Jerusalem again.

Anno 1536, Dec. 21, Margrave George of Brandenburg came to Wittenberg to D. M. Luther. M. Luthern and told of the miserable and horrible battle that the Turk had conquered against our people, how the best and nucleus of the selected warriors had been betrayed and slain, sixty captains had been captured and led away with great triumph and joy.

1) The difference of this relation from the original one of Cordatus gives a striking example of the arbitrariness, which the later transmitters of the table speeches allowed themselves.

2) In the original: want.

3) In the editions: Isaac's. Bindseil 1, 403 has instead, probably more correctly: "Ishmael, not Isaac, be the promised seed." With it also that is correct, what Lauterbach, on 10 Nov. 1538, (p. 160) further down in this § reports.

would have been. The poor Christians would have been shamefully tormented and their noses would have been cut out, which scorn and mockery has never been experienced. Then said D. M. Luther said: "It is true for us Germans, God's wrath is at the door: we may repent, because the time of salvation is still here: we struggle for misfortune, which must also befall us.

Dear, look at the great venomous hatred of the papists against the gospel, who relied on the emperor and have often been disgraced; they still do not turn back. In Augsburg, at the Imperial Diet of 1530, they cried out in all certainty: "The Savior is coming. Count Ernst von M[ansfeld] built a bonfire the night he heard that the emperor had come to Germany.

So that priest at Eisenach bet all his cows that Luther should be put to shame before Michaelmas with all his own. For several years we hoped for the emperor's victory, if he would erect his shield in Paris, it should go over the Lutherans. So now, in the Court of Appeal, they have deliberated about those of Augsburg, who have been banished; after that, the eight should follow about the Lutherans.

Now they are again comforted by the fact that the French have come against the emperor with a large group of warriors. Italy has fallen away. The Turk invades Germany. This means: "He scatters those who are confident in their hearts", Luc. 1, 51. Oh dear God, can you do this? Summa, they have been exceedingly presumptuous. H[archduke] G[eorg] 1) is the ignition powder of all misfortune, he shall have a great treasure; although the cities also have money. If the landgrave raises something, it will not remain with the plunder, as before, when the bishop of M[ainz] 2) had to give ten times a hundred thousand guilders in plunder.

The Turkish emperor sits in great majesty, has three forecourts. In front of the first, twelve lions are tied to chains, in front of the other, panther beasts. He has money and people, armor, provisions, and such a people, who with

He is pressed into servitude, must do everything as he wants, like serfs. In a hundred years, he has increased magnificently, gradually and one by one suppressing and conquering the Saracens, who were previously lords in Syria, Asia, Jerusalem, the Promised Land, Africa and Greece.

So God plays with great kings, as Isaiah says: "I, the Lord, am a strong God over kingdoms; whichever sins, I destroy. This he has well proved. For first he devastated Nineveh and Affur, the Chaldean kingdom; then Babylon devoured Nineveh: the same devoured Assyria. When the Persians thought that they were dead, the great Alexander came and conquered it. Alexander was then destroyed by the Romans. The Roman Empire, which had been the most powerful, was eaten up by internal wars of Saracens, Goths, Wends and Huns. Thus our Lord God can pay the great monarchs, emperors, kings and princes. The Venetians have never done anything worthy, they are not warriors, but only pepper sacks.

Let it be equal that the Turk in a short time, namely a hundred years, has had luck and victory and has risen high; but it is nowhere to be compared with the Roman Empire, which in fifty years has increased and grown exceedingly, so that it has been the most powerful. It had endured a great paroxysm and shock from Hannibal, the supreme commander of Carthage, for three and twenty years, but after that it hastily increased and grew again, so that Scipio, the excellent hero, said: "One should not ask in litanies for increase and expansion of the empire; as if he wanted to say: "Seek no more expansion and greater; see how you may maintain this great.

So now I also hope that the world is at the end. For Carolus and Solimannus are the yeasts of the empire; no one will possess the empire completely. The Turk has not yet made it as far as the Roman Empire, which rose very high and increased in fifty years. It will probably remain with these yeasts. Christ will come, for we have no more Scripture, and the signs are there.

While the Turk has great luck and succes-

1) Thus Bindseil I, 400.

2) Thus Bindseil I, 400.



sion, and all of them still boast that they come from the trunk and flower of the Ottomanni: therefore they are proud, puffed up and triumphant, since the Roman emperors have never had such a line. For Emperor Julius left no male heir, Augustus-Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius succeeded him only by women and held the empire. But the Turk has his male line and lineage from Ottomanno. The Germans are Roman emperors and kings per synecdoche, only with the title; however, the Pope occupies Italy and Anders.

The Ch[urfürst] 1) told Doctor Martin Luthern of a great loss, which our war people in Hungary should have taken from the Turk, among the three highest captains, K., V. and S., 2) who should have been corrupted by the Turk: for it would be written at Vienna at all churches, K., V. and the S. were worthy to be hanged by a rope, for they had led the German army, which was not sufficiently armed, to the Turkish camp; but when a Christian, who had escaped from the Turkish troop and had run away, came and told them to get ready and make the battle order, for the enemy was armed, the captains were sure to despise it: After that, when they saw that the enemy was coming, they secretly turned away and fled, leaving the foot soldiers, who could not flee because the enemy was too close on their necks, standing: The latter were frightened and cried out miserably, partly wounding themselves as much as they could, so that the Turk gave flight, which made ours hearty again, so that they stood still, so that among the foot soldiers eleven hundred and twenty men were in the battle, all of whom had been miserably slain. 3)

The Turkish emperor Selimus murdered his brother so that he could rule alone. It is terribly tiresome that one brother should kill another because he is a brother. It is too tyrannical. I hope that the regi

The Turks, who rise so mightily with tyranny, shall suddenly fall, only that God punishes our wickedness through such tyrants, as we also honestly strive for.

Turks presumptuously think they have the right worship and religion, ridicule and mock our Christian religion, using this saying John 5:43, where Christ says, "I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him will ye receive." On the (*alius*, other) they rest.

(The following two paragraphs in Lauterbach, 17 Feb. 1538, p. 32.)

Luther spoke to the mayors of Wittenberg about the great disloyalty and treachery of Catianus, who had received gold from the Turk through a Jew, 18,000 ducats, and had promised that he would also betray the king himself, and said with a sigh: *Auri sacra fames, quid non mortalia pectora cogis ?* (Aen. ΠΙ, 57.) [Cursed hunger for gold, why don't you bring a human heart?] He must burn eternally in hell, that traitor. I would not betray a little dog. I fear another misfortune from Ferdinand, who let such a large army fall into the Turk's jaws. He entrusted such a large nation to that faithless man, who first fell away from the Turk to the Christians, and perhaps has now fallen away from the Christians again. Ah, princes and rulers should be differently skilled against the so great power of the Turk. They should go to the field themselves and not oppose him with such a small army. For the Turk is not a small enemy, as Daniel [7:21] writes: "It is given unto him to fight against the saints." That is why he has such great successes, victory, even appearance of godliness, that he mocks us Christians as idolaters. He makes three thrones: God, on the left Christ, on the right Mahomet, who took the kingdom of Christ, who preceded him. Therefore, the Turk's oaths are with GOD, the Creator of heaven and earth, with Mahomet, his servant, and with the eighty-four prophets sent from heaven. Against the violence of such a great tyrant, we Germans are lazy cattle, crawl in good peace, are drunk,

1) Thus Stangwald.

2) Catianus, Ungrace and Silt. Bindseil I, 403.

3) The report of this battle quite as incomprehensible in the Latin table speeches, Bindseil I, 404. In Rebenstock somewhat better: The Turk posed as if he was fleeing.

play idly, are not moved by the defeats. For he has grown so enormously in thirty years that he has become a master of Egypt, Arabia, Persia, Asia and all Greece. Germany has always been the best nation. But it will be like Troy, and they will say: Germania fuit. (Aen. II, 325.) It is over. Let us ask God to keep our consciences in such misfortune.

It was said that the prisoner Catianus had escaped from the prison and saved himself by fleeing. Luther answered: "That is not right. Ah, Ferdinand has no felix [luck, so-called kitchen Latin] in the Donato. He is the ruin of Germany.

(The following paragraph in Lauterbach, April 11, 1538, p. 60.)

On April 11, he said many things about the greatness and power of the Turk, whose kingdom would be proclaimed by Daniel and in the Revelation of John, so that the godly should not be frightened by his greatness. For the prophecy of Daniel is a fine chronicle, valid until the end of the world, because the kingdom of the Antichrist and the Turk is clearly expressed. For it is said in Revelation Cap. 13, [7th], "He shall contend with the saints, and overcome them." This is actually from the Turk, not from the pope. For the saints do not conquer by holiness, but by patience and faith they conquer; in the body they are slain. And it is added: [Dan. 7, 25.] "It shall be given him a time and two lines and half a time." 1) If "time" means a year, then it makes four years, so it applies immediately to Antiochus, who ruled tyrannically over the people of Israel for three and a half years; this knave Antiochus escaped from the Romans, to whom he was given as a hostage; not by force, but by trickery he got into [the government, ruled seven years, but only four years he plagued the Jews and finally died miserably. He had to suffer a stench of his sickness that no one could stay around him, and thus is

1) In this passage, the question is what kind of time is being spoken of here.

he will be disgraced and destroyed without a hand. This is how it will be with the priest, who will also perish without a hand, will pine away and rot in himself, will be abandoned by his own, will rot and die in himself, because he did not gain dominion through force and power, but through lies and superstition. By the reputation of the scripture: "You are Peter" 2c., "feed my sheep" (Matth. 16, 18. Joh. 21, 15.), he has grown on this ground and will descend again. Therefore, the prophecy "without violence" refers mainly to the pope. All other tyrants and rulers go along with power and violence. Howbeit the general prophecy concerns both, the pope as well as the Turk. For both began at the same time and at the same time under the emperor Phocas, which is now about 900 [years], when the pope began to rule spiritually and Mahomet to grow. But the carnal kingdom of the pope lasted hardly 300 years, since he vexed the emperors and kings. But I cannot define this prophecy, one time, two times and half a time. I would like to draw it on the Turk, who began to rule from the capture of Constantinople, 1453, which is now 85 years. If I now calculate "time" according to the age of Christ, 30 years, then this sentence makes 105 years, 2) so the Turk still has 20 years to reign. Well, God knows how he wants to do it. How he wants to free his own is not up to us to guess, but to pray and repent.

(The following paragraph in Lauterbach, Sept. 8, 1538, p. 126.)

On September 8, horrible news was written about the Turk, who hurried to Hungary in his own person with four armies and wanted to take the city of Buda and the king's throne in his own person and spend the winter there. Luther said: If the thing is true, we have slept through it. I still believe that it is a pretense of Ferdinand, who wants to have taxes; for he has already dealt with it several times and has brought about by these tales that one has given him

2) Three and a half times the age of Christ.

I do not believe when necessity demands it, as it is written in Aesop that the wolf was to be beaten when he was not there, but after that, when he came, no one wanted to come. I am very much afraid that Germany will be ruined when it is exhausted in money and men, and then it will be thrown to the Turks. But I, poor Luther, must have done everything, just as the peasants' revolt and the sects of the Sacramentirans will be laid at my door. That is why I have often thrown the keys to the door of God.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, Nov. 10, 1538, p. 160.)

On November 10, he said various things about the lies of the Turks, who brazenly boasted as Saracen and God's people, with the most brazen lie against the Holy Scriptures. They say that it is true that Isaac was the son of the promise, but when he should have been slaughtered on Mount Horeb, he escaped from his father's obedience, as if he wanted to get the knife himself. Meanwhile, Ishmael would have offered himself voluntarily for sacrifice, and so he would have become the son of promise. This lie is very impudent, as is that of the Papists of One Form. It is not a sin of ignorance, but of obduracy. Thus, the Turk boasts that he is God's people and the most religious, as if all others were idolaters.

(This paragraph in Cordatus No. 341.)

When the Turk will come to Germany, he will give us a good [slap]. But he will never possess Germany, because the people are too evil.

If the Turk comes, he will not be provoked by Ferdinand, but by himself, so that he will provoke us and give us cause to fight and defend ourselves. But it is said that he who takes the sword will be beaten and will gladly lose. But I take care. For among our people there is great contempt for God's word, and among the papists great blasphemy and abominable sin against the first and other tablets of God's ten commandments; this makes me evil in conscience and grieves my heart. If God does not help us, we are lost.

Again, first of all, I am comforted by the Turk's hope, who relies on his power, and by F[erdinand's] poverty. For the nature and manner of our Lord God is to remove the mighty from the throne. On the other hand, that the Pope and the Frenchman lure the Turk into our land. Therefore, God help us. If he comes in a moment, he may lead Sebnam away, but he will have to leave Ezechiam satisfied.

(The following paragraph in Lauterbach, Nov. 10, 1538, p. 161.)-

The first and most important of the Turk's languages is the Scythian, which he uses at court and for writing letters; then the Arabic, because of religion, since Mahomet wrote in Arabic. The third and fourth languages are Greek and Latin, which are foreign [barbarae] to them. He is the only ruler of a large part of Asia, except for the Persian kingdom, Egypt, Greece and all the countries that belong to the Oriental empire. I hope he will leave the occidental one satisfied. If he should come to Germany, he will not come as a lord, but as a robber. If Germany had a master, she could easily resist him, but the Papists, our worst enemies, would rather see Germany ruined. The Turk is in the mood for this, he is skilled in warfare, is always in arms; if he is put to flight in one place, he tries it in another and tires his opponents.

Turks have kept many Mosaic things and ceremonies; but the great fortune in wars and victories makes them proud and inflates them, that they have invented new services. For the fame and glory of war is greatly esteemed according to the flesh. Therefore, because the Turk knows nothing of the weakness and lack of stature of the Lord Christ, he is hopeful and proud; as Daniel also says, "It is given unto him to fight against the saints, and to overcome them." Dan. 7, 21. Revelation 13, 7.

In 1539, on February 11, it was said that the Turk had defeated the Wallachians and that he was heading for Germany through Poland 2c. There spoke D. M. Luther: He desires Germany, that is even, especially of the place. To Italy

But he does not fight easily, because he does not have enough space, he is too close to his people. He is a cruel, fierce enemy, and not to be despised: is very powerful, capable of many people: is a well-practiced and tried warrior, very wise: prevails and overcomes with artificial attacks and counsel: spares his people: keeps his people in favor and in good will; does not go out into the field thoughtlessly, does not strike either, 1) for he sees his advantage, breaks off the enemies gradually, plucks and plucks them one by one. He is indeed a great calamity, God's distemper and rod. We are sure and hopeful, and despise him: we rely on our wisdom, as if we were at war against the king of England or France; since he is a lord over many kingdoms, lands and people, and the most powerful and mighty monarch and emperor: and if a Michael or Raphael did not stand for us, be with us and defend him, we would have long perished.

D. Luther complained about Emperor Carl's negligence, as he did not take the matter seriously, always letting the Turks take one after the other, since an emperor should not have peace. As can be seen in histories, the Romans have always considered themselves a hereditary and certain warrior people, who always lay in the field, just as today the Turk also has the Jenitsher, 2) tried and best warriors. We, however, gather a bunch of loose, daring, wicked boys, who also damage and kill those who should protect and shield them. God protect us from war and war cries.

But I am extremely afraid of the Papists' alliance with the Turk, that they want to go to ruins with us. God grant that my prophecy may fail. I see the antecedents that precede; God will graciously prevent the consequences and what may follow. If the papists think of such a thing, they may do it. For it is unbelievable how evil the devil is: he does not rest and does not celebrate. They are now disgraced.

and have despaired, will make another, and remember how they have betrayed and surrendered us to the Turk, who holds almost the whole oriental empire, and all that lies to the east, except Syria, Babylon, Mesopotamia, which are under the Persian king: as the Persian Sultan and the Turk have One Religion, and yet one plagues the other for regiment's sake, that each would gladly have all, and be a lord alone, like ours.

In 1539, the last of June, there were new reports about the Persian king, how he was harassing the Turks and harassing them with wars, so that he would have had to call off his warriors from Wallachia. Then D. M. Luther was very surprised at the great power and might of Persia, which could humiliate the Turk and break him off in such a way that there would have to be two great powers. For although the Turk is capable of a great nation and is industrious, persevering forever and ever, and does not slacken nor celebrate, yet the Persian is said to have said that the Turk comes with many wives, wanting to bring him men 2c. It seems that the Turk is very afraid of the Persian.

Oh, if we Germans were also loyal to one another, we could easily resist the Turk if we always had fifty thousand on foot and ten thousand on horseback in the field. And since a battle would be lost, it could be replaced and reinstated with fresh troops from the start; it should be resisted and increased.

Duke Albrecht of Saxony is said to have said: If he had fifty thousand well-armed and skilled warriors with him, he would crisscross the world. Thus the Romans always had a warrior people with them, with whom they always held their ground and conquered their enemies. For they annually paid two and forty legions or regiments; and one legion had six thousand men. With the addition they made the people weary; so also the warrior people become more skillful and more ready through constant practice. Therefore, righteous warriors have special privileges and freedoms above others.

The Gospel is to Oven, in Hungary, and in Greece in many places. It is

1) So Stangwald instead of "still beats".

2) d. i. Janissaries.

But, said D. M. Luther, this is a very cunning and dangerous plot by the Turk against the Roman Empire, so that he can lure people to him and smear their mouths. But we want to pray to God that he will put his practices and treachery to shame, so that when he thinks he wants to bring us into his net, God will convert him through righteous, pious, godly preachers, as happened to Babel through dear Daniel.

Anno six hundred and thirty Mahomet arose, therefore this year (since 1530 1) is written nine hundred years.

Now certain newspapers say that the Turk is coming. Now the papists will say that he is coming for the sake of my teachings, so that God will punish Germany for not destroying Luther and his teachings. After that, Master Faber, Schmid, Rotzlöffel and others will make processions and prayers. What shall our God do to him? I would like to beat the Turk, but I don't know how to pray, our people are so bad about it. May the Almighty God have mercy on us and help us. I am afraid that M. will lose the land. Well, they don't want it any other way. I fear that I have been a prophet, for I have said that the Emperor was required and appointed in Germany for the sake of exterminating the Lutherans by force, but if he did not do so, he and all of us would be thrown into the Turks' jaws. That Germany should bathe in blood would be Pabst's opinion, pleasure and desire. But I have confidence in God that he will defeat and subdue the Turk.

(The following in Cordatus No. 686. 1612. 1613.)

One talks a lot about the Turk and the German princes, who believe they will also succeed because they have the intention. But God says: Both is mine [namely, the will and the accomplishment]. The world will learn this from Ferdinand and Duke George. Thus the Turk advances against us very presumptuously and very surely, with contempt for all conditions of peace, trusting only in the quantity of his army. It wants to king

1) In the 1553 editions.

that [it] means won. 2) God is pleased to fight with such companions, which he proved before Vienna, from where the Turk departed with shame and lost many thousands of people in the Danube and through the plague. He will destroy him with hellish fire. When the Turk has overrun us, he will fly out.

When the emperor broke out with a very large army against the Turk to Austria, he [Luther] said that he believes that Daniel speaks of him in the 11th chapter [v. 45], where he speaks of the king at midnight and at noon [Austri], who will pitch his tent between two seas in the precious land. God help us that good new newspapers come. I would not have believed that I should have lived so long until the two emperors should come together. 3)

Pray to God, because our leader [princeps] is too presumptuous and trusts in his armies. This will not end well. He also added this, that the horses of the Germans of the Turks easily knock over clover.

## 2. admonition of D. M. Luther, how to fight against the Turk.

(From a sentence of Luther's letter to the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg, May 17, 1542, Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 470, the first paragraph of this § is formed, which we have omitted, namely: "For Turks and devils, our sin and God's wrath are four mighty, great enemies, so on our necks lie, to which we are with bodily power much, much too weak.")

When the young lord, Duke John Frederick, took the homage at Wittenberg, in 1532, new newspapers came, saying that some captured Turks had indicated that the Turk was leading two hundred thousand warriors, wanted to wait for the emperor and do battle with him. Our emperor, however, would meet him with one and a half hundred thousand men, namely, six and forty thousand Spaniards and Italians. And Antoni de Leva,

2) In the manuscript: "Es wil kunnen, das gewonnen heist." Here is obviously again the same sense as above: the Turk will not lack will, but perhaps ability. - The withdrawal of the Turks from Vienna happened in 1529.

3) There is talk of the campaign in the fall of 1532 that Emperor Carl V undertook with his own troops and the imperial army against the Turks. (Wrampelmeyer.)

the famous warrior and most distinguished one among the emperor's captains, would have arrived with a very large and select band of warriors, in fifty thousand men by sea.

Then M. Luther said: "All this is according to my wish. For we see that the world is now governed by God's counsel, and if he gives happiness, not by human wisdom. Who could have hoped that such a great people and army would come together? This happens unawares. Thus, this time of the world is now governed by unspeakable, miraculous ways and measures. We have, praise God, such an emperor, who now brings together the two most powerful and strongest nations, Spaniards and Germans, and has them with each other. May God the Lord give him victory, and every Christian is obliged to pray diligently that he may prosper and have happiness. For he is given to us by God, and he has ruled well until now. Therefore, pray that God will help him, assist him, and send an angel to his army, so that the Turk will be frightened enough. If he defeats the Turk, he shall advise the other adversaries well. For the Pope, the King of France, England, and the Venetians are enemies of our Emperor, seek his crown, and would like to subdue him; therefore he is in great need of the prayers of the faithful. God will help him, because he is righteous and sincere, not bloodthirsty.

(Cordatus No. 666.)

Whoever twitches the knife first, must also take it first. Thus the Turk has so far, since he was provoked by Ferdinand, [won, when he will come uugereizt.] 2) he will be defeated and will be defeated, and when the papists will start war against us, they will be defeated. In short, he who twitches to the last, tucks in to the last.

(One paragraph, in Lauterbach, Jan. 5, 1538, p. 3, is transferred to Cap. 62, §1, where it belongs; instead, we let follow here the relation of Cordatus No. 882).

The King of France has been so long proud, relying on auxiliaries from the Turk, that at last in his glorious

1) In the editions: Spain.

2) Inserted from the German Table Talks.

He was captured and put in prison, so that he would learn that defeat and victory are in God's hands. This was not known to Signor Bartholomew, the captain of the Venetians, who had chased 4,000 of Maximilian's soldiers into a valley and said: "Those Germans I will slaughter before the eyes of all the gods, and he has fallen with his great army. He said, be it dear or sorry to God. But behold the war of God. For when the Venetians fled into the valley, their powder chariot broke and the powder scattered here and there was finally set on fire by them and began to kill the pursuing Venetians, but then the Venetians turned around and killed them all, with a very large number of the most respected women, who were invited in their adornment by the captain from Padua and arid cities to watch him slaughter the German beasts.

The Turk boasts of his great fortune and victory, as if he alone with his Mahometists were God's people, and completely believes that he alone is emperor and lord of the world, just as only One is God and creator. But the boast is untimely, because the Roman Empire, which was the most powerful, never had the whole world under its control. For it could not force the Persians, Parthians, India, Germany and bring them under its power. The teacher Baldus disputes whether the emperor is a lord of the whole world? But there is no need for proof, because the work also proves it.

There was talk about the Turks that Emperor Carl had sent 18,000 Spaniards to Austria to protect it. Then M. Luther sighed and said: "Oh, these are the last times and days, when these cruel nations, namely Turks and Spaniards, want to rule: I would rather have the Turk as an enemy than the Spaniards as patrons, who tyrannize to the utmost. The majority are Marans, 3) baptized Jews, who believe nothing at all, since other heretics stubbornly defend their opinions: but the Marans are good fellows, who still believe nothing certain.

3) Changed by us according to Cap. 27, Z12, from "Moraner.

(The following paragraph in Lauterbach, Feb. 21, 1538, p. 35.)

Then it was said of noble prisoners in Turkey. Ah, Lord God, said Luther, what a disgrace it is to our nation to go forward so disorderly and womanishly under the arms of the enemy, 1) where no Turkish soldier has been. Those are very miserable prisoners. No one has pity on them, or prays for them, but surely we drink and gamble, and hate each other fiercely, preparing the way for the Turk. Let us cry out to God, pray and mend our ways according to God's word, if we are to be asleep, so that if we are killed, whether by Turks or by Spaniards, we may be found confessing the faith that we will not become Turkish or Spanish.

It was written about Torgau, how the Turk had led three and twenty Christians to Constantinople, who had first taught in particular, and then had publicly confessed their faith in Christ in the temple and churches of the bishops, whom the Turkish emperor had cut to pieces. Then said D. M. Luther said: "If this is true, then the blood will cry out over the Turk, as the blood of John coughs over the papacy. That is certain, tyranny and outward, physical persecution will not destroy Christ and his word, because his kingdom stands and grows in blood: if one kills a Christian, there will be many against him.

When the Turk was remembered, D. M. Luther said: "I do not rely on my bow and my sword cannot help me. M. Luther said: "I do not rely on my bow, and my sword cannot help me", Ps. 44, 7. If God does not help us, it is over. Do you think that when the Turk comes, he will be afraid of a hundred thousand men? For God does not ask how strong a man is; He overthrows a hundred thousand men with a straw.

Two years ago, our Lord God fought with the Turk before Vienna, and he lost two and eighty thousand men, with a pestilence that could not have been beaten off in half a year. This has told me, said D. M. Luther, my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, told me.

D. M. Luther once spoke of the Turk, saying: Pray, for there is no hope

1) This refers to those who are caught by the corps.

There is no longer anything that war armor will do; God must do it. If anyone should do it to the Turk, it will be the little children who still pray the Lord's Prayer. Our ramparts and our fortresses and all our strongholds will leave him undisturbed and unarmed. I also tell it to the builders here in Wittenberg, and say: Dear lords, what are you building for a long time, if the Our Father does not build a wall, which is called *Angeli Domini circumvallant timentes se*, then your wall is a dirt, *Vallum Angelorum* is a fine wall. And so also the special wall of the Christians shall be called: *Non calx et lapis, sed Oratio et Fides*. But it does not help, the courtiers say: the theologians do not understand.

### 3. from the prayer against the Turk.

Doctor M. Luther said at another time: "I do not hope for our guns or ramparts, but for the Lord's Prayer, which must strike the Turk: the Ten Commandments do not do it. I hope when the time comes that our Lord God will hear our prayer, that the Turk will have to fall through intestinas dissensiones, when the four brothers, sons of the Turk, would quarrel about the empire. For in this way all the empires of the world have fallen: the Persian, Chaldaic, Alexandrian and Roman empires have perished. None of them has ever fallen by force; disunity and division have done them harm, and it will do the same to the German land that the princes and lords are not one.

He who climbs high likes to fall. Good climbers like to fall to their death, good swimmers like to drown; so will the Turk. It is well said that he who does not climb too high does not fall hard. When the time comes for the Turk to fall, just as he has risen high enough, our Lord God will only be too concerned for a moment, and his empire will lie in ashes.

The Turk is *Populus irae Dei*. It is a terrible plague that he tears the conjugia so. The Romans did not do that. The Turk does not keep a marriage in his country. So he is also a blasphemer and a whoremonger. He is a blasphemer, for he says, "God desecrates the one who believes that Christ is God.

## The 76th chapter. Of lands and cities.

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3. what spoils Germany.
4. Germany is finished.
6. from a miserly and tyrannical nobleman.
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- Germany lacks a good regent.
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11. change of clothes, what it means.
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17. Germans have been great people in the past.
18. from Jerusalem: when the temple at Jerusalem was burned.
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20. from the cities.
21. from England.
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- The difference between the languages.
25. from change of countries.
26. of the whales and Italians.
27. of the roman empire.
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### 1. from Germany.

(Lauterbach, April 3, 1538, p. 52.)

On (Wednesday), April 3, Luther and Philip made a trip to Torgau. There they talked about many things. Philippus praised the description of the world [cosmographiam] by Cornelius Tacitus, who is said to have lived in the times of Emperor Caligula. He would have described Germany with wonderful praise because of its constancy and faithfulness, especially because of its chastity and marital fidelity, in which it excelled above all nations. But, unfortunately, now in the last times the so highly praised people degenerated. No one doubts that the best age was before the Flood, when the extremely long-lived people lived modestly, without intoxication and wars and discord, and only served God and man and took good care of God's creatures in heaven and on earth. A fresh fountain was more sweet to them than even all malmsey wines. And after that, he greatly cursed drunkenness and revelry. The Germans are the best nation, and it seems to me that § has been changed to G, and they have been called [Germani] Hermani.

### 2. a different one from the fertility of German land.

Germany is a very good country, has everything enough that one should have, to maintain this life abundantly. It has all kinds of fruit, grain, wine, corn, salt, mines, and everything else that grows and comes from the earth; only that we do not respect it, nor do we use it properly, as we should, in honor of God and for the benefit of our neighbor, and thank Him for it; yes, we abuse it most shamefully, much worse than the swine. God gives all things mildly and abundantly, so that no one has anything to complain about, and demands nothing else from us, except that we be obedient to Him and say Deo gratias.

### 3. what spoils Germany.

(Cordatus No. 555.)

What the Italians, Turks, Tartars, Spaniards, French know, the Fuggers 1) also know very well and the Frankfurt Fair, namely that the Germans, Bohemians and Poles consume everything with eating and with drinking.

1) A very rich trading house in Augsburg.



#### 4. Germany is finished.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 15, Tuesday, 1538, p. 10.)

On January 15, Luther dined at the home of Hieran. Krappe with other doctors. There was much talk about the peace between the Emperor, the French, the Pope and the Venetians, but there was no mention of a future concilium. Luther answered: "They do not want a concilium at all, but they will condemn us without a concilium and persecute us as heretics. For they will not doubt their prestige, but will defend it with tyranny. Germany has been what it has been. Through its extreme wickedness it is becoming more ripe for slaughter day by day. Either the Turk or an internal war must do it. I have willingly given myself to suffer with it. If we do not want to suffer our sin to be punished [with words], we will have to endure the punishment. One told of the whimsical, cunning plots of the bishop of Mainz, that he was quite desperate and could not endure in peace and under the laws. Therefore he would have a desire for civil war, so that others would perish with him, and he has the same devotion as that α&εος [atheist] who could not mend his ways: It is better to run to hell than to trot to heaven. Thus he daily challenges GOD and men. He has now borrowed big money, moved cities and jewels, and he has the best helper, Duke H[einrich], 1) the Brunswick, who devoutly invokes his golden saints.

#### 5. from a miserly and tyrannical nobleman.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 15, 1538, p. 10.)

After that, he told of a nobleman near Bitterfeld who had a farmer drowned in his waters. This nobleman wanted to arrogate to himself the right over all the peasant's goods because he had drowned in his waters. A strange, unusual, tyrannical jurisdiction, namely that he wanted to add grief to the sorrowful wife

1) In the original: D. G. Brunschwigensem. - In the German Tischreden H. M., which would have to be resolved: Heinz Mordbrenner.

by robbing them of their goods. This and similar things are a preparation for the future slaughter by the Turk or by the emperor. For we must do as little good to the emperor as to the Turk. Philip said: "It is a very old prophecy that the king of France will be killed before Strasbourg. 2c. And is similar to the truth. For this city lies in the first approach. It is a fortress, which the Emperor and the French will attack first, as an example to others. Luther: Dear God! How godless is the world and how horrible these times, of which Paul says, where there is no hope of repentance, as Christ says: "When the Son of Man comes" 2c. Oh, who would have died!

#### 6. from a comet; how Germany will fare.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 18, 1538, p. 13.)

On January 18, evening 6 o'clock, a comet appeared, dark but of wonderful size in length. The tail extended nearly through twenty degrees through the sign of Pisces, ab occasu brumali ad solstitialem ortum. This comet is said to have been seen by some two days before. Luther, Jonas, Philip, Milich and Erasmus saw it with the greatest admiration. Luther: I will not prophesy to Germany from the stars, but I announce the wrath of God to her from theology. For it is impossible that Germany will be without great plagues, for God is daily provoked to destroy us. The godly will perish with the godless. Let us only pray and not despise God and His Word. Even though we are sinners, we have forgiveness of sins and eternal life, to which the Turk and the Emperor will promote us. They shall not harm us, but promote us. I only feel sorry for the descendants who will be brought back from the light to the darkness. Philip said that in 1505 a comet had appeared before the war with Venice and the conquest of Modena. 2)

2) In the original Mitonas, for which probably Mutl "Ä6 is to be read.

### 7. a different one from Germany.

Germany is ripe for a female punishment and plague, said D. M. Luther. M. Luther, because it 1) irritates God too much and overpowers it too much. But let us pray and persevere, and not desist, for "the Lord does the will of those who fear Him, and hears their. Prayer," as the 145th Psalm, v. 19, says. He has proven it. How long has peace hung as on a silk thread in so many great practices and bloody counsels of the adversaries, and has been exalted against all hope! God has resisted them, strengthened them, broken their power, and destroyed their plots.

### 8. M. Luther's lament about the future misfortune that will befall Germany.

In 1542, June 13, D. Martinus lamented with heartfelt sighs the future misfortune, misery and hardship that will befall Germany, which is ripe because of all kinds of sins, especially because of the great ingratitude for the dear Word of God, and security against God's grace, so that He will abundantly shower us, and still provoke God's wrath. That is why the Turk, God's ruthlessness, comes marching on Hungary with a great, mighty army. The Roman Empire is asleep and slumbering; only the princes and cities of the Augsburg Confession have troops against the Turk. Ferdinand 2) cares little: the Pope, the Venetians and the French are in alliance with the Turk.

O Lord God, have mercy on poor Germany! Control the devil according to your great power. Protect your church against your enemies. O Father, glorify your Son. Do not look upon our sin. Give us thy Holy Spirit, and true, righteous confession of thy pure word, in thy fear.

The devilish, treacherous mob will not be driven out by any human power and force, therefore pray, pray all those who want to be true Christians and fear God.

Oh, that there were still pious people who could pray! I will also help diligently to cry out to God. For the torturers will not do it... Oh, what a fine, pious and God-fearing youth was Jonathan, 1 Sam. 23, who prayed with great earnestness and trust in God for the poor, afflicted, and fugitive David.

Item: A great cry and lamentation was heard from time to time in all countries, that there were many people everywhere, and little provisions. And it was said that on the 14th of April, early in the morning, a halo like a rainbow was seen around the sun.

Then M. Luther said: It is more certain than certain that Germany will shortly take a great blow and pass over punishment. The same we then ourselves miserably and pitifully provoke with contempt of God's word, blasphemy, security 2c. Theurung and war are at the door. He also said that a letter had come to him, in which it was written that in the whole city of Torgau, in particular and in general, only nineteen hundred bushels of rye and wheat were left. God help us. It is very bad housekeeping.

### 9 Germany lacks a good regent.

Germany is like a beautiful, pasturing stallion that has enough food and everything it needs. But it lacks a rider. Just as a strong horse goes astray from time to time without a rider to govern it, so Germany is powerful enough in strength and people, but lacks a good head and regent.

### 10. future penalty via Germany.

Anno 1538, the 30th of July, D. M. Luther and Phil. Melanchthon lamented the future misery that would befall the world, since the descendants would have to repay their ancestors for their ungodly ways, abominable idolatry, ingratitude, disobedience, contempt for God's word, and such great sins. Oh how good it is for the children, who now, because this dear light of the gospel shines, in the

1) So Stangwald instead of "they".

Peace had fallen asleep. And therefore took cause: If the emperor died now, what a desolate being and noise would become, another would hardly be elected by unanimous votes of the princes: there would arise much discord and disunity: so the Turk would not rest nor celebrate. Thus the well-established churches, in which the pure doctrine is preached, will be defeated and devastated. Ah, these are the last times, when everything will be destroyed in doctrine and life. Nothing else can be expected.

### 11. change of clothes, what it means.

It was thought of the change with clothes and other adornment, so annually is made and happens. Then said D. M. Luther said: "The change of clothes will also bring a change of regiments and manners. Unfortunately, we struggle too much for it.

Emperor Carl is said to have said: The Germans learn to steal from Hispanics, so the Spaniards learn to eat and drink from Germans.

### 12. germany despised.

There is no nation more despised than the Germans. The Italians call us beasts. France and England mock us, and all other countries. Who knows what God wants and will make of the Germans! Although we deserve a good distemper before God.

### 13. Germans lack nothing but sense and right custom.

(The first two paragraphs Cordatus No. 43 and No. 47.)

The Germans lack nothing in things, for they have everything. But because the Germans lack the knowledge of things and care, therefore they have nothing, because they do not have the [right] use of things.

One must be so afraid of the word that if I saw all the angels and heard them speak differently, I should not only not be moved to believe any passage of Scripture, but also close my eyes and ears, for they would not be worthy of a glance, nor even heard.

(The first sentence of the following paragraph Cordatus No. 886.)

Pride harms a ruler more than carelessness; the people of Nuremberg will find this out after the death of the excellent councilor Ebner 1). So the prophet says: The Lord will take the prophets from Jerusalem 2c. When God takes the people away, the countries, principalities, cities, fortresses, walls and treasures are all dead.

Nuremberg is even located in an arid, sandy and barren place, according to the saying: Deus non uni cuncta dat, God does not give you everything. The better the land, the naughtier, clumsier, coarser the people. And again, Augsburg is nothing against it, neither for the sake of the soil nor for the sake of the fortress. Nuremberg is a rich and well-ordered city because it has good police. Yes, because it has good people.

### 14th panel in the castle church at Torgau.

(These verses are already printed in the St. Louis edition, Walch XII, Col. 1960 f.). The introduction is not by Luther, therefore omitted).

### 15. of a city's ingratitude toward the divine word.

There was thought and talk about the great stubbornness and courtliness of the papists in a city, who mocked God and His preaching ministry, and were annoyed by little things, such as beards and cut shoes 2c. Then said D. M. Luther: "These things are all free, but because they are stiff-necked, and think that Christianity stands on them, we should not and will not put them down or put them away, but only want to bear it in spite of them, so that they are hurt, for they are not worthy to see God's glory, continue in sins, irritate and annoy God-fearing Christians. Therefore, if I now lie and rot, they will seek preachers, Han's unwillingness, whom they will bang and pay again honestly. What should the cow do with muscats? It eats hay; and like and like, the devil said, it likes to breed a black sow. Mocked D. N. and N., who had had trouble and work with them with preaching and preparation.

1) Hieronymus Ebner, to whom Luther dedicated the interpretation of the 110th Psalm in 1518, died in August 1532. (Wrampelmeyer.)

Their churches gave six thalers each. If it had happened to me, I would have brought six more of them and laid them on top, and I would have honored them again to my shame.

#### 16. from Erfurt.

(The first paragraph transfers to Cap. 67, § 2, where it belongs).

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, Dec. 1, 1538, p. 185.)

It was mentioned that Erfurt would have been a very fertile Bethlehem, but the fields were so spoiled by the woad that the blessing turned into a curse. The thalers are so good for the farmers. God will give them thalers and will take away the grain and famine will follow.

Thuringia has a black, slimy soil, which makes it difficult for carters to drive when it has rained and is wet, and the road is bad. In the West and in the Netherlands, the soil is watery, but there are good fields, delicious cattle that give good milk in quantity. That wants to have good, brave and industrious servants, who wait well, not be sleepy, because the milkers should sing, so that they do not sleep and spoil the cows.

Thuringia was once a very fertile land, but now it is in extreme decline, perhaps because of the great avarice of the farmers. Our sandy little land here still has the blessing of being far superior and more fertile. It is a divine miracle. God would gladly give us all enough, if we did not misuse his gifts so shamefully and spoil them with our avarice.

#### 17. Germans have been about big people.

Anno 1538, den 8. Decembris, came a pious, honest matron of nobility, a very long woman, to D. M. Luther of Magdeburg, with her daughter, who was also the length of her mother, and her son, who was longer than M. Antonius Lauterbach, the deacon at Wittenberg, who was a very long man. Then said D. M. Luther said: "Here is an example of the German bodies, which in former times were like giants, but now we are like pygmies and dwarfs compared to them.

#### 18. from Jerusalem. When the temple at Jerusalem was burned.

On the day of Laurentii, August 10, the temple in Jerusalem was burned. After that, on the day of Nativity, September 8, the other inner and strongest part of the city was destroyed and taken.

#### 19. from the destruction of Jerusalem.

Since Jerusalem is the most glorious city from which the Scriptures and the beginning of the Christian Church come, we are presented with an example of how the Christian Church will be, for the Christian Church is the spiritual Jerusalem in which God still walks daily.

The prophet says: I will send plagues upon you: 1) Pestilence, that is, death. 2) Famine, that is, theurung. 3) Sword, that is, war. 4) Evil beasts, that is, sedition. And with all these Jerusalem is destroyed. For there were three captains and parties against each other. And in the same way Christianity is destroyed in our time by the pope, false Christians and prophets, false saints and teachers. For Christ is called an anointed one, for they 1) have anointed and crowned their kings.

But Christ is anointed with the Holy Spirit, therefore we are also Christians, because we are anointed with Him and together with Him we are anointed with the Holy Spirit of God. A prophet, however, is a teacher who dares to instruct the people about things to come. For so also the heathen poets or teachers taught: If you will be pious, it will go well with you; but if you will not be pious, it will not go well with you all your life 2c. And have come no further.

But in Christendom the prophets teach of the future life and blessedness and of eternal damnation. So now the pope is the false prophet and teacher with his rebellious teaching: for no order agrees with the other, and yet they are all radically against Christ. For he has baptized

1) So put by us, instead of: "with that they have".

He has brought it into contempt, and has commanded to keep its confirmation and statutes. Item, he has deprived the Sacrament of its proper use. Item, he has trampled absolution underfoot, for he has made atonement for sin, and commanded to do enough for it. Since it is atoned for and enough is done for it, it cannot be called absolved.

Item, the marriage state and worldly rule he has rejected and almost condemned, and made a monasticism out of it.

Item, which is the greatest, he has trampled Christ's merit underfoot, because he has taught that Christ alone has done enough for original sin, but for real sin after baptism we must do enough, and that he is now our strict judge who wants to condemn us.

Then it is seen that unbelief is the root and origin of all sins; again, faith is the root of all good works. For if the faith of the pope had been right, he would not have committed so many errors, sins and doctrines that are contrary to God. Just as the faith of Jerusalem was restored in the time of the Maccabees, so the gospel will also come forth again (praise God). But now the last day will put an end to the game, just as in Jerusalem the word of God through the Lord Christ, John the Baptist, started again, and after forty years it fell; as a fire suddenly burns up in a thorn bush, and after that it goes out again in a hay, like a straw wiper.

#### 20. from cities.

On November 1, 1538, Luther talked with Georg von Minkwitz, knight, a lot about the change of the regiments, and said that at the time of Emperor Sigismund Saxony had been a poor little country; therefore the Emperor asked that Meissen and Thuringia be added to it, and thus become a Churfürstenthum. The princes of Lauenburg held Saxony at that time. Thus the three lands were brought together and became one. If they were still united under one prince of Saxony, it would be a fine country. So also, if

If Germany had only one lord, it could not be won, as it was under Emperor Henrichen, Otten's father; then it was well in Germany. After that, the three emperors, the Otts, ruled very well, resisted the king of France, who threatened them that he would come so strongly and swallow the Rhine. Emperor Otto, however, gave him this answer: He wanted to cover his country and kingdom with shew hats 1). And so it happened.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, April 15, 1538, p. 63.)

Afterwards Luther asked how he liked this desolate and barren region in comparison with Switzerland? and added: "I believe that our Saxon land is the place of which the Scripture says: In a desolate land, a meager and watery one; there I appeared to you. This is the right description of our land. In such places, God appears.

#### 21. from England.

I believe that England is a piece of Germany, because they need the Saxon language, as in Westphalia and the Netherlands; although it is very corrupt. I think that the Germans have been transferred and placed there for a long time, as even today the bishop of Cologne writes himself Duke of England, where Bremen and Hamburg are located: at first it is called Britannia, then Angera, from the people who have been transferred there. The Danish and English languages are Saxon, which is quite German. The Upper German language is not the right German language, takes the mouth full and wide, and reads hard. But the Saxon language goes off finely softly and easily.

Germany has various dialectos, ways of speaking, so that people thirty miles away cannot understand each other well. The Austrians and the Bavarians do not understand the Thuringians and the Saxons, especially the Dutch. Yes, jutha, ju, ke, ha, such "Verjahren" is of many kinds, and one is different from the other. Arnoldus, Ehrenhold; Arnolf, Ehrenhulf; Ulrich, Huldreich; Leudolf, Leut-

1) A type of large straw hat. (Förstemann.)

2) Meant is the Swiss Superattendent in Appen". dix No. I. under April 15, 1538.

Hills; even as Alexander, Ludwig, the people's refuge; for Wigk means a castle, refuge, haven, asylum.

### 22. from swabia and bavaria.

If I, said D. Luther said, "If I were to travel a lot, I would not prefer to go anywhere but through Swabia and Bavaria, because they are friendly and kind, they like to offer lodgings, they accommodate strangers and travelers, and they do good and kind things for people's money. Hesse and Meissen follow suit to some extent, but they take their money well for it. Saxony is very unfriendly and rude, since they neither give good words nor food; they say: "Dear guest, I don't know what I should give you to eat, the wif is not at home, I can't accommodate you. You see here in Wittenberg how unkind the people are, asking neither for respectability and politeness, nor for religion, for no citizen lets his son study, since they see a great example and number of foreign students and guests. Oh, the country does not bear it.

### 23. from the swiss country.

Switzerland is an arid and mountainous country, therefore they are endelich and hurtig, must look for their food elsewhere: about it also the quarrel arose that one did not let them supply provisions. I hear they will grow together again.

(The following at Cordatus No. 1112. 611 and 581.)

Only GOD can boast of the title of truth, therefore He says [Hos. 11, 9.], "I am GOD and not a man," that is, I do not change, but [Ps. 116, 11.], "All men are liars." And GOD repents not [fetwas], but men very often.

The Swiss argument is: He who has a just cause can justly start war; we have a just cause, therefore we will start war. Both, the upper proposition and the lower proposition, 1) are false and doubtful. For the supersentence does not admit of wars, but only of defense; but the subsentence is a doubtful saying, viz,

1) Major and Minor.

whether you have a righteous cause or not, a doubtful conclusion naturally follows. In short, those who say we want to avenge trust in human powers, but the pious trust in God [Matth. 18, 20]: "Where two or three" 2c. Thus everything goes well, and therefore everything goes back to the papists, because they do not trust in the true God, but in the emperor. Let us only pray, otherwise we cannot vex the devil except by this only way of prayer. Our Lord God is a pious man, therefore he must always be remembered.

When I mention the dialects of Germany, I prefer the Hessian language to all, because they pronounce all words with expression and euphony. The Austrians do not use diphthongs, even the Franks speak with a monotone voice. 2)

The language of the Hessians. The Doctor praised the language of the Hessians above all other German dialects, because they pronounced the words with expression and euphony [accentibus et canendo] The Austrians did not preserve diphthongs, the Franks spoke with a monotonous and coarse voice.

### The difference between the languages.

(Lauterbach, Sept. 19, 1538, p. 133 f.)

On September 19, he said various things about the peoples of Germany, all of whom were simpler and more devoted to the truth than the French, Italians, Spaniards, and English, which even the manner of speech indicates, since they pronounce very clumsily, with a hiss and a lisping tongue. That is why it is said of the French that they speak differently than they write; indeed, they speak differently than they mean in their hearts. The German language, however, is the most perfect of all languages; 3) it has much in common with the Greek language. For the Latin language is very small and thin, not regular, because it has no double sounds, not even *o*, *χ*, *ζ*, *o*. The Greek language has this in a fine way, and the German language also imitates this.

2) This paragraph also in Kummer p. 295 b. (Lauterbach, p. 134. Note)

3) Similar thoughts in Lauterbach, Feb. 16, 1538, p. 30. - Cf. 27, § 5.

after. But there are so many dialects in the German language that they do not understand each other. The Swiss have almost no double sound. The Swabians and Hessians [Cherusci] do not understand each other, even the Bavarians are strangers [barbari], since they do not understand each other. All nations, compared to the Saxons, are simple-minded. Therefore, when Saxons and Flemish come to Italy, they become worse than the Italians, as they say: the Low Germans [Allemanni Bassi] are very cunning, beware of a German Italian. For as soon as a German learns epicurism in Italy, and digests the infernal little cake, then he is more deceitful than the Italians. Such a one is the bishop of Mainz. He is a true German-Italian, whose supplement [praedicatum] cannot be talked out. For Schantz 1) in his booklet speaks only the subject, but I must add the predicate; for so great is his insolence and malice that he ridicules all upright people, so that the other margraves in Zerbst have suffered that he would be of their blood. When I wrote him a very sharp letter three years ago, he did not answer, but hypocritically passed over it, and left the messenger with a great gift. But this single word brought all the margraves against me, that I scolded his kind. In this way he wanted to incite the whole Brandenburg [Marchionum] family against me, since I simply wrote against his person. For it may well happen that a pious father can bear a loose son, and vice versa, as Hezekiah, the pious king, came from a godless father and also begat a godless son.

#### 25th change of countries.

The dwellings, buildings, and shape of the countries generally change within a hundred years. A few years ago, Hesse, Franconia, and Westphalia were nothing more than wilderness and

Forests have been: again, in many places, as around Hall, Halberstadt, and with us, it is even, that one crosses three miles of vain heath, where in former times hard land and fields have been. I think that there was a very good land and soil here, not so sandy as now; but God has taken away the fatness. As David says in the 107th Psalm, v. 34, that the fertile land was turned into a barren land because of the wickedness of the inhabitants. So God can find blessing and curse soon.

#### 26. of whales and Italians.

Italians are the most cunning and treacherous people; they must be put to shame, stunned, and their shame revealed to them, so that they become ashamed and do not despise other people as if they alone were wise. For an evil branch wants a hard wedge; you will not split it with a splinter; you must have an ax and a mallet for it. Therefore, it has always been my advice that young apprentices, if they have learned their catechism well beforehand and are properly instructed in God's word, learn about their treachery and malice in Italy, so that they know how to guard against it.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, Oct. 11, 1538, p. 147.)

D. Basil (Monner), the envoy from France, said that the wickedness of the Italians was to be wondered at, for they had already poisoned someone by looking in the mirror. They are subtle murderers, the Italians, who can kill all the senses. And he said that they are already asking everywhere for Luther's book of monastic vows. Luther answered: This book has already given great comfort to many and it is recommended by Erasmus of Rotterdam, who was a monk of the rule [Canonicus, regularis] and took off the habit by dispensation of the Roman pope, but not the conscience, which thereafter has been raised by this book, because it is a door, how one should leave the monasteries.

(The following paragraph in Lauterbach, Nov. 14, 1538, p. 165.)

On November 14, there was much talk about the nature of Italian air, which would be very fine,

1) Hans Schanz or Schenitz was unjustly executed by Bishop Albrecht of Mainz. Cf. Walch, old edition XIX, 2350, and Luther's letter to Duke Albrecht of Prussia, Aug. 15, 1538. De Wette V, 122 ff.

so that they closed all windows and gaps at night, because the night air would be harmful. Luther said: "This happened to me and my brother in Italy, that we lay all night with the window open in a very deep, heavy sleep until the sixth hour; but when we awoke, our heads were taken, so that we could walk only one mile the whole day, were tormented by great thirst and, since we had the greatest disgust for wine, desired only to drink water (which is deadly). At last we were restored by two pomegranates; thus God preserved us alive, by this very good fruit. An Englishman added that in England pestilential diseases are always present and never cease. Basil then said that the air of France was not at all beneficial and did not agree with the German, but, he said, the French could resist it because they were more temperate. They each drank from their own glass, and only two or three couples danced at a time, while the others watched.

The Italians despise and condemn other nations, since they are an abomination before God, godless and hopeful. Their fasting is more apparent and better than our most glorious meals. Their clothing is delicious, they keep themselves clean: if we wear a cubit of velvet for a florin, they wear a cubit for six florins. Their chastity is like that of Sodom: the fact proves it and testifies to it. They are given into a wrong sense, because they do not respect marriage, which is natural and divine right, and even forbid it. They should also have forbidden throwing.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, 18 Dec. 1538, p. 193.)

The Italians are unsociable, no one trusts the other to speak freely, as we Germans do, so no stranger is allowed a public conversation with his wife. Compared to the Germans, they are hermits.

(This paragraph Cordatus No. 539.)

The wicked ridicule us because we believe everything in the Scriptures. Pope Clement says that Christ is false because he is a virgin,

who gives birth is a loose woman, this is the faith of the Whales from the Scriptures. And they say: If we should trust in God alone, we would be the poorest people and could never become happy. They also say this: Conscience is an evil beast, because it makes man stand against himself.

(Here 9 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 27, § 119.  
- Cf. also Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. I, Col. 1243, § 109.)

Italy is a very fertile, good and funny country, especially Lombardia is a valley twenty German miles wide, in the middle of it flows the Eridanus, even a very funny water, as wide as from Wittenberg to Brate is, on both sides are the Alpes and Apenninus mountains.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, Jan. 29, 1538, p. 16.)

The blindness and superstition of the Italians is great, because they fear St. Anthony and St. Sebastian more than Christ, because of the plagues. Therefore, if someone wants to preserve a place so that it is not polluted in the Italian way, as by dogs, he would have the image of St. Anthony with the fiery lance painted on it; this image would drive away all those who wanted to piss. In short, Italy is nothing but superstition, because without God's word and preaching, they live only in superstition, and thus believe neither in a resurrection of the flesh, nor in eternal life. They fear only physical plagues and misfortunes, so they are more afraid of St. Anthony and St. Sebastian than of Christ, who would be a friendly and kind brother to them.

M. Melanchthon complained that the Serveti's error in Italy had great coincidence, spreading much harmful delusion about the Holy Trinity, denying the *verbum caro factum est*, the Word has become flesh. Then spoke D. M. Luther said: "Italy is full of very great, very harmful opinions and errors: if such errors come there, terrible abominations will arise there. We Germans and other nations are like a mere blackboard; but the whales are the blackboard, on which are painted many false opinions, which one cannot easily let go, and are skilled to accept much worse ones.



Italians are great fierce zealots, do not let their wives go out unveiled, nor with uncovered faces: only on St. Gregory's Day, once a year, they have privilege and freedom to go out, then they go to all the churches, and rejoice in their freedom.

After that, they said that the chaplains in Italy and Gaul were unlearned donkeys who did not understand Latin well and had not learned their native language in Italy, yet they were supposed to preside over others and teach them.

### 27. from the roman empire.

The Roman Empire began to become rich and to increase at the time of the Apostles. Then 1) 750 years ago it came under Carolo Magno to the Germans. For Carolus had three sons, among whom he divided Germany, France and Italy. But Germania, the German, remained emperor. If the emperor now had France and Germany in his possession, he would have money and people, and he could probably arouse the Turk's wrath.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, Nov. 20, 1538, p. 176.)

The Roman Empire did not last long in bloom, they did not have it for two hundred years, after that it came to France. Finally, it has come entirely to the Germans, who have had the Roman Empire, as far as the title is concerned, always in succession over eight hundred years.

Christoph Groß said a lot about Spaniards and Italians, because he had long been the Pope's assistant in Rome, who had helped him on the chair. And if a pope died, then everything would be at a price, so that even the straw in the bed would not remain. There is such a robbery among the whales, whoever is able to rob the other puts him in sackcloth.

After that he said about the countries, so one goes to the holy country, about Arragonia and

Pinskay, which are mountainous countries; there the people pour water into the flour, 3) and put it on the hot stove, and bake bread from it. They put all their wine in goat skins and turn the rough stuff inside so that the hair floats inside. The women cover their heads with sheepskins and sweep out the rough: and the more stains, marks and trickles they have under their faces, the more honest and noble they are kept: they have a little scarlet on their noses, hard under their eyes, as a sign of baptism.

The greatest, richest and mightiest cities, as Antioch, Nineveh, Babylon 2c., are now nothing but little huts, and like old ruined walls or heaps of stones. Thus the kingdoms of the world are passing away. Our Lord God does to the cities and lands as I do to an old fencepost. If I will, I will say, I will tear you down and burn you, and put a new one in your place.

The peoples in the exit of the sun keep themselves very moderate and retracted, need neither tables nor benches, but sit on the ground, and thus hold their meal. The Romans had their lazy bed. Now Turks and Hispanics do not need tables either.

The Scots are the most hopeful, the most proud and the most insolent: they think and allow themselves to think that they are the only people above others: they have woven themselves into Germany, almost into all cities. In Erfurt and Würzburg they have their own monasteries with rich income and interest, only for the Scots; they take no one else from other nations.

The king of France has a hundred Scots and a hundred Swiss as his satellites, who wait for his body and go with him on foot wherever he goes. Although the Scots are despised and rejected by all nations, like the Samaritans by the Jews, and can be seen as if they were therefore called Scotos, Sectos, Sectos, isolated, as they do not keep any neighbors, they fall quite wickedly in England, unawares, and plunder it; so that in England, so after Scots, they are called Scotos, Sectos.

1) In the issues: because.

2) In Lauterbach erroneously "in sanguine", likewise the duplicate omitted by us had Cap. 45, § 24: "ist nicht viel ohne Blut gewest." Seidemann p. XIII notes: Some German spoken may already have been written down immediately in Latin; cf. p. 176 Blut und Blüthe, sanAuis und tlos.

3) Similarly, Stangwald has improved this passage. In the other editions, the words "there" and "the people" are missing.

The best and most fertile fields lie uncultivated and desolate.

The English have held about all of France, up to Bourges, and built many cities and houses in it; but finally they have been defeated and driven out at Monheri, 1) between Paris and Orleans. However, they still hold the best port in France, Kales, 2) where all inhabitants and citizens must be English and speak English, not French, at certain hours, under a considerable penalty.

### 28. by Venetians.

(Until from the last paragraph at Cordatus No. 1472. 1556. 1467. 1468.)

Since there were 6,000 robbers in Cyprus, and since it was a mountainous island and could not be cleansed of them, the Venetians made a covenant with them that they would go out safely if only one brought another's head with him. So they got one jack with the other. But they had become robbers because of debts.

When the Venetians were about to receive 24 galleys loaded with grain sent by the Turk with shouts of joy and great rejoicing at the time of the famine, they all sank in the sea; so that God showed them that He wants one to look into His hands.

<sup>3)</sup> God alone feeds us, not wealth,

1) Monthlery. (Förstemann.)

2) Calais.

3) The same process is also told in the following paragraph.

and available money only makes us lazy, but does not feed us, however abundant it may be. For the Venetians, who are the richest in our time, have suffered a terrible famine, and having bought 24 galleys full of grain from the Turk, these have sunk in the face of the city. The depth [profund] did not hold faith. At that time a citizen sent his wife to a merchant for grain. He promised to give it if she agreed to sleep with him. She gave her consent, but arranged for her husband and her servants to lie down next to the bed in his house. The whore's evil must have passed him by. And when he demanded payment, the man said that his wife had paid by sleeping with him. But when he sued him, the merchant was found guilty by the authorities and ordered to give the grain again. Money does not drive away hunger, but makes it.

An example of this is that in the past everything here was offered for sale, and the butchers were forced to ask people to buy the meat. Now, however, because many strangers are in town, they are not interested in selling, but only in accumulating a lot of money. That's why they sell at a high price; everyone works hard for the money.

Venice, the richest city, does not respect politeness and respectability much, seeks only its own. They are neutrals, wear on both armpits, hang their coats to the wind. Now they are with the Turk, soon with the emperor: whichever part has the victory and is incumbent, that is the one they are with. There is nothing more there than large, beautiful, splendid houses, clothing and stinginess.

## The 77th chapter. Of the city of Rome.

1. of the abominable wickedness and the regiment at Rome.
2. from D. Luther's journey and train to Rome.
3. the Spaniards and Italians wickedness.

### I. Of the atrocious wickedness and the regiment at Rome.

Since Licentiate Liborius of Magdeburg and M. G. Spalatinus, former princely Saxon court preacher, were present and with M. Luther, he said: "Because our Lord God has brought me into the ugly trade and game, I would not take a hundred thousand florins for not also having seen Rome: otherwise I would always have to worry that I was doing violence and injustice to the pope; but what we see, that we speak.

Bembus, an exceedingly learned man, having seen Rome well and having been in awe of it, is said to have said: Rome would be a stinking cesspool, full of the most wicked boys in the whole world. And one of them wrote:

Vivere qui sancte vultis, discedite Roma, Omnia hic ecce licent, non licet esse probum. Who wants to live Christian and pure,

He moves out of Rome and stays at home.

Here you can do whatever you want, but being pious doesn't count for much here.

At this time of the Gospel, there were some in Rome who punished their evil and wickedness, such as Ludovicus, a barefoot monk, and Egidius, an Augustinian, as well as other two preacher-monks who punished and rebuked the error of the papacy. But soon the next morning they were found dead, and their tongues were cut out and stuck in butts. 1) They were given a chorus of straps 2) that were found in the alley at the

1) Cf. cap. 27, § 140.

2) This is the name of a truly inhuman torture, which consists of bouncing the punished person by twisting his arms out of his armpits, so that he often cannot use them again in his entire life. (Förstemann-Bindseil, Vol. I V, 685.)

The pope will not be caught in the night, or otherwise punished in life, if anyone speaks a word against him, for his name is: Noli me tangere: do not attack me.

Rome was conquered and destroyed three times by the Germans: first by the Longobards, the Goths and the Wends. So also now the pope is challenged.

Rome, as I have seen it, said D. M. Luther, is large, encompassed in the area a good mile away, as far as from Wittenberg to the Poltersberg. From this, everyone can assume what a large place it must have been in the round. He also read from the chronicles the number of the citizens of Rome, who would have been there a hundred years before the birth of Christ in forty-one times a hundred thousand; but not long after, they would have numbered ninety times a hundred thousand. That should be a people, since it is otherwise true.

Then the Magdeburg licentiate said that she could still manage five hundred thousand men: Venice three times a hundred thousand Schorrstätte, or Camine; Erfurt eighteen thousand Feuermauern. Nuremberg is barely half Erfurt.

In Rome there are two families, which are always against each other and enemies, Columneser and Ursiner. The one is the smallest, the other imperial and the most powerful. Pope Paul was an Ursian.

One can hardly recognize the old Rome's footsteps, since it has stood. One sees the Theatrum and the Thermas Diocletianas, the warm bath of Diocletiani, which is conducted five and twenty German miles from Neapolis in a beautifully built house. Ah, there were treasures and riches of the world, therefore they also took and did what they desired.

An old priest ate on the evening with

D. Luther said a lot about Rome, because he had served there for two years and had been there four times; and when he was asked why he had been there so often, he said, "First, I was looking for a joker there. Second, I found him. The third time, I brought it. The fourth time, I carried him back inside and put him behind the altar of St. Peter.

The building and church, St. Peter's Minster, has lasted over thirteen hundred years. A large sum of money has been spent on it. For the pope commanded the angels that they should carry the souls of those who died on the way to Rome to heaven from that time on. Therefore John Huss wrote against the pope, because he had no power over the angels to command them. The tyranny of the Roman popes was so rampant.

The Roman impenitence has deserved much great misfortune and punishment. I would not take a hundred thousand guilders for not having seen Rome, although I do not yet know the great shameful abominations. When I saw it, I fell to the ground, lifted up my hands, and said, "Greetings, holy Rome. Yes, truly holy, from the holy martyrs and their blood that is shed: but it is now torn, and the devil has shat the pope, his filth, upon it.

Then the licentiate of Magdeburg said: This prophecy would have been in Rome for a long time, namely: it must break. Item, the dream of the barefoot monk, 1) which Doctor Staupitz heard in Rome in 1511, namely, that a hermit would stand out under Pope Leone the Tenth and attack the papacy 2c. We have not been able to recognize this in Rome. We looked the pope in the face, now we see him in Ars, except for the majesty. And I D. M. Luther did not think then that I should be the same hermit; for Augustinian monks are also called hermits.

Rome is now only a dead carrion and house rubble. Anno 1527 it is conquered and taken with storm by the duke of Bourbon with a small bunch of war people at the very firmest place, because the Romans and the pope

1) Cf. the dissenting account Cap. 27, § 135.

themselves were safe in, the church. The pope barely escaped and fled to Castel Sant'Angelo. There was such a great thick fog that the enemies climbed the walls before one was aware of it and realized it. They plundered the cardinals; they captured the pope, who ransomed himself with three hundred thousand ducats, which he gave to the warriors, then they released him and let him go. The best books were torn up in the libraries and perished. The copistry was turned into a stable. Many Romans perished miserably, except those who were imperial and the Columnesians. It was a special punishment from God on the city.

In Rome there is an excellent hard regiment. For Parasel, 2) the captain and judge, rides around the city every night with three hundred servants, keeping the guard strong. Whom he catches in the alley, he has to serve: if he has a weapon with him, he is either hanged, or drowned and thrown into the Tiber, or given a penalty. There is still desolate life and murder there. But where the word of God is taught pure and clear, there is also unity without law and order.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, Jan. 13, 1538, p. 9.)

He said various things about Rome and its splendor, how this city is now completely the corpse of the former buildings, that the present houses stand where the roofs stood before, so deep lies the rubble, as one easily recognizes, towards the Tiber and the bridge, since it has two lansquenet spikes height 3) before vain rubble. But it has retained something of its splendor, as when the pope, as very beautifully decorated horses precede, holds a magnificent procession [triumphet] and the sacrament around on a decorated horse. He praised nothing but the Consistory and the Court of Justice [curiam Rotae], where the judicial matters were very well handled.

(This paragraph in Lauterbach, 21 Feb. 1538, p. 35 f.)

He said many things about the greatest empires, cities and the glorious Roman Empire, which-

2) Italian barMllo.

3) Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, 1611, Z14: Rom liegt jetzt zwö Stuben tief in der Erden.

The power that began to grow in a godless people after the civil war. I often wonder how such a great power could grow and exist without knowledge of God. It truly grew great, especially in the Punic war with Carthage. There the oxen stopped at the mountain. For Carthage was a very populous city and a naval power, surpassing Rome and Venice, under whose rule were all the islands of the Mediterranean Sea, Corsica, Sardinia and all Spain, and very famous for victories. That is why it is called in Punic and Chaldean language Carthage, i.e. the House of God. If Hannibal had completely defeated the Romans, only the Chaldean and Punic languages would be with us, like the Latin. But when the Carthaginians were defeated, the Roman Empire began to grow infinitely, so that Virgil wrote: I have given an empire without end (Aen. 1, 279). Julius Caesar never thought that Rome would become such a corpse. But Scipio foresaw it very well, since he is said to have wept at the fall of Carthage [and said]: This is what will happen to Rome. It has indeed happened. It is often destroyed, most of all by the Goths. I hope it will also happen to the Turk, who is in no way equal to the Romans, since he has only the eastern part of the Roman Empire. He does not yet have Illyria and Hungary, although they lie to the east. Let us ask God to protect us from war, even though war is a lawful thing and an act of the authorities, not only a defense and defense, but also a revenge.

No one believes what evil and abominable sin and shame go to Rome: no one can be persuaded that such great wickedness is there, if he sees, hears, and experiences it. Therefore they say: If there is any hell, Rome must be built on it: 1) for there all sins go in pregnancy: not beggarly avarice, but blind avarice, namely contempt of God, abominable idolatry, sodomitical sin 2c. Tiberius, the pagan emperor, even if he was an unflatterer, as Suetonius writes, is still an angel compared to the present emperor.

The Roman court had twelve naked maidens standing before the table for supper.

### 2. D. M. Luther's train and journey to Rome.

Doctor M. Luther said: He did not want to take a hundred thousand florins for not having seen Rome and obviously having experienced himself how the popes and bishops had deluded the world. For Judas' rope would also have been for the sanctuary of Rome. This should not be forgotten, so that one may consider in what darkneses our ancestors have walked. Our nobles are now sitting in the rose garden, but they will also have to deal with the thistles.

Rome used to be the holiest city, but now it is the most wicked and shameful. We are like the prophets, who also complain about Jerusalem and say: "The noble, faithful city has become a whore. For out of the best always comes the worst, as the examples testify at all times. The world always remains as it is, that is, unfaithful, perjured, ungodly, the devil's kingdom and bride, and Christ's enemy.

### 3. the Spaniards and Italians wickedness.

(Lauterbach, Jan. 21, 1538, p. 13.)

On January 21, Heinrich Schneidewein was there as a guest of the doctor, and they discussed much about the wickedness of the Italians and Spaniards; both were deceitful, but the Spaniards surpassed them in cruelty; they were a very fierce people, they were the right frogs over the whales. Many wise people argue whether it is easier to suffer the Turk than the savagery of the Spaniards. For the Turk takes money and is a protector. But the Spaniards do not do this. That is why the bloodthirsty pope calls these cruel people against us, namely the emperor and the French. The priests want everything to fall to pieces, only so that they themselves can rule. For the pope's bulls are nothing but water bubbles. Where the emperor does not add to this with his sword, then it's over with the pope. Schneidewein testified to this with the clearest experience.

## The 78th chapter. Of profession.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Divine profession of teachers is their greatest comfort.</li> <li>2. God wants diligence and faithfulness in every man's profession, for he who is negligent in small things is also negligent in the greatest.</li> <li>3. a rhyme by Luther.</li> <li>4. v. Luther's interpretation on the saying Ps. 45:10: In your adornment therefore go 2c.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. that one should not miss opportunity.</li> <li>6. one should not trust too much.</li> <li>7. no one shall abuse his profession.</li> <li>8. that one should not easily believe and trust everyone.</li> </ol> |
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### 1. Divine profession of teachers is their greatest comfort.

If those who are in the teaching office do not have joy and comfort from remembering the one who called and sent them, then they have had enough trouble. Our Lord God had to ask Moses six times. And he also led me into it: if I had known it before, it would have taken effort for him to bring me into it. Well, since I have now begun it, I will also lead it out with him. I did not want to take the whole world, that I should start it now, for the sake of the extremely heavy worry and fear. Again, when I look at the one who called me to it, I would not have started it either: I do not want to have any other God now. Others who have lived before me have attacked and punished the pope's evil and annoying life: but I have attacked his teaching, 1) and rushed into monasticism and the mass, on which two pillars the whole pontificate stands. I should never have foreseen myself that these two pillars would collapse; for it was as much as if one had attacked God and the creature.

This is the devil's way with us, that no one is satisfied with it: as God has willed it with him, so he does not like it. *Aliena sem- per nobis plus placent*: what is of another, pleases us always better. As also the pagans have said of it: *Fertilior seges est vicinis semper in hortis, vicinumque pecus grandius*

1) Cf. cap. 27, § 95.

over. So do we poor people in our profession and status: *nemo est sua sorte contentus; optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus.* 2) The more we have, the more we want to have.

### 2. God wants diligence and faithfulness in every man's profession: for he who is negligent in little things is negligent also in the greatest.

Doctor Luther said in 1540 that if a noble woman had hired a maid, she would have thrown a broom in her way; if she had left it lying around, she would have given her leave, for she who leaves a broom lying around does not pick up a barrel. And this is also the case in all regiments: whoever is in a regiment should not despise anything small. The Romans also learned that no small enemy should be despised. For when they had defeated Hannibal and thought that they were now safe, the *bellum Carthaginense* began all the more. Therefore, children should be taught in good time to be diligent even in the smallest things, otherwise such rascals will come to nothing.

(This paragraph in Kummer, 2. Theil, p. 405b [Lauterbach p. 205 f.] July 1543.)

D. M. Luther wrote with his own hand on his wall by the furnace [Luke 16:10.], "He who is faithful in the least is faithful also in the greatest; he who is unfaithful in the least is unjust also in the greatest."

2) Cf. cap. 45, § 29.

3) So put by us, instead of: "Therefore, one should get used to being diligent in time, even in the least" 2c.

Cause is:  
On the lobes dogs learn to eat leather.

So also:  
He who is diligent in the least is diligent in the greatest.

He who does not respect the penny will not be master of a guild.

If you miss an hour, you miss a day.

He who disdains the small will not enjoy the great.

He who spurns the head, the chicken will not.

Jesus Sirach [Cap. 19, 1.):

"He who does not hold a little to rath always corrupts away."

Sprüche. 18, s9.):

"He that is lax in his doings is a brother to him that corrupteth himself."

Sera parsimonia in fundo, saving is harbored for too long when there is nothing left.

Parsimonia magnum vectigal, the savings penny is richer than the interest penny.

The one who disrespects the letters will never learn anything great.

He who will not feed himself with a hundred guilders will not feed himself with a thousand.

Fronte capillata post est occasio calva. [The opportunity must be grasped in front, because behind it is bare).

### 3. D. M. Luther's Rhyme.

<sup>1)</sup> He who knows, let him be silent. He who is well, let him stay. He who has, let him keep. Misfortune comes soon.

### 4. D. M. Luther's interpretation of the saying Ps. 45, 10: "In your adornment go the daughters of kings."

(The first paragraph of this § is shortened from the sermon on 15 Sonnt, according to Trm., Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XIII, 2361 f., N17, 18 and 19, therefore omitted. Perhaps also the following paragraph, which we have left, is only a remodeling of §19.

Item, at another time D. M. Luther said: Serving God right means that everyone remains in his profession, no matter how small it may be, and first listens to God's word in the church, then to the authority, rule, or parents' word, and follows the same. This is called serving God rightly.

### 5. that one should not miss Occasiones or opportunity.

Doctor M. Luther once said about tables: It would be the devil in the people that they do not let them say what is to be said to them. They do not want to hear the truth when it is told to them; then, if they would like to hear the truth, there is no one to tell it to them. That is why they say: Fronte capillata post haec occasio calva.

Our Lord God has made this clear in the whole of nature. A farmer shall sow his barley and oats around Easter: if he lets it wait until Michaelmas, it has been harvested too long. When the apples are ripe, they should be broken off: if they are delayed for a long time, they will be gone. Procrastinatio est properantiae contrarium vitium. Just as my servant the wolf does, when four or five fall on the flock, he will not move the yarns, but says, O I will wait until more come; so they fly away again, and he keeps nothing. Therefore Occasio is a great thing, and Terentius also said rightly: In tempore ad eam veni, quod est omnium primum. The young boys in school do not understand this, they are seniles et imperatoriae voces<sup>8</sup>. Julius Caesar has been a man who has understood Occasionem. Pompey was not such a man. Neither was Hannibal. One cannot say what Occasio is, therefore one does not understand it. In German, you can't talk it out with any word, because the word opportunity est magis alligatum loco et personis, quam tempori? Occasio is supposed to have plus temporis. The Latins also do not have a word that they could use to talk it out. For the word tempus is too general. I consider that the etymology is a cadendo, as one speaks, a coincidence. The

<sup>1)</sup> These rhymes in Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 224 in a slightly different version.

The Greeks also have only one word, which is called Tempus, and one would like to pronounce it thus and lay: Use of the hour, and what the hour brings with it.

It is a strange thing, *rem tam praeclaram, et quae est rerum omnium prima*; Item, *negligere Tempus*, that one should not be able to speak such. And very few understand, especially the youth. No boy or young journeyman understands it. Therefore a father and a preceptor belong to it, they should hold it with the rod, so that they do not miss it, otherwise it is lost. *Summi imperatores* have not understood it; or even if they have understood it, they have neglected it. There is many a young journeyman who has a scholarship at six or seven years, there he should study, has his *Praeceptores* and other encouragement; but he thinks: Oh, you still have time enough, and will come to it well. No, journeyman, *fronte capillata* etc. is the name. What Hansel doesn't learn, Hans won't learn either. The *Occasio* greets you and gives you her hair; as if she should say: See, there you have me, take hold of me. O, thinkest thou that she will come again. Come on, she says, if you don't want to, grab my butt.

*Bonaventure* is a poor sophist, nor does he say: *Qui negligit occasionem, negligitur ab ipsa*; for it means: Take hold because it is time. *Nunc, nunc*, because the *nunc* is there. The Germans have beautiful proverbs about this, and say: If one beats a piglet, he should hold out the sack. Item: If our Lord God greets one, he should thank him. This is a very fair saying, that our Lord God sends the occasion. Item, they say: God gives the gland to idle hands. But it is *donum Dei*, who shall understand it.

Our Emperor Carl did not understand the occasion when he captured the King of France before Pavia in 1525. After that, when he had Pope Clement in his hands and captured the city of Rome. In 1527, and in 1529, he almost had the Turk in his clutches before Vienna. There was *Occasio*; but Emperor Carl would not thank God when he greeted him; what good fortune should he give him? It was enough that a monarch should have the three most powerful heads in

and let it come from them in such a disgraceful way. That is why it is called: *post haec occasio calva*. Young people do not believe now that they have good occasions to study.

#### 6. one should not trust too much.

*Dominus Phil. Melanchthon* once recited over Luther's table this fable from the verse: *Crede parum, tua serva, et quae periere relinque*; and said: Someone had caught a small bird, and the bird would have liked to be free, and said to him: O dear one, let me go, I will show you such a delicious precious stone, which is worth many thousand guilders. No," said the little bird, "you shall go with me and see the precious stone. The man let the little bird go, and the little bird flew up a tree, sat on it, and gave him the precious stone: *Crede parum, tua serva, et quae periere relinque*: he left him the beautiful precious stone. As if the little bird should say: Since you had me, you should not have believed me. *Tua serva*, that is what you have, keep it. *Et quae periere relinque*: if you have lost it, you must have patience.

#### 7. no one shall abuse his profession.

Doctor M. Luther said in 1546 that no office is so small that it is worthy of execution. And then he told this story: Once, a cow in a village had badly bumped and damaged another farmer's cow. When the farmer's wife came running to him and wanted to complain, she said: "Mr. Schuttes, a strange cow has hurt and wounded mine, I ask you to help me so that the damage may be paid for: what does the cow's master owe me for the damage? The Schuttes said: Dear neighbor, he should give you an old shock 1) for the damage. Then the farmer's wife said: Yes, dear Mr. Schuttes, it was your cow. Then said the Schuttes: Was it my cow? that is another thing. And wanted to give the woman nothing for the damage.

1) I.e. sixty pennies, worth one gold.



**8. that one should not easily believe and trust everyone.**

Epicharmus says: *Nervi atque artus sapientiae sunt, non temere credere*; therein consists the right strength of true wisdom, if one is not gullible: for he who soon believes is easily deceived. Item: Let no one take another for his trusted friend unless he has first eaten a bushel of salt with him. The ancients made a fine apologue about this: that a rooster had been sitting on a tree, and a fox had said to him, as he was passing by, that he should come down from the tree, for a land peace would have been proclaimed, and all discord, displeasure and dissension among men and animals would have been abolished and laid to rest for eternity.

so that one should mean the other recently, and one should honor and promote the other. But the rooster gave the vixen this answer: "It may be," he said, "that a common truce has been established and everything has been stopped. But the newspapers have not yet reached me and announced it. But I will keep my word, as my ancestors of old have always kept with you foxes and your kind. And said D. M. Luther said: "The holy scripture says that one should not believe all spirits; for if the rooster had believed the fox, he would have lost his life.

D. M. Luther also gave up a riddle and said: What is this: It is too narrow for one, just for two, too far for three? Answer: Secrecy; for if three know something secret, a hundred know it.

**Chapter 79.****Of drunkenness.**

Doctor M. Luther said: "If the German country did not have so much silk and so much spice, there would be no danger, and Germany would be much richer than it is. Item: We could well do without barley and drink water instead of beer; although the young journeymen have no joy at all without beer. For gambling does not make people happy, nor does boozing make people happy. That's why they drink before they drink. As it was proved at the princely camp in Torgau, they didn't drink whole and half, but one had to give the other half a pint of *StübichensKandeln*. That is what they called a good drink. *Sic inventa lege, inventa est et fraus legis*. M. Georgius Spalatinus had once said to Prince Frederick of Saxony's court:

that Cornelius Tacitus wrote that among the ancient Germans it was no disgrace to drink day and night. Now a nobleman heard this, and asked him how old this was, since it was written? When he answered, "It is about fifteen hundred years old. Then the nobleman said, "O dear sir, since drinking to the full is an old and honest custom, let's not stop it now.

**From guest meals.**

Plutarchus writes in his table speeches: It must be with a table company as with the alphabet. Some must make a sound, such are the landlords, teachers, priests. Others must be only half-loud, all kinds of honest people. But the young must be silent and listen alone.

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## The 80th chapter.

### Of court life.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. the courtiers' distavor.</li> <li>2. of the blasphemies and calumnies at courts.</li> <li>3. a court verse, often cited by M. Phil. Melanchthon, useful for the courtiers to know.</li> <li>4. phil. Melanchthon's Verse of Court Life, to D. Caspar C. <sup>1542</sup></li> <li>5. the life of the court.</li> <li>6. a court vers.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. 8. 9. 10. Some rhymes of D. Luther.</li> <li>A rhyme by Luther about gold.</li> <li>12. ingratitude of the entrenchment diggers at Wittenberg against D. Luthern.</li> <li>13. to dislike a thing.</li> <li>14. the usefulness of the fables of Aesopi.</li> <li>15. from fools.</li> <li>16: Von Albrecht, Narren am sächsischen Hof.</li> </ol> |
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#### 1. the courtiers' distavor.

(Lauterbach, Nov. 14, 1538, p. 166.)

On November 15, Luther traveled with D. Jonas to the Elector, who had summoned him for the sake of the most important matters, with Franz von Weimar, the Vice Chancellor, accompanying him with three very beautiful horses of his own. Luther said with a laugh: "How great hatred will be aroused by the happiness of this man who has risen so much in prestige in such a short time! They must see, as they themselves speak, that the painted Christopher becomes the living knight St. George before their eyes. For this man got a great name by his legation to the king of England. The king received him very favorably, heard him, and dismissed him with gifts, and wished to keep him in England with a very large salary and make him a knight of the realm. Afterwards he told beside the carriage with how great zeal the king had been aroused against the papacy, that he had asked in the first conversation whether it was true that the princes and the teachers in Germany were divided in the matter against the pope, which he had heard from very truthful and credible people, Mag. Franz, however, had refuted this with great consistency, saying that it was a very impudent fabrication; if His Royal Majesty learned that this was true, he and his colleague would be in eternal imprisonment. By this news he fortified the King of England very much and got quite free access, where he said much of the very constant confession at Augsburg, D. Jonas said that there many had said to the teachers:

Gentlemen, if you do not dare to keep it, think that you will not lead the country and its people into harm. But the teachers would have answered: If you do not want to stand with us, then let us alone come before the imperial majesty and answer for ourselves. The Elector John, however, said with the greatest zeal and in the faith of Abraham: "God does not want that, do you want to exclude me? I will confess Christ with you.

#### 2. of the blasphemies and calumnies in the courts.

Doctor M. Luther said: How was Daniel? The court guards also sought a cause for him, and would have gladly come to his aid. Since they could not, they finally came with a commandment that no one should ask anything in thirty days except from the king. They seemed to do this so that the king's authority would be elevated. Now Daniel prayed three times a day, and when they saw that he had opened the window against Jerusalem, they came to the king and accused him. Then the king defended him all day long, but he could not save him. They overpowered the pious king: the Medes and Persians must go away. The king was very distressed, slept, ate and drank neither; for Daniel was to be put into the lions' den. Early in the morning the king came to him, for he loved him. Daniel was a wise man, so he wanted to make him ruler over the whole land. He was useful to him in the regiment. The princes of Persia did not like this, for he who serves well at court soon has enviers and haters.

**3. a court verse, often cited by M. Philippus Melanchthon, useful to know for the courtiers.**

(Not from Luther.)

**4 Philipp Melanchthon's verse from the court fief, to D. Casp. C. Anno 1542.**

(Not from Luther.)

**5. from the farm life.**

Philippus Melanchthon once said to D. M. Luther: Court life is not unlike the books of tragedy, which are bordered on the outside in gold and purple, but are filled on the inside with miserable events. M. Luther said: "Everyone still wants to be in the courts, they all want to become rich, powerful and great there, and some succeed; for: In magno magni capiuntur flumine pisces: Great lords can make a poor journeyman rich.

**6th Court vers.**

(This § Walch, old edition, vol. XIV, 1363.)

**7. rhyme D. Martini Luther's.**

Doctor Martin Luther once told these rhymes about tables:

Dominion without protection, wealth without benefit. Judges without justice, Lotter 1) and Spitzknecht. 2) Trees without fruit, women without discipline. Nobility without virtue, impudent youth. Arrogant priests, boys who gape uselessly. Evil obstinate children, people who are of no use to anyone. Envious monks, miserly plates, may one be well advised on earth.

**8. Martin Luther told these rhymes. Beware of the alchemists**  
Sichlet und vor der Juristen Codice, Vor der Medicorum Recipe, vor der Pfaffen praesta quaesumus Domine, willst du mit einem vollen Beutel zu Markt gehen.

1) Jack of all trades.

2) Scoundrel.

3) Stangwald :

**9. lutheri rhyme.**

There is no better cunning on earth, For he who is a master of his tongue. Knowing much and saying little, Not answering all questions. Speak little and make it true. What you borrow, pay in cash. Let everyone be who he is, and you will remain who you are.

**10. other rhymes of D. M. Luther.**

Doctor Martin Luther once told these rhymes about the table:

Believe no wolf on wild heath, Nor no Jew on his oath.

Don't believe any Pabst on his conscience, you will get screwed by all three.

At another time he said these rhymes: Virtus is beaten to death, Justitia suffers great distress. Temperantia is bound.

Veritas bites the dogs. Rides walks on stilts. Nequitia is not strange.

**11. from gold.**

Doctor Martin Luther once told about the little word gold this aenigma:

I know a word that has an L, gold. Whoever sees it, quickly covets it;

But when the L is gone and off, GOD. Nothing better is in heaven and earth.

**12. ingratitude of the entrenchment diggers at Wittenberg against D. M. Luthern.**

The entrenchment diggers or rampart workers, who were working on the rampart in Wittenberg, were supposed to take a little earth out of Martin Luther's secret chamber. Now they complained and did not want to do it. Then the doctor said: "Shame on those proud drops to carry out a little earth, when I have carried the greatest dirt out of the world, namely the Pabst's dirt; that has become much more sour for me. Then D. M. Luther asked Magister Holstein: Who (to speak with breeding) would be the biggest shithouse sweeper? When he did not know how to answer, the doctor said, "It is the mother, because she carries the child in her arms.

The mother gives birth, hangs it on her breasts and breastfeeds it; then it shits in her lap as a reward. The mother must sweep out everything.

### 13. to dislike a thing.

(Cordatus No. 1118.)

If you want to dislike a thing, just say that it is mean [known], and it will be despised. This is what the Elector Frederick of Worms did. When a vehement refutation against my writings came from Rome, which all the bishops eagerly bought, he slyly said: "Oh, I saw and read it three years ago, and they left it.

### 14. use of the fables Aesopi.

Doctor Martin Luther once praised the Aesopian Fables very much, and said: "They should be translated and put into a fine order, because it would be a book that not one man has made, but many great people have made at any time in the world. And it is a special grace of God that the little book of Catoni and the fables of Aesopi have been preserved in the schools. They are both useful and splendid little books: Cato has good words and fine praecepta, so very useful in this life; but Aesopus has fine lovely Ac si moralia adhibeantur adolescentibus, tum multum aedificant. And as much as I can judge and understand, next to the Bible there are no better books than the Catonis scripta, and the Fabulas Aesopi. Meliora enim sunt scripta ista, quam omnium Philosophorum et Juristarum laceratae sententiae. Ita Donatus est optimus Grammaticus. And D. M. Luther said on it the fable of the wolf and sheep. Item, the funny fable, ujus Morale est: Non omnia ubique dicenda esse. For the lion had required many animals to come into the cave, or into his hole and dwelling, where it smelled and stank very badly. When he asked the wolf how he liked it in his royal house or court camp, the wolf said, "Oh, it stinks badly in here. Then the lion went and tore the wolf apart. After that, when he asked the donkey, "How does he like it?

When the poor donkey was terrified at the wolf's death and murder, he wanted to pretend out of fear, and said, "O king, it's so hot here. But the lion came upon him and tore him to pieces. When he asked the fox how he liked it and how it smelled in his den, the fox said, "Oh, I have the snout now, I can't smell anything. As if to say, "It will not do to repeat all things," he became wise to other people's harm and kept his mouth shut.

After that D. M. Luther told another fable, contra praesumptionem et temeritatem, and said: that one had bought a skin from a bear and had paid for it, before the bear had been stung and caught. Whereupon D. Luther said: One should not throw away the old skirt before one has a new one.

### 15. from fools.

Doctor Martin Luther said: "There was a jester in Würzen or not far from there, who dressed sadly during Shrovetide, had a bad time and was miserable; on the other hand, during the Holy Week he put on beautiful clothes and was cheerful and in good spirits. When he was asked why he was doing this, he answered: "During the carnival, many sins are committed, so one should be sad; but during the week of martyrdom, one preaches how Christ died for poor sinners, so one should be happy. That was a fine speech from a fool.

### 16. by Albrecht, Narren am sächsischen Hofe.

Doctor Martin Luther said on another occasion that H<sup>^</sup>erzog] Frederick, Elector, had for a time called Albrecht, Fool, his son, and yet gave him nothing to eat, which had displeased the Fool. But not long after that, the jester went to the table while eating, and when he saw that the dogs were standing in front of the table, he took all the legs and slices of bread, and whatever else he could get, and threw them to the dogs. When now His Electoral Grace asked him why he did that. Grace asked, "Why did he do that?" the fool answered: Date et dabitur vobis: Give, and it shall be given to you again. Luc. 6, 38.

# Appendix of some table talks,

so belong in chapters shown below.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. the interpretation of the Bible.</li> <li>2. of the interpretation of the New Testament.</li> <li>3. the use of the divine word, of which D. Luther wrote one in the Bible.</li> <li>4. D. M. M. Lutherus de vero usu Psalterii, mit der Verdeutschung des Thomä Venatorii.</li> <li>5. how God puts an end to the raging and raging of the enemies of the gospel.</li> <li>6. how God's word has traveled in the world.</li> <li>7) In what way God appeared to Solomon.</li> <li>8. Our Lord God's regiment is considered foolish.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. human blindness, that one does not recognize God's physical goods.</li> <li>10. from the printing house.</li> <li>11) How worldly hopefulness was punished.</li> <li>12. from the yard ride.</li> <li>13. what the money has for a force in the world.</li> <li>14. the church and the world image.</li> <li>15) How God preserved D. L. against the raging of the world.</li> <li>16. of the world's ingratitude.</li> <li>17. a rule of D. M. Luther.</li> <li>18 The Knowledge of Christ.</li> <li>19. how to resist evil desires.</li> </ol> |
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## 1. interpretation of the Bible. 1)

(Cordatus No. 1006.)

The adversaries read our translation more than ours, who do not care much that it has stood us enough. I have this testimony from H[archduke] G[eorg], who once said: If only the monk completely translated the Bible and went where he was supposed to go; and the papists also praise it 2c.

## 2. another, of interpretation of the New Testament.

Doctor Martin Luther said that M. Philippus Melanchthon had forced him to translate the New Testament, because he had seen that one had interpreted the Evangelist Matthäum, the other the Lucam; so he would also have liked to bring Sanct Pauli Epistles, which had become somewhat dark or obscure, back into the light and into a proper order. Erasmus would have written about the New Testament and made many words about it, but it would have been very pointed.

(Here find 6 lines omitted because contained in Cap. 1, § 3.)

If I were as eloquent and rich of words as Erasmus, and were so learned in Greek

than Joachimus Camerarius, and so experienced in Ebraic, like Forstemius, and would be even younger; ei, how I wanted to work!

## 3. use of the divine word, of which D. M. Luther wrote one in a Bible, Matth. 10, 40.

(Here 9 lines are omitted because contained in Walch, old edition, vol. IX, 1405.)

That one should read the Bible diligently, of it D. M. Luther once said this rhyme:

As one ran in the Bible, so his gable stands on the house.

## 4. D. Mart. Luth. de vero usu Psalterii

### 2) Usus psalterii et scopus.

Credens tentatur et tribulatur, tribulatus orat et invocat, invocans exauditur et consolatur, consolatus gratias agit et laudat, laudans alios instruit et docet, docens hortatur et promittit, promittens minatur et urget, qui credit minanti et promittenti, denuo eundem circumlocutur.

2) The text of this § is reproduced according to a manuscript of Luther from the year 1543 found by Archivrath Bodemann in Hanover in 1877, which Mr. D. Wrampelmeyer has communicated in a note to Cordatus No. 80.

1) §§ 1 to 6 belong to the first chapter: Of God's Word or the Holy Scriptures.

Germanization Thomä Venatorii from Nuremberg:  
He who believes in Christ must suffer much.  
Suffering calls for help without end. Calling is  
to be confident.

Consolation gives thanks to God the Lord. But  
thanks also to the others teaches, drives,  
promises good, and converts.

Promised comfort and strength without  
measure, Who follows this without ceasing,  
Who runs the way, as now said, Until he hunts  
bliss.

#### 5. how God puts an end to the raging and fury of the enemies of the gospel.

(Contained in Cap. 2, § 131.)

#### 6. how God's word has traveled in the world.

Doctor Johann Forsterus has often said that he  
heard from D. M. Luther's mouth that the teaching of  
the Gospel has now been in the whole world. For first  
it began in Orient; then it came about noon; third,  
about the setting of the sun; but in our time, as fourth,  
the divine word also came about midnight. And D.  
Luther used to say: In the bag 1) one will see the  
fishes; as if he should say: The church towards  
midnight will give the most Christians, that before the  
end of the world God's word will create much fruit.

#### 7) In what way God appeared to Solomon. 2)

First, in dreams; for there are three kinds of  
manifestations of God: 1) through dreams; 2) in visible  
form; 3) through inner revelation, which are the best, that  
our Lord God puts something into the heart. There David is  
a master inside, when the Holy Spirit says: This or that you  
shall do. So he says in Moses: Si fuerit Propheta inter vos,  
appa

1) Bag in the middle of the catch net.

2) §§7. 8. 9rmd 10 belong ms other chapter: Of "God's works.

rebo in visione aut somnio. "If there is a prophet of the  
Lord among you, I will reveal myself to him by dreams or  
by sight."

#### 8. Our Lord God's regiment is considered foolish.

The devil took great offense at the lowly and  
foolish works of our Lord God in sending His only  
begotten Son down from heaven into the world and  
placing Him in the womb of the virgin Mary. There the  
devil thought, he wanted to make it much better. For  
the devil is oversighted, he cannot see below himself,  
he only sees high things, he walks along and sees  
above himself. So our Lord God throws a poor little  
preacher under his feet, and the devil stumbles and  
falls to the ground. Then he gets up again, and looks  
up again; so God throws something at his feet again,  
and he falls. And it happens to him, like the Thaleti  
Milesio, 3) he looked at the stars, and fell over them  
into a pit.

So are all the heretics, they are all transparent; he  
cannot see among himself. I have, praise be to God,  
learned the art of believing that our Lord God is wiser  
and wiser than I am. What I know in theology, I know  
because I believe that Christ alone is the Lord, since  
the Holy Scriptures speak of it. My grammar, even my  
Hebrew language, would not have given it to me, I  
know that very well. This can also be seen in the old  
fathers, as St. Bernard and St. Augustine: when they  
speak of Christ, how lovely is all their teaching! but  
apart from Christ, their teaching is as cold as ice or  
snow.

I read the Bible a lot in my youth, because I was a  
monk; and you also read it diligently, because this  
alone does it. For if I did not have the Bible, 4) I would  
make a bad Moses out of Christ. Now we have the  
dear Christ again, therefore let us give thanks for it,  
and keep it firmly, and suffer over it what we ought.

3) Thales of Miletus, one of the seven sages of Greece.

4) So Stangwald instead of "had".

### 9. human blindness, that one does not recognize the physical goods of God.

Doctor Martin Luther once drove over a meadow and said: "Now the right and true meaning of these words comes to me, since God speaks in Moses to the children of Israel, Ex. 3, 8: "I will give you a land flowing with milk and honey", that is, everything that belongs to this life, this land will have superfluously. Consider what good and good alone come from the meadows, for meadows give milk, butter, cheese, roast meat, wool. Do we not have to confess ourselves that the divine majesty has painted itself also in the smallest and least creatures, that our reason must see, grasp and feel him as a creator of the world, also as a sustainer of all creatures, who gives everything abundantly to enjoy O our sorrowful blindness and great unbelief, that we do not see nor believe such things; yes, also do not recognize God's gifts, nor ever thank God for them.

In former times, said D. M. Luther, then I could not understand the verse in the song of Moses, where it is said 5 Mos. 32, 13.: Mei de Petra, God give honey from the rocks; because on the rocks there grows grass and trees, there fly the little bees on the flowers and on the blossoms, and suck the juice of it, and work honey from it.

#### 1V. Of book printing house.

(Cordatus No. 983. 984.)

It is wonderful that all the arts have now come to light in the same way, and that at the same time all of them are despised so much, like the art of printing, the highest and last gift of God, through which He drives the thing, but how despised it is also by those who practice it!

It is the last flame before being extinguished in the world. It is at the end, as Jerusalem happened when it despised the very best Christ with his most holy preaching; then it perished. But it is not because all the saints who sleep (as it is written in Revelation [14:13]) are waiting for that day.

### 11) How worldly hopefulness has been punished. 1)

D. Martin Luther said over tables in 1543: "Courtship must perish, as can be seen in the case of those of Brück in Flanders who, without any just cause, imprisoned the Emperor Maximilian in their city and wanted to tear off his head: when the von Brück wrote to the council of Venice, seeking their objections, the Venetians replied: Homo mortuus non facit Guerram. But methinks the people of Brück have realized it. Solomon says (Proverbs 16:18): Superbia praecedit casum, et exaltatio casum: When one begins to be proud, the fall is at the door.

(This paragraph at Cordatus No. 1473.)

The Venetians had painted Maximilian in very great courtly fashion, as he sought money with his hand in a bottomless bag, and the Florentines, as he rode on a crab, with the verse as an inscription: Tendimus in Latium [Virg. Aen. I, 205], nor did he humiliate them, I believe, since he is now dead, nor through our Carl, to whom God bestowed this.

Doctor Martin Luther once said of a prince: "This duke has been esteemed very clever, but there has been little understanding behind him; but he has been like a pointer, as one has placed him, so he has also gone: the nobility has ruled it all.

#### 12th yard drive.

A prince in the realm led the rhyme: Through with joy. But it did not last long: when he was driven by lands and people, he was through, but with little joy.

### 13. what money has for violence in the world.

Qui non habet in nummis, It does not help him that he is pious.

Qui dat pecuniam summis,

He probably does badly what is crooked.

**14. the church and the world image.**

(Here a section of 24 lines is omitted because contained in Cap. 1, § 9.)

Doctor Martin Luther said: "The world is like a drunken farmer: if you lift him up in the saddle on one side, he falls down again on the other side: you cannot help him, no matter how you stand. So the world also wants to be the devil.

At another time, Luther spoke of the world's ingratitude and said: "Whoever does not want to lose his good deeds today must die before they are shown.

For we cannot live any other way than the way Christ lived. What thanks has he earned in the world? We must serve in vain here, and earn ingratitude on top of

(Here 4 lines are omitted because contained in Cap. 4, § 61.)

**15 How God Preserved D. M. Luther has preserved against the world's ravings. 1)**

Doctor Luther often said in his life: If he died on his bed, it would be a great shame and defiance to the pope, because our Lord God would give him so much to understand: Pabst, devils, kings, princes and lords, you shall be enemies of Luther, and yet you shall not harm him. It was nothing with Johann Hussen. I think that no one has lived in a hundred years to whom the world has been so hostile as to me. I am also hostile to the world, and know nothing in tota vita that I would like to do, and am quite tired of living. Our Lord God only come soon and take me quickly, and especially come he with his youngest day, I want to immediately 2) gladly stretch out my neck to him, so that he strikes it with a thunder, that I lie.

**16. of the world's ingratitude.**

Doctor Martin Luther said: Let us pray and continue in gratitude; there is no other way, because as Christ says Joh. 4, 37: "Alius laborat et alius metet": One sows, the other reaps. I comfort myself with the example of Moses: He sowed in vain when he brought the people out of Egypt. After that they still cried out over him: "Tu vis dominari nobis": You want to rule over us, 4 Mos. 16, 13. that he still has to lament: "Domine, si accepi tauros de manibus eorum" etc.; Lord, have I ever taken oxen from them as a gift? 4 Mos. 16, 15. Samuel also complains about this, 1 Sam. 12, 3. St. Paul also, Apost. 20, 33.

1) Cf. cap. 35, § 1.

2) So put by us instead of [the words", which seems to us to give no right sense.

**17. a rule of D. M. Luther. 3)**

In the articles of faith concerning the Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, and the sacraments, we must not judge according to the mere insight of reason, since God's and man's judgments in these matters are heavenly different; but we must remember his word, which holds out to us his power and goodness, to whom we should command it, who will do it well, and not spoil it for us. Christ in his humanity is personal and essential in the sacraments. But how this happens, we do not have to inquire. No one can say why God spared the Ninivites, in which there were more than 200,000<sup>4)</sup> people, and not the Sodomites.

**18) The Knowledge of Christ. 5)**

Doctor Martin Luther once said: "In the incarnation of the Son of God, we are to study and learn forever, just as the prophets have always studied in their Moses; but we do not study much in our evangelists. I have often said this, and I am sorry for it myself, and yet we never learn it. Yes, this will be eternal life, and the life of angels, that we will always desire to know more: there one will always see something new that one has not seen before. We are almost ad substantiam, yet we cannot know that this Son of Mary is both God and man at the same time; but ad quantitatem we cannot come to know what a great thing it is, the

3) § 17 belongs to the sixth chapter: Of the Holy Trinity.

4) Corrected by us from 20000, after the omitted § 15 of the 17th cap.

5) § 18 belongs to the seventh chapter: Of the Lord Christ.



Son of God. Qualitatem we can also not recognize what he is. So we can also not come ad Relationem, how he is in intention to us.

**19) How to resist evil lusts. 1)**

2) Doctor M. Luther once said that in the Lives of the Ancient Fathers there was the history that

- 1) § 19 belongs to the ninth chapter: Of Sin.  
2) The same story in a different relation Walch, old edition, Vol. XIV, 395.

A young hermit had many evil lusts and desires and did not know how to get rid of them. Therefore, he asked the Father for advice on what to do for him. He said, "You cannot prevent birds from flying in the air, but you can control them if they do not nest in your hair. So no one will be left without evil thoughts coming to him, but let them fall out again, lest they take deep root in us."

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## Supplements.

1. ad Col. 1013 of our edition, to note 2: Probably here is a severe corruption of the text in the original. Instead of: Sicut Paulus erat, qui herebat in Epaphrodito, perhaps it should be read: Sicut Paulus enumerat et querebatur in Epistola apud Romanos initio. With the compendia (abbreviations) it would have been written something like this: Sicut Paulus erat et querebatr in Ep. apd. Ro. iitio. With this reading, pravis would then have to remain instead of humanis, and the text, hereafter changed, would read thus: "who is subject to evil lusts, as Paul enumerates such and laments such against the Romans in his epistle at the beginning."

2. ad. Cap. 43, § 113. para. 2, line 2, all editions have "Jacob", for which probably "Isaac" will have to be read, which we have put into the text.

# Proverbs of the Holy Scriptures,

The table speeches contain useful explanations and interpretations.

## Genesis.

- 1, 27: God created them male and female. Table Talks: Cap. 43, § 5.  
2, 24: And there will be two One flesh. T. Cap. 43, §21.  
6, 5, 8, 21: But when the Lord saw that the wickedness of men was great 2c. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. I, 481, § 141.  
8, 21: I will no longer curse the earth. T. Cap. 43, § 21.

## Deut. 5.

- 18, 15: A prophet like me 2c. T. Cap. 60, §14.

## 1 Samuelis.

- 28, 19: Tomorrow you will die. T. Cap. 71, § 2.

## 2 Samuelis.

- 24, 16: And it grieved the Lord over the people. T. Cap. 2, § 86.

## Job.

- 13, 15: Even if God kills me, I will still hope in Him. T. Cap. 26, § 89.  
40, 41: Of Leviathan and Behemoth. T. Cap. 24, § 130.

## Psalms of David.

- 2, 2: Principes convenerunt. T. Cap. 66, § 2.  
2, 10.: Be wise, you kings, kiss the Son.  
T. Cap. 60, § 13.  
31, 16: My time is in your hands. T. Cap. 47, §16.  
45, 10.: In your ornament, therefore, go the daughters of kings.  
Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIII, 2361, §17.  
50, 15: Call me in time of need. T. Cap. 7, §100.  
55, 24: The bloodthirsty and the false will lose their lives 2c. T. Cap. 2, § 166.  
82, 6: You are gods. T. Cap. 2, § 75.  
110, 1: Sit at my right hand. T. Cap. 27, § 91.  
119: Brief content of this psalm. T. Cap. 60, § 23.  
150: Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum. T. Cap. 34, § 6.

## Isaiah.

- 5, 20: Vae vobis, qui malum bonum dicitis. T. Cap. 4, §40.  
7, 9: If you do not believe, you will not remain. T. Cap. 50, § 5.  
30, 15: In silence and hope you would be strong. T. Cap. 14, § 25.  
46, 3: You who are carried in the body. T. Cap. 15, § 40: 49, 10.  
49, 15.: Can also a mother forget her child. T. Cap. 2, § 63.  
66, 1: Heaven is God's chair. T. Cap. 2, § 7.

## Jeremiah.

- 29, 26: The Lord has made you a priest. T. Cap. 30, § 9.

## Daniel.

- 11, 36, (12, 1.): And the king will do what he wills. T. Cap. 27, § 2.  
12, 7, (12, 17.): And was given him a time, and two times, and half a time. T. Cap. 27, § 2.

## Micah.

- 3, 11: Their priests teach for money. Walch, old edition, vol. VI, 2832, § 59-67.

## Habakkuk.

- 4, (3,) 2.: When you are angry, remember mercy. T. Cap. 2, § 106.  
4, 15: Your horses walk in the sea of great water. T. Cap. 2, § 39.

## Zechariah.

- 12, 10: The spirit of grace and prayer. T. Cap. 8, § 1.

## Song of Solomon.

- 8, 12: My vineyard is before me. T. Cap. 44, § 21.

## Matthew.

- 4, 3: If you are God's son, say that these stones become bread.  
Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, 536, § 8.  
4, 9: Where you fall down and worship me. T. Cap. 24, §12.

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1) The sayings referred to in this index to another volume of the Walchische Ausgabe are found in pieces that Aurifaber took from other writings of Luther into the Tischreden and which have therefore been omitted by us.

- 5, 38.: Aug by Aug. Table Talks: Cap. 64, § 8.  
 5, 44: Bless those who curse you. T. Cap. 46, § 5.  
 5. 6. 7.: Summaries. T. Cap. 59, § 1.  
 7, 16: By their fruits you shall know them. T. Cap. 60, §14.  
 9, 2: Be of good cheer, my son, your sins are forgiven. T. Cap. 47, § 4.  
 10, 8: For free you have it 2c. Walch, old edition, vol. VI, 2832, § 59.  
 10, 16: Behold, I send you like sheep. T. Cap. 7, § 86.  
 11, 6: Blessed is he who is not angry at only. Walch, old edition, vol. IX, 1401.  
 13, 11: It is given to you to know 2c. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, 523, § 19. (The parallel passage Luc. 8, 10.)  
 19, 6: What God puts together 2c. T. Cap. 43, 8107.  
 20, 16: Many are called, but 2c. T. Cap. 12, § 84.  
 20, 28: He has come to serve. T. Cap. 7, § 51.  
 22, 21: Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. T. Cap. 7, §178.  
 26, 38: My soul is sorrowful unto death. T. Cap. 48, § 8.

### Marcus.

- 10, 14: Such is the kingdom of heaven. T. Cap. 17, § 5.

### Lucas.

- 6, 30: Whoever asks you, give to him. T. Cap. 4, § 124.  
 11, 20: But if I am by God's finger 2c. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, 555, § 7.  
 12, 49: I have come to light a fire. T. Cap. 13, 8 59.  
 15: Of the Lost Sheep. T. Cap. 22, § 48.  
 16, 15: What is high among men is an abomination in the sight of God. T. Cap. 24, § 20.

### John.

- 1, 1: In the beginning was the word. T. Cap. 69, § 1.  
 3, 13: No one goes to heaven. T. Cap. 7, § 117.  
 3, 16: Thus God loved the world. T. Cap. 7, 8181.  
 3, 19: This is the judgment that the light has come into the world. T. Cap. 9, § 6.  
 8, 51: He who keeps my word will not see death. Walch, old edition, vol. IX, 1426.  
 14, 6: I am the way. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, Interpretation of the Letter to the Galatians. Cap. 1, 8 57.  
 21, 22: Follow me. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1131 and 1132, § 3 and 5.

### Acts.

- 9, 16: I will show you what you must do for my name's sake 2c. T. Cap. 37, § 45.  
 10, 38: Christ has made well all those who are of the devil 2c. Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. X, 1534, § 6 and T. Cap. 24, § 8 and 9.

### Epistle to the Romans.

- 1: Of the Papacy. T. Cap. 27, § 41.  
 8, 31: If God is for us, who may be against us. T. Cap. 7 § 118.

- 9, 16: It is not up to anyone's will. T. Cap. 13, 8 44.  
 11, 32: God has decided everything under sin. T. Cap. 59, § 11.  
 11, 33: O how incomprehensible are his judgments. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1130, 8 2.

### 1 Corinthians.

- 10, 4: They are drunk on the spiritual rock. T. Cap. 7, 8 83.  
 15, 36: You fool, what you sow does not come to life. Walch, old edition, vol. VIII, 1408 ff.  
 15, 55: Absorpta est mors. Walch, old edition, vol. IX, 1449 and 1393.

### 2 Corinthians.

- 12, 7: I have been given a stake in the flesh. T. Cap. 24, 8 7.

### Galatians.

- 1, 4: Christ gave himself. Walch, old edition, Vol. VIII, Interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 1, § 77.

### Ephesians.

- 2, 10.: We are his workmanship, created to 2c. T. Cap. 13, §1.

### Philippians.

- 1, 23: I desire to be dissolved. T. Cap. 7, 8150.

### Coloffer.

- 2, 3: In Christ all lie hidden 2c. T. Cap. 37, 8 82.  
 2, 9: In Christ the Godhead dwells bodily. T. Cap. 2, §4.

### 1 Thessalonians.

- 4, 15: We who live will not appear to them. T. Cap. 51, 8 9.

### 1 Petri.

- 5, 1: I admonish the elders who are among you. T. Cap. 31, § 5, para. 2.

### Hebrews.

- 2, 14: The devil has the power of death. T. Cap. 7, 8 94.  
 8: Of Christ's Priesthood. T. Cap. 7, § 17 and 19.

### Revelation of John.

- 10, 1: I saw another strong angel coming down from heaven. T. Cap. 27, § 101.  
 13, 7: It was given to him to argue with the saints. T. Cap. 75, § 1, middle.  
 14, 13: Their works follow them. T. Cap. 12, 8 84, para. 2.

# Appendix No. I. <sup>1)</sup>

Translation of the pieces from M. Anton Lauterbach's diary for the year 1538, which are not found in the Tischreden. At the same time as a table of contents for those who wish to read through this diary in its original order.

(We have added the sequential numbers to the pieces).

Let this be a good, happy, blessed beginning of the New Year for the glory of Christ and the salvation of His Church and the overthrow of Satan and his.

## 1st Georg Karg.

(January 1.)

Lauterbach Table Talks  
pag. Cap. § 4, 77.  
1.

## 2nd Blasius Matthew.

(January 2.)

2.

On January 2 he [Luther] was a guest in the house of Blasius Matthäus with D. Justus Jonas 2c. He said much about the glory of the Word of God and about the Papists' rage and persecution. Now let them practice quickly, and let us pray; if they do well, we will enjoy it with them. Let us only stick to the dear word, let the body be where it wants to be. - After that, wormwood beer was brought. He answered: "Oh no, they send me wormwood beer from France, Prussia, Prussia to my own house. It will be bitter enough for me. Delicious food was served with the request that he should take the house food for good. He answered: "This is not house food, these are delicious morsels, which I do not enjoy. I must not be worshipped with them. I do not appreciate them and I begrudge them to others who like to eat delicious morsels. I praise a pure, good, common house food. After that, he said about a marriageable girl (my godfather): 2) It is not good fruit. It does not lie long, always verthan! I have three in my house, because I wanted to provide good journeymen with, all three marriageable.

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The following: 2. 4, 45.

1) This appendix precedes the diary of Cordatus, which is earlier in time, because it came into our hands only later.

2) Magdalene Kaufmann, Muhme Lene, Luther's sister daughter. So she was the godmother of a child of Lauterbach, probably in 1537. - The three are Lene and Ilsa Kaufmann and Anna Schützmeister. (Seidemann.)

**3. roschick.**

(January 2.)

Lauterbach Table  
speeches  
2. Cap. §

On this day came to D. M., in order to get advice, Georg Roschick from Würzen, since he could no longer hold the papal service due to his conscience, whether he, according to his profession, could preach in Würzen with a good conscience, or, since he was still drawing his salary, live here in Wittenberg. L. answered: He was free to preach God's word according to his profession; but if he wanted to study here, he could perhaps obtain through the Elector that he would be granted the preposorship instead of the salary. Afterwards he said to me (Lauterbach): "Everyone wants to ask me for advice, but I don't know whether they do it in order to learn, or whether they do it in order to scout, as it has often happened to me. That is why the ancients advised very well: one should not go overland, give medicine and advice, because it is dangerous. - On this day he wrote a letter to D. Pommer with the inscription: To the bishop of the Wittenberg church and envoy of Christ in Denmark, to his brother in mind and in heart and to his Lord as the greater. After that he said: The pope praises his cardinals *a latero*. I praise pious preachers before eyes [a facie] and in heart

**4th tournament.**

(January 3.)

8.

On January 3, he sat with Georg von Minkwitz, who said a lot about lance-breaking and tournaments, which would be fine knightly play and exercise 2c. He answered: "For every profession, training is necessary, so that one gets used to fighting. For as the scholars practiced by disputations to fight against the enemies, who brought forward ungodly doctrines, and they, accustomed by the disputations, can resist, so also the young nobility must be allowed its practice. For the tournament is very pretty, almost similar to the battle itself and the battle. It is too much to scold, and too little to take seriously. The Spaniards, French and Italians should not know this exercise. Georg von Minkwitz then said that lance-breaking was more dangerous than useful and did not serve in battle.

**5. from the Turk.**

(January 5.)

3. 62, 1.

**6. against spiritual temptations.**

(January 5.)

4. 26, 41.

**7. Hadrian's triumphal procession.**

(January 8.)

4. 27, 23.

**8. the legal scholars' void being.**

(January 8.)

4.

On that day, he said many things about the jurists, whose studies were of no account. For almost all of their books were such that they did not deal with judicial matters and law. The whole first and third book of decrees is completely dead, as well as the decrees. My last will is that none of my sons shall graduate from the faculty. John shall become a theologian; Martin is a little peeler, I fear for him; Paul shall go against the Turk.

**9. letter of Jak. Schenk against the preaching of the law.**

(January 8.)

(The second paragraph, January 9.)

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37, 40.  
5. 4, 116.  
6.**10. diseases from wine.**

(January 9.)

After that, he [Melanchthon] said a lot about the theuration of wine, that there was no good wine anywhere. Luther answered: "Because when it is superfluous, we abuse it for our feasting. From it come diseases, leprosy, stone, podagra, chiragra. Those who always use wine usually suffer from podagra. Beer, however, causes dropsy. About the rules and the way of life, which the physicians demanded, the doctor also said a lot, that they forbade everything too strictly and carefully; that the life according to the prescription of the physicians would be a miserable one, since they imposed almost impossible things. That is why Birkheimer is said to have said: I would rather be a good fellow for two years than a rascal for ten.

6.

**11. a young man plagued by the devil.**

(January 10.)

6. 24, 125.

**12 A Hungarian asked Luthern for advice.** (January 10.)

(The final section of this piece, January 10.)

6. 36, 1.  
7. 10, 8.**13th marriage case.**

(January 10.)

(The second paragraph, January 10.)

7. 43, 79.  
8. 1, 13.**14 Magister Sententiarum.**

(January 10.)

8. 58, 2.

**15. rebaptismal script.**

(January 13.)

8. 37, 99.

**16. rome jeht a corpse.**

(January 13.)

9. 77, 1.

**17. kingdom of the pope.**

(January 14.)

9. 30, 9.

**18. Germany becomes ripe for the slaughter.**

(January 15.)

(The second paragraph, January 15.)

10. 76, 4. 5.  
10. 4, 39.

**19. punishment of a murderer.**

(January 16.)

On January 16, an assassin was beheaded who had killed a citizen in his home, an unbelieving man and godless ver s guardian of the word. Luther said: The guilty person is to be beheaded according to the verdict, no matter how pious he is, because a public example must be given to the others. But the ungodly man should die and suffer the punishment of his ungodliness.

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**20. poverty of the preachers.**

(January 16.)

11. 22, 114.

**21. from the prophet Jonah.**

(January 16.)

11. 60, 11.

**22. you are Peter.**

(January 16.)

12.

Luther asked about the meaning of this passage: "You are Peter" 2c. [Matth. 16, 18] and said: Paul and the holy scriptures point it to Christ alone. No one can lay any other foundation. And yet they [the papists] dare to advance the weak opinions of Augustine and Chrysostom about Peter.

**23 Hieron. Luther asks for advice.**

(January 16.)

12. 66, 26.

**24. lightning of the pope.**

(January 16.)

12. 27, 101.

**25. figure of the true church.**

(January 16.)

12. 20, 4. 5.

**26. punishments of the preachers.**

(January 16.)

13. 22, 133.

**27. a comet.**

(January 18.)

13. 76, 6.

**28. Spaniards the reformers of the Italians.**

(January 21.)

13. 77, 3.

**The daughter of Clement marries the son of the King of France.**

(January 21.)

14.

Luther and Schneidewein spoke of the alliance of the Emperor, the Frenchman and the Pope, and because the elder Dauphin of the King of France was dead, the second son would now marry the daughter of Pope Clement. Luther said: I am amazed at the nonsense of such a big

King that he may give the illegitimate daughter of an illegitimate father conceived in incest to his son. It is done with treacherousness. Such a thing will not go unpunished by God, who punished David's adultery. He must pay for it. He will certainly disgrace the Pellichir 1) as well.

(The following section of this piece, January 21.)

14. 37, 141.

### 30 Mainz. Elector.

(January 21.)

15.

This is the point of contention among them: That the Elector. 2) in Halle in the city in the bishop's castle above the table in his chamber has the neck court. The bishop has only the penalty in money. It is a great privilege without great benefit. The bishop lost this, who boasted that he could bring 800 witnesses, but the citizens of Halle come to court and eyewitnesses 3) appear. Now that he has lost hope, he irritates the emperor. He forbids the judges to speak, who have authority. They have something in mind, they want to give the comet its effect by a terrible war. The times are dangerous, the peace is rich. How dangerously they despise God! The Bishop of Mainz has the best thought, namely that there is no God. I would not have believed that the world would be so godless and wicked. Well, what is it to you? You follow me. Let the Epicureans eat and drink. The time of judgment will come.

### 31. duke George the reformer of the papal court.

(January 21.)

15.

Duke George hates the pope, not because of his godless doctrine, which he worships, but he wants to be above the pope himself and reform the pontiff. He is the fool at the Roman court who wants to rule and reform everything, and he is ridiculed.

### 32. from the Concil and the Bishop of Mainz.

(Jan. 29, Tuesday.)

15.

On January 29th, Luther, Schneidewein, the licentiate of Magdeburg, spoke a lot about Italy, how the pope had again scheduled a council in Vicenza, which is a city of the Venetians, and does this only for appearance. For if one does not come to Mantua, an imperial city, one will move much less under the rule of the Venetians. It is Italian deceit, so that they only mock us Germans, as the bishop of Mainz already does, since he has the Elector and all princes for his best and hopes for the Emperor as a cheap and favorable judge. In the meantime, he is devouring everything. He does the same as that horseman who [when he 1) saw two robbers hurrying after him, he got off his horse, took it by the reins and raised his hand [and] shouted to them: The first one has it. By this calm behavior he persuaded them to let him go out freely. Such a man is the bishop of Mainz.

1) Wittenb. Ausg., Vol. I, Fol. 102 k. "Bellitzschier," from Keils, eiern, konni vnltnrn (cf. Lauterbach, p. 79. Tischreden, Cap. 7, § 43.), a good standing, being of good things. - In the just mentioned passage of the Tischreden, all German editions have: "Mache dir ein gut Geschirr" instead of "Bellitzschir", a proof that all, thus also Stangwald, have reprinted the Aurifaber.

2) The term "Elector" is to be understood here as the Elector of Saxony, who had the high courts in Halle. Cf. Tischreden, Cap. 21, § 6, Lauterbach, p. 42, which is why we have added a period after Mainz in the heading.

3) In the original best oenlutns xroäennt. It must probably be read oenluti.



He rides it all off and then surrenders. He is a very wicked scoundrel, he pulls everything to himself. For I have seen a letter that he had written himself to Hans Schantz: Dear, take one, I can still well kick down a bridge and move the date a year. This letter will scream, since H. S. is hanged. 1) This is Italian deceit.

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### 33. lombardy.

(January 29.)

After that, there was a lot of talk about Lombardy, a very good country, and Milan, which would be the key to Italy. Is the Hadermetz, because of which one fights, and it is consumed in the wars more, than their incomes pay, unless God wants to humiliate those Haderhaften and extremely proud cities. For each of them strives for dominion in the realm, as Florence mocked Maximilian by placing him [in the picture] on a crab. The Venetians have painted him with a holey and empty purse. But they are well paid, for in a short time Maximilian drove the Venetians like frogs into the sea and deprived them of all power on land. Carl has humiliated Florence. See how Rome has been destroyed so often, she has been saccused seven times, not counting the last devastation and others that cannot be counted. It has paid enough punishment and left the soldiers loaded with gold. But this body of a city is full of factions, Columnesians, Ursians, Catfishes, which constantly burn with hatred against each other.

16.

(The following section, January 29.)

16. 27, 10.

(The Conclusion, Jan. 29.)

16.

These factions are the undoing of Italy. But the Germans hang together stronger and tighter under the protection of the emperor, although our opponents seek a division. For Duke George has offered his principality to the Landgrave on the condition that he would leave the gospel. I hope that he will be more sincere and leave it to the right descendants. For that comparison with Duke Heinrich is ungodly. God is a strange God, who leads things out against the wisdom of all men. He makes this one heirless, this one rich in inheritance. If he will want to hinder the blessing of the LORD, he will cause a war.

### 34. the Italians find superstitious.

(January 29.)

16. 76, 26.

(The last section of this piece.)

16.

After that Schneidewein said of the extremely terrible disloyalty of the Italians, who, when they cannot harm their enemies, wait for the opportunity in the churches. There, one is often said to split the other's head open in front of the altar. Even at the highest festivals, they do not come together in large numbers, but keep themselves sadly hidden at home; moreover, no relative accompanies the corpse at a funeral, nor are they allowed to do so for their own sake, because they often fight over the inheritance at the funeral itself and kill each other. The Bacchus festivals are celebrated for many weeks with wonderful impetuosity and audacity, and they cause all kinds of misfortune among the mummers.

1) Cf. Lauterbach, p. 31, Feb. 17, No. 64 of this appendix.

**35 Philip's argument for human traditions.**

(January 29.)

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pag. Cap. § 42,  
17. 8.**Why the pope could not stand a council.**

(January 31.)

17. 54, 20.

**37th Court.**

(January 31.)

18.

Court courts are the best courts and judicial proceedings in our lands. There, noblemen, princes and lords can be brought to justice. That is why this type of court is hated by the nobles. Duke George would have liked to abolish this form of court.

**38. scholastics.**

(February 2.)

18.

58, 3.

**The mass is the highest service among Italians.**

(February 2.)

19.

35, 13.

**40. rom.**

(February 2.)

19.

4, 93.

**41 The papacy.**

(February 2.)

20.

27, 95.

**42 Of the Concil of the Cardinals.**

(February 2.)

20.

On this day the announcement of a new council was brought, which was printed at Nuremberg, in which a certain cardinal exhorts the pope to a council and in a wonderful way scourges the previous popes and their abuses and asks for decisions of the council and the reformation of the Roman court and the abolition of the monastery people, the monks 2c. D. M. read this with great admiration and said: "Behold, I pray, what things this Cardinal writes to the Pope's face, which before no one of all the ends of the world would have dared to think. They feel something. But under the pretense of a fictitious humility they want to lure the princes, their defenders, to the concilium, since in truth they do not want a concilium. For it is impossible to reform the Roman court, for it would go through cardinals and bishops, and the bishop of Mainz would be forced to lay down two bishoprics, but laying down and breaking teeth are intolerable things.

(The last section of this piece, February 2.)

20. 30, 10.

**43. from monks.**

(February 2.)

21.

30, 10.

**44. unity of the church servants.**

(February 2.)

21.

13, 19.

**45 Presumption in theology is very pernicious.**

(February 3.)

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22.	22,	108.
	37,	34.

**46. the effort in wars is burdensome.**

(February 3.)

After that, they talked about the cunning actions of tyrants, how Duke George thirsted for war, and although he was rich, he collected and borrowed treasures everywhere, and it was believed that he had ten tons of gold. With the treasure he has something evil in mind along with his bishops. Therefore let us pray. Money shall not do it. For war is not a matter for princes, but for autocrats. Even if Duke George had 80,000 men in the field, he must have 100,000 florins to harness. After that, two tons of gold every month. For he is forced to give each soldier five florins, which makes a hundred thousand and forty thousand, so he would have three months of money. 1) We waited here, let ourselves be warred against; if Wittenberg could hold out for these three months, then he would be forced to withdraw and in the meantime would have to fear that others would break into his country.

22.

(The last section of this piece, Feb. 3.)

**The Jews' reason for circumcision.**

(February 3.)

23. 62, 5.

**48th Bom Concil and the Mass of the Papists.**

(February 3.)

23. 74, 5.

24. 64, 22.

**49. live according to the doctors' instructions.**

(February 5.)

24.

On February 5, Luther said of the perilous times: Oh dear God, if I had died at Schmalkalden on the stone, I would already have been in heaven for a year, freed from all evil. At that time I was plagued enough by the physicians; they gave me water, [as] if I had been a large ox; they treated my body in such a way that they plagued all the limbs. I had to be obedient to them and did it out of necessity, so that I would not seem to neglect my body. Man is wretched who depends on the doctors' care. I do not deny that medicine is a gift of God and a science, but where are perfect doctors? A good way of life can do a lot. So I feel exhausted, but if I stay in my way of life, go to sleep at the ninth hour and have my nightly rest, then I am refreshed. If I get out of rest, I won't be able to do it for long, as it would be time with me.

**50. faith.**

(February 5.)

Faith is a quality and a work. Faith justifies. So the works justify. I answer: I deny the corollary, because there is more in the conclusion than in the antecedent propositions [praemissis], in which not

24.

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1) The above calculation is not correct. The Hall manuscript, Bindseil II, 197, has the more probable number "30,000 men", but even this does not make the calculation quite correct.

it is said that faith justifies as a quality. For justifying faith is to be understood respectively, not as a quality in itself. Justice is a virtue that restores to each one what is fine. This explanation the jurist received from Simonides. But it is a threefold justice: general, particular, acceptance. Because we cannot perform general righteousness and perfect obedience to the law, therefore the gospel, the word of grace, preaches acceptance.

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### 51. the will.

(February 5.)

The Stoics call all concepts virtues, the Peripatetics consider the concepts virtues according to the nature of the will. The will, however, and in Aristotle is the essence of which the soul consists. But

25.

According to the Latin way of speaking, will does not mean the essence, but actions and the nature of the will, so when we pray: "Thy will be done", we pray for actions and nature, so that each one in his profession may fulfill God's gracious will.

### 52. monastery monkeys.

25.

(Feb. 7.)

On February 7, the news was told that a part of Italy had accepted the gospel and that the Duke of Ferrara allowed Paul to be read publicly. But Luther did not believe this news: it was either a fiction or an Italian trick. But the judgment of the pope that the monks should be reformed and the monks departed was very good. When I experienced the tragedy, I wanted all the more to die. Since I had advised in the beginning that the mendicant orders should be abolished, Eck and others cried out against me. So the Franciscans, the Dominicans will cry out against the pope that it is a foundation. But the abbey will abolish the monasteries; then the bishoprics will devour the abbey, until again the matter will come to the pope, the dragon and crocodile. For a fine mystery is already rising with the names of the pope, who was formerly called the chief priest, then the most high priest, now they write him the prince of the countries principem provinciarum].

(The following in this piece, February 7.)

25. 43, 174.

### 53. brothers of ignorance.

(Feb. 7.)

25. 30, 12.

### 54. expenditure on buildings.

26.

(Feb. 11, Monday.)

On February 11, the excellent master builder of the Elector, Master Kuntz, was present at the dinner. He talked about various buildings and structures, and the building in Torgau was magnificent. And he added that the time in which we live surpasses all other ages in buildings, delicacies, clothing and jewelry. Much is written of David's

buildings, but they were nothing compared to the building of my house. 1) Solomon built the temple of the Lord, but of wood. That is why it is called Mount Lebanon in the Scriptures, although the temple of Christ's time was more beautiful. In short, everything is over power in our times, it must break, or become different. In the past, the dishes of kings were soups, porridge, meat, with these three they were satisfied. The royal dress was just like that of a burgher, white smocks and a brace 2) on the forehead. Now there must be such prancing and eating, gold and velvet without measure. Thereby our countries are sucked dry. What could be spared daily in this in every house! Therefore Christ admonishes in Lucas (12, 29.): "Do not go up high." It will not bear the length.

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**55. absolution of a certain youth.**

(February 13.)

(The second paragraph of this piece, February 13.)

26. 24, 103.

27. 18, 7.

**56. of the impenitence of the papists.**

(February 13.)

27. 27, 54.

**57. man from dung.**

(February 13.)

28. 3, 88.

**58. procreation of the fish.**

(February 13.)

28. 3, 89.

**59. from baptism.**

(February 13.)

29. 17, 7.

**60. of the appearance of the spirits.**

(February 13.)

(The second paragraph of this piece, February 13.)

29. 24, 126.

29.

On the same day (February 13) he said much of his stone at Schmalkalden, which almost suffocated him, that he would have drowned in his own water. For the stones of the kidneys had taken the exits of the bladder and finally broke out, under extreme danger, on the tenth day. One should keep the loins warm, for there is the realm of the stone....

29.

**61 Cellarius.**

(February 13.)

On this day D. Johann Cellarius arrived and asked for a successor for the preaching post in Bautzen. Luther answered: Where to take? Bautzen requires a learned and powerful man. Must be a workpiece. So we have neither work pieces, nor filling stones. If only five pastors died this year, we would have no others. Lack of words is to be feared because of paucity, and newcomers are to be feared because they do not always succeed.

1) From these words it seems that the speaker was the master builder, who will have understood by the "house" the church in Torgau.

2) D. i. Braces.

**62. the nature of the German and Greek languages is related.**

(Feb. 16.)

On February 16, Luther dealt with the descent of the name Pabst; that had formerly been a common name of bishops, because Augustine, Jerome, Cyprianus called each other *Papa*, as their letters testify. But from where it has its origin I do not know, perhaps from children who call their parents *papa*, as the bishops are fathers of the churches. For there is a great similarity between the Greek and the German way of speaking, so that it would be much more appropriate for it to be the Greek language in Germany than the Latin. For the Greeks have *x*, *v*, *x*, which the Latins do not have, have to make do with begging, cannot write *Käfe*, *Oel*, *Möthe*. These are Greek diphthongs. Then the Greeks have different *8*, a sharp and a simple, *c* is the simple and soft *8*. Also the prepositions *μετά μετά, <rbv*, read like in German: *über*, with, *sammt*. Then the augments also agree with the German way:

*γράφω*, [I] write, *ἔγραφα*, [I] have written, and the infinitives of both.

Languages end on

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30.

**63. Judas' pouch.**

(February 17.)

30. 27, 86:

31.

**64. malice and disgrace of the bishop of Mainz.**

(February 17.)

That day he dined with Pocher, 1) with other distinguished strangers. Dreadful things were said about the bishop of Mainz, who was in extreme poverty and disgrace, that he could not pledge his seals and letters, but had to pledge fifteen florins per hundred annually. Jewels, pictures and land would be moved and gone. Luther answered: It is the highest curse, worthy of such a great, exceedingly faithless scoundrel, who killed his preacher, M. G<sup>e</sup>org Winkle?, miserably, Hans Schantzen against the prohibition of the emperor hanged, so nevertheless his own friendship with eighty thousand florins have offered, that he should be interrogated only rightly, not that he would be given free. I hope, however, that the bishop's letter and his own handwriting will still speak, although Schantzen's neck is tied. It is a wonderful disloyalty, which God, the righteous judge, will pay with the utmost disgrace. Therefore I have written in his own hands with my own hand. If thieves were to be hanged, the bishop of Mainz should first of all be hanged on a gallows seven times higher than the Giebichenstein. And I have accused him of many other things from his whore Elisabeth, whom he robbed of her jewels and chased away. He once had her carried into the monastery at Lisk in a coffin with torches, as if it were a sanctuary. He has struggled very much for misfortune. He fears neither God nor man.

**Honor your father.**

(February 17.)

Lucas Painter, the mayor, said it was a dangerous time, a great disobedience and ingratitude, so that the authorities would have a lot of burden

31.

1) Wolf Pucher from Eisleben. (Seidemann.)

between parents and children. Luther answered: It is an old saying: A father can better feed ten children than ten children can feed a father. Therefore God does not urge in vain the fourth commandment: "Honor" 2c., "that you may live long on earth."

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**66. various weapons of the peoples.  
(February 17.)**

31. 62, 6.

**67. by Cazianus (also Catianus and Cacianus). (February 17.)**

32. 75, 1.

32.

**68. by D. Savinus.  
(Feb. 18.)**

On February 18, Philip was very sad and grieved about the disobedience of his son-in-law, who would not have let his daughter travel to Wittenberg, since the mother and his (Melanchthon's) children had traveled to Hagenau and should have accompanied her to comfort the father. This insolent disobedience of Sabinus so distressed the father-in-law that he did not allow any consolation, but remained alone and avoided all contact. Therefore Luther pitied him and talked a lot with D. Cruciger, Zoch and Milich about his sorrow and sadness, and that he loved solitude in such affliction, since he should have sought contact with people, was a source of sorrow to his heart. I too, he said, often suffer great trials and sadness; then I seek the entertainment of men, because the least maid has often comforted me. A man is not powerful when he is sad and alone, even if he is well grounded in the Scriptures. Christ does not gather His Church through the Word and Sacraments for nothing, does not want to put them in corners. Away with the monks and hermits, the devil's invention, because they are outside all godly stands and orders of GOD! For every man after creation is either in the household, or in the world regiment, or in the church service; outside these ranks is no man, unless he is miraculously exempted. Therefore, we must flee the solitary life as much as we can.

**69. bride put on.  
(Feb. 18.)**

33. 43, 57.

**70. bautzen.  
(February 19.)**

33. 22, 42.

33.

**71. whether to take a nap?  
(February 19.)**

Nam diurna quies vitilis alimenta ministrat (for rest by day feeds the infirmities). Magister Philippus! Interpret this verse for me, whether daytime sleep is also harmful? He answered: A moderate midday nap does no harm. There is no bird so small [and] little that does not rest at noon. Luther answered, "When the eyes grow warm, it is time to break from sleep. I cannot observe the preventive means for the preservation of health. The remedies may do what they can. I eat what I like and then suffer what I can."

**72. small number of preachers.**

(February 19.)

After that he said about the small number of preachers that Duke George also had to hear preachers because of their rarity. Oh, if there were no lack of people, then it could be hoped that the gospel would continue even in weakness. If the emperor and other kings had as much of the gospel as the Elector, they would undoubtedly be favorable [to the gospel]. If Duke George had not come so high into denial, he would not be so obstinate, although he hates the papists no less than he hates us, because he wants to reform and exterminate both.

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33.

**The good in three ways.**

(February 19.)

The good is taken in the sacred Scriptures in three ways: The natural, the *ἀδιάφορον* [as a middle thing, the moral. If someone said: it is good not to drink wine. Likewise: The celibate state is good. So it is evil to drink wine, and marriage is evil; the inference is to be denied, because the good and the evil are not directly opposed. For "good" is taken here as a *ἀδιάφορον*, but "evil" in a moral way. For the rule of the antithesis applies only in that which is directly opposed. 1)

34.

**74. double evil.**

(February 19.)

The evil is twofold, the guilt and the punishment. The evil of guilt is sin itself, the evil of punishment is tribulation. And these two are to be distinguished well, so that no one is offended by passages of the holy scripture, like the passage Is. 45, "I am the God who gives peace, and create the evil." Likewise, "Is there any evil in the city that the LORD will not do? (Amos 3:6) These passages speak of the evil of punishment.

34.

**75. licentiousness of young people.**

(Feb. 20.)

On February 20, Luther and Philip spoke of the very great licentiousness of young people, who could not be warned by any laws, nor by religion, nor by the reputation of parents and teachers, and from day to day let more and more of their will run wild. Luther answered: "It is indeed a great misery of human nature that it does not recognize how it is weakened by the fall of Adam, and does not resist those evils, but still lets this weakness shoot the reins. As Medea says: I see better, lesser I approve. (Ovid. Metam. VII, 20.) I hope, if God wills, that the last day will not be far away; it will put an end to all this.

34.

**76. tribulations of the saints.**

(Feb. 20.)

34. 26, 42.

1) Cf. November 25 below.



**The devil is very powerful in the world.**

(Feb. 20.)

Great is the power of the devil in the world. That is why he is called the god and prince of this world, because although he plagues all men with common misfortunes, he attacks Christians with special and very great temptations, and mainly because of their confession. For this finds less mercy than all shameful deeds.

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35. Table  
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Can 7**78. suspicion against Ferdinand.**

(Feb. 21.)

When news was given of Catian's liberation and escape, he said with a sigh: "God forgive me, I don't want to make a firm decision, nor should it be held against me. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from thinking that Ferdinand is a misfortune and ruin for Germany. If he and the Bishop of Mainz, who are very much in debt, could arouse a civil and internal war, they would easily agree. For civil wars are for such people, as Julius Caesar did. But the Lord forbid a civil war. If it started, there would be a constant fire, and the Turks and the Spaniards would easily be admitted as auxiliary troops, as happened to Constantinople. If Duke George acted sincerely and fell in with his relatives, he would soon recognize the deception of Ferdinand, the bishop of Mainz and others, and then those evils could be averted.

35.

**79. prisoners of the Turk.**

(Feb. 21.)

**80. from Carthage and Rome.**

(Feb. 21.)

35. 75, 2.

**81. utmost blindness under the papacy.**

(Feb. 22.)

35. 77, 1.

**Against the boastful pride of the Jews.**

(Feb. 22.)

36. 27, 102.

37. 74, 6.

**83. question from GÖtte.**

(Feb. 22.)

When he was asked how the Almighty God would allow the devil and the wicked to have such great power, he replied: "Why is God wiser than man? That with him is right what we do not like. As Henning (Göde) reproached the Elector Frederick, why he fired with green wood at court, if it would be detrimental to his house. The Elector replied: "What is right in your house is wrong in mine.

38.

**84. bishop's hat.**

(Feb. 22.)

The bishop's hat is a pagan garment. St. James, the bishop of Jerusalem, did not know anything about it, nor did he have a church, but some small gathering place, just as the Gospel at the time of Paul in Rome did not have its course publicly, but privately. The first popes were like the deacons in our country.

38.

**85. disobedience of the servants.**

(Feb. 22.)

The Doctor complained about the disobedience of the servant. He answered: In such unruliness it should have the yoke of the Turk, who can rightly deal with such people, who gives to each one for each day his work and his measured food, as Pharaoh in the Exodus drove the Israelites along. Such disobedient people provoke the wrath of God and misfortune from the Turk.

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38. Cap. §**86. enchantment.**

(Feb. 22.)

39.

**87. the worst habits have arisen from good laws.**

(February 24.)

On February 24, he marveled at the utter wickedness of the world, which could be governed neither by laws nor by grace. For from laws and habits bad customs have arisen; as in the time of Jeremiah and Ezechias the custom was kept that after the death of a man his friends came together sadly and consoled themselves with food and drink. This is what Solomon has in mind: "Prayer wine to the afflicted souls (Proverbs 31:6). From this very good habit the indulgences of the sacrificers have grown, who on the seventh, thirtieth and annual festivals have consumed everything, have made such feasting, a service of Baal Peor out of it. Thus, in the time of Augustine, people prayed once and once again for the dead. After that, the prayers and vigils for the dead were born. From good beginnings came an evil end. The best laws are corrupted. Who can order something good, since the world is so godless? On the other hand, when the tyranny of the law is lifted up and the severity of human traditions, the world goes completely unbridled and becomes presumptuous. The world already lies in incurable disease. If one would like to heal it with a plaster, it does not want to. We take 2 [parts] alum, 3 copper water, and want to bite it off. Finally, one must take axe and saws and cut it away, for an incurable wound must be cut out with the sword 2c. (Ovid. Metam. I, 190 f.). Such hardened hearts need a beating hammer, no straw will do. But the godly may learn to walk the middle way, to hope in God and to fear Him according to the Psalm (128, 1.): "Blessed is he who fears the Lord" 2c. Ah, that we could grasp and keep both, fearing and hoping!

39.

**88. john huss.**

(February 24.)

39. 27, 103.

**89. size of the church.**

(February 24.)

40.

Someone asked if Christianity was not as widespread as before? Even though Syria, Scythia 1) and Egypt have been taken away, many countries in Europe have been won for Christ. Luther answered: The kingdom of Christ is with all peoples, even under the greatest tyranny it flourishes in Asia and Africa. And the conquest of Greece has brought the sciences to us.

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1) In the original Seotia, for which Seidemann conjicirt paffend.

**90. heretic, schismatic, bad Christian.**

(February 24.)

**The celibate state is a tyrannical and diabolical burden.** (February 24.)

Lauterbach Table Talks

pag. Cap. § 27,  
40. 122.**92. regalia do not have to be sold for gold.** (February 25.)

41. 43, 132.

**93 The bishop of Mainz becomes a disgrace.**

(Feb. 26. Tuesday.)

On February 26, Luther held a sermon at the castle before the princes. Afterwards, in the evening, he said many things about the sincerity of the prince and about the extremely perverse wickedness of the bishop, who had already lost his name, reputation and dignity during his life, and was considered a liar by everyone. They would not lend him money. And he said: It is dear to me that he should be disgraced in his life by his unspeakable deceits. For he is full of deceit by nature, by art, by possibility. Therefore he also said to Margrave John that he should forgive with the gospel until he died. - On this day a letter came to Luther from Christian, the King of Denmark, in which he asked that D. Pomeranus be left to him for a time, for Norway, which has over 4,000 parishes, has also accepted the Gospel, and the departure of Pomeranus from its lands would not be timely, and he asked Luther to come personally to the meeting [conventum] in Brunswick, for there were several who wished him to be present and to see him face to face.

41. 21, 6.

42.

43.

**94. large churches.**

(Feb. 26.)

After that there was mention of large churches, which would be unsuitable for preaching. For Cologne would have such a large church, with four rows of pillars, twenty pillars on each row. They are unusual buildings [beu], and are not suitable buildings to understand the sermons. Fine moderate churches with low vaults are the best for the preachers and for the listeners, because the final purpose of the churches is not the roaring and shouting of the choir singers, but the word of God and His preaching. St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, the churches in Cologne and Ulm are very large and inappropriate.

43.

**95 Exaggerated splendor.**

(Feb. 26.)

After that, he mentioned the tremendous splendor in Kleiduüg, that nothing good could follow where people walked along in the same way in splendor without distinction of persons, and that had increased to the highest degree in a few years. Duke Frederick said: "If we resist the attack, then Duke G[eorg], our cousin, will hold over it, and Leipzig will sow the whole country with the dirt, as if he wanted to say: I cannot find a way to prevent it. It is an unusual splendor from the way. One reads [Plin. hist. nat. IX, of Lollia, a Roman woman, that she at one time wore ten tons of gold worth of jewelry. That must be vain precious stone.

**96. from the Count of Mansfeld, Hoyer.**

(Feb. 26.)

On the 26th the Elector left again, and on that day Count Hoyer had invited Luther to lunch. He behaved very kindly toward our father, although until then he had been an opponent of the gospel. Luther answered: God grant him the knowledge that is higher than all fleshly wisdom, that he may know Christ. For the name of the church prevents many from esteeming the truth of the gospel highly. I know what it costs me, who am in daily battle. But it is God's work that makes the first from the last. It is very easy for GOtte to mention that count in front of his brother Albrecht, who is otherwise very evangelical with his mouth, but not without aversions. After that, he spoke of the splendid adornment under the papacy; when superstition ruled, it had to be woolen and hard shirts, now with evangelical freedom it must be pure silk and velvet. The world does too much on both sides. *Medium tenuere beati* [Blessed is He Who Keeps the Middle Road].

Lauterbach Tischreden  
pag. Cap. §  
43.

**97th Bruntzschirbel.**

(Feb. 28.)

On the last February, Luther said of the good-naturedness of the Count of Mansfeld Hoyer, who, as an outstanding pope, had laughed at the papal atrocities and told that in a certain place one had directed the 11,000 virgins to the sanctuary. And Luther is said to have said, when he dined with the count, that he would like to live until the future council to see how Duke George would reform the papists according to the law of the decrees. The papists would rather choose Luther's reformation than the strict one of Duke George.

44.

**98. letter from Luther to D. Jakob Schenk.**

(Feb. 28.)

On this day he wrote a letter to D. Jakob Schenk, in which he called upon him with the last admonition to sincere repentance. Although various complaints had been spread about him by his neighbors, so far we had believed him alone more than all the others; now, however, this trust was almost beginning to waver because he was striving for dominion and had committed himself to U. G[eorg] Karg with his handwriting. If he wanted to be healthy in the teaching of the gospel, he should act sincerely, or simply be an enemy publicly. But if he should despise this last admonition of his and rely on someone, he [Luther] should trust in JEsu[m] Christum, 1) who would have preserved him against the gates of hell and against many swarmers. Beware that you do not stumble and do not answer with writings, but with the deed itself, and fortify the wavering faith in me with the deed.

44.

**99th Semper Day.**

(March 1 or 2?)

On St. Semper's Day young people [*molitores*] came, 2) dancing for sausages. Then he answered: Dear fellows, be pious, keep quiet; dance and be merry and keep above your custom.

44.

1) Instead of 81 - 6onüä8v8 in the original, it will read 86 - 6OQÜä6r6.

2) Cf. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 329. - molitor ---- xudss. (Seidemann.)

**100. the doctor's kingdom.**

(March 3, Sunday Estomihi.)

The conclusion of this section:

Lauterbach Table Talks  
Cap. § 51,  
44. 6.  
45. 7, 17.**The flesh understands nothing of spiritual things. (March 3.)**

45. 61, 3.

45.

**102. fraud against the King of England.**

(March 4.)

On March 4, Philip received a letter from England indicating that a letter had been sent to the King of England from Germany, written in a blasphemous manner by papists under the name of the Elector, so as to arouse the King against Luther, and they asked Philip to write to the King of England as soon as possible and excuse the Elector, and they marveled at the craftiness of men who would do such things at the instigation of Satan and sow the seeds of discord.

**103. about regalia and the bishop of Mainz.**

(March 4.)

On this day, Köckritz dined with Luther, and one wondered about the Elector's nobility, that he would have wanted to sell very extensive regalia for little money, but by God's grace this advice was changed, also by Luther's admonition that he should not despise these regalia so much, even if they were of very little use. For if the Elector will retain the exercise and jurisdiction, the bishop will also govern much differently and not dare to rage so. For he used to say these words to the people of Halle: Be obedient to me and take the sacrament under one form, and I will deal with you not only as a lord, not only as a father, but I will be your brother and friend and adorn you with great privileges of the emperor; but if you will not obey, then I will destroy this city as your enemy, so that it shall come to utter ruin. This is a papist word, even of the devil himself, who oppresses the godly minds and consciences on both sides, 2) Therefore, let us pray against the devil who now reigns, for he is displeasing to us. Oh, such regalia should not be handed over like this. Behold, how much evil befell the dukes of Lüneburg; because they were not with each other in assembled fiefs, and one of them had two sons slain by the tower of Schweinitz, the family came from the Chur. For that family of the Churfürsten has stood only 112 years. This duke is the fifth in the line.

46.

**104. oaths of the bishops.**

(March 24, Oculi.)

On March 24, Luther read the oaths of the bishops, how they swore to the pope and trust in this oath; they dissolve all contracts made with men and invoke the reputation of the pope. Our Churfürst said that if he had also concluded something with the bishop of Mainz,

46.

1) The middle clause of this section was in the penultimate paragraph of Cap. 31, § 2, and has been omitted by us there.

he would have been deceived. It is the most ungodly deception, under the superstition of vows and oaths, to trample on the will of God, since one is supposed to renounce ungodly vows, as David did, who swore against Nabal that he would kill him, but was dissuaded from this oath by Abigail. 1 Sam. 25. And those wicked ones hold so stubbornly to their false oaths.

Lauterbach Tischreden  
xax. cap. §

### 105. of law and courts.

(March 25.)

46.66, 25.

### 106. münster's hebrew way.

(March 27.)

On March 27, mention was made of Münster and other Hebrews who castigated Luther in the translation of the Bible because they arranged everything according to grammatical rules. Grammar is indeed necessary for declining, conjugating and constructing, but in speech the meaning and the thing must be considered, not the grammar. For grammar should not rule over the sense, as they scourge me in the 16th Psalm: "Preserve me, God!" This whole Psalm is [spoken] in the person of Christ, and this is His mind: O LORD GOD, behold, I die not for myself, but for the sins of the people. "Preserve," let me rise again, because I hope in you. "I have said"; my confession is of thee, that thou art my LORD, (*Quoniam bonorum meorum non egesset* [Vulgate]. This we have translated: I suffer for thy sake, as if to say: Because I die for sins, I can have no good. Thus the Hebrew words are: XXXXXX XXXXX *tobati bal alecha*, i.e., for the sake of  
For your sake, I have no good. We have truly looked at the matter and the meaning with the greatest effort before coming to the conclusion. And yet we are scourged.

47.

The first of these is a book on the subject. (March 27.)

48. 27, 135.

108. poetries of the antichrist. (March 27.)

49. 27, 134.

### 109. request of the Strasbourg people to D. Luther.

(March 29.)

49.

On March 29, the people of Strasbourg asked for permission and for a reliable list of Luther's books in order to arrange them and collect them in volumes. Luther replied: I wanted all my books to be destroyed so that only the holy scriptures in the Bible would be read carefully. For from the books one falls to others, as it happened in the first church, since one had gone from reading the Bible to reading Eusebius, then Jerome, then Gregory and finally the scholastics and philosophers. So it will be the same for us. As for the histories, I would rather that they were preserved so that people would see the course of events and the struggle with the pope, which was once terrible but is now mild.

1) For this section, see Tischr., Cap. 1, § 76.

	Lauterbach Table	
	pas.	speeches
<b>Luther consoles the Weller.</b> ( <b>March 29.</b> )	49.	26, 43.
<b>111. law. Gospel.</b> ( <b>March 29.</b> )	50.	26, 43.
<b>112 The Concil at Vicenza. (March 29.)</b>	50.	54, 23.
<b>113. lifestyle as prescribed by the physicians.</b> ( <b>April 1.</b> )	51.	
<p>On April 1, he sat at home and mentioned the strict way of life according to the doctors' prescription, which would exhaust many people. It is true: a good way of life is the best medicine, whoever can find it. But to live according to the doctors' rules is to live miserably. And he gave some examples of dead people who starved themselves to death [caused] by the doctors' advice. I eat what I like and die when God wills. <i>Tempora labuntur, tacitis senescimus annis</i> (Ovid. <i>Fast.</i> VI, 771). [Time passes, by the silent years we grow old]. Now, as I think of my contemporaries who are fifty years old, oh how thin they are! Almost every thirty years a new generation comes up. We all belong in the earth, there nothing becomes different from.</p>		
<b>114. the course of the Gospel is prevented by Rotten.</b> ( <b>April 2.</b> )	52.	
<p>On the second of April, he said many things about the very desirable course of the gospel, since the papacy would have been greatly disgraced. For it was ripe. But the devil, through mobs and the peasants' revolt, very much hindered this course. And he told about this very annoying peasant uprising, how blind they would have been, especially in Lorraine, where they would have been killed faithlessly after peace had been concluded with them. Ah, the three sects of Münzer, Sacramentirer and Wiedertäufer have done great damage to the Gospel, but nevertheless they have become disgraced again and the Gospel, even if weak, goes forward against the most powerful tyrants, hope also, it will keep its course, because daily the number increases. In the past, only two cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen, were allied with the three dukes. Now there are more sovereignties and cities. If only we prayed and gave up the devilish ingratitude, Christ would reign in us.</p> <p>Then he spoke of Landgrave Philip, who was at first an enemy and a very great opponent of the Gospel, and yet he joined the Gospel; won by the clear translation of the New Testament, he gradually joined it."</p>		
<b>115. praise of the Germans.</b> ( <b>April 3, Wednesday.</b> )	52.	76., 1.
<b>All heroes are fit to rule. (April 3.)</b>	52.	63, 10.
<b>117 Superstition prevails. (April 3.)</b>	53.	33, <sup>5,26,</sup> 3.

**118. Italian weddings.**

(April 3.)

Afterwards, in the carriage, he spoke of the Italian weddings, which far surpassed all the unchastity and adultery of the Germans, because these were human sins, the impurities of those were devilish. God protect us from this devil. For by God's grace, no native language in Germany knows anything of that disgraceful being. When they entered Torgau, they admired the buildings and said that Meissen had small but graceful cities, while Thuringia and Saxony had larger but less decorated ones.

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pag. speeches  
53. Cap. K

**119. idle life of civil servants.**

(April 3, evening.)

At dinner, Philip argued with Luther that he was the highest administrator on earth, that he administered the most difficult office in the whole world, and that everyone looked at it more than at the most difficult Turkish trouble. Luther denied that he was an administrator, he was also too wavy for that. For if the world were to see our cause aright, it would be astonished at its greatness. But now all go along safely and blindly, the princes, because they are convinced that they must lead an idle life, since they are supposed to work before others and keep watch while others sleep, because they are in fact servants and defenders of all. Therefore, because they themselves do not want to work, it will be necessary that scribes be there and rule.

54 .

**120: Whether to resist the emperor.** (April 3, evening.)

54 .

64 ,  
1 .**121. Luther as a hunter.**

(April 3, evening.)

In the evening, the Prince of Anhalt, as deputy of the Elector, asked Luther to go hunting with him in the morning and to have dinner with him. Luther answered: "For the sake of this [hunting] I am sent here: but I am not such a hunter of wild game, I hunt the pope, cardinals, bishops, canons and monks.

54 .

**122. curse of greed** [πικροεξία], (April 3, evening.)

54 .

4 ,  
103 .**123 The Bishop of Meissen to the Rochlitz.**

(April 3, evening.)

After that, the bishop of Meissen was mentioned, who had written to the widowed duchess of Rochlitz 1) that she should not change anything in religion, because this would be in the bishop's condition, and the woman should be silent in the congregation. She answered against it: That is certain, that is the bishops' duty, but because they did not want to watch in their office and were completely silent, she was forced by the salvation of her subjects. I, however, will give her the Psalm: Eructavit (Ps. 45.) to it, with the summa: If they do not want to hear men, they must let women hear and children speak. Even if religion is despised in the world regiment, it will still be

55 .

1) About Elisabeth of Rochlitz see Seidemann's Reformation. I. p. 164. Cf. Tischr. cap. 13, § 85.



remain in the communities and in the churches. Philip answered: So in a short time we will be in the battle line. Against this Luther: We fight daily against the devil. If we resist this and have threshed the peas out of the husk [arbiß aus der schut] with the word, with faith, with prayer, then let us deal well with the husk and straw.

#### 124. poltergeist to Subtitz.

(April 5.)

The conclusion of this section: 1) 56.

56. 24, 41.

After that, he told a story about a woman in Magdeburg who finally chased away the devil who was troubling her with a fart. But such examples do not take place everywhere and are dangerous. For the devil, the spirit and author of presumption, cannot be chased away and mocked. A believer can give such an example, which is not at all in the place of another. As it happened to a godly man who boasted of his baptism and took away the horn of a horned specimen of the devil; but when another wanted to imitate this example out of presumption, he was killed by the devil.

#### 125. the music.

(April 5.)

56. 68, 1.

#### 126. where challenges come from.

(April 5.)

56. 26, 45.

#### 127 The Convention of Brunswick. (April 5.)

56. 55, 7.

#### 128. parable of the eagle and the raven.

(April 5.)

The conclusion of this section: 57.

57. 52, 5.

The spring of the year 38 brought many fish of all kinds. Luther said: It is an evil sign; when the waters are rich, the lands are poor. Our Lord God give his blessing and our daily bread.

#### 129: An excellent story about ingratitude. (April 5.)

57. 4, 67.

#### 130. the power of god under weakness. (April 5.)

58. 22, 44.

#### 131. meat from the wild is galllicht.

(April 5.)

58.

Game was served at the table and meat from wild fowl. He answered: I do not eat wood, will eat immediately so dear from plates, because it has no juice. The poor little animals are exposed to all dangers and have many enemies and are forced to live on the run. Therefore, they have a galllichtes meat, which does not nourish, 2) I will speak, like that Saxon

1) Cf. Tischreden Cap. 24, 8 44 and Cordatus No. 521 and No. 1124.

2) Instead of olsntE, Äleuteui will probably be read. Bindseil II, 108. mor - pig. Zarnke: Lrants Aurrensoliü'S. 413. (Seidemann.)

spoke: Wat Herte, wat Hende [What heart, what phones: Ick loue [praise] Fro Morff [pig] with her child. For a pig has sausage, bacon, meat, which nourish. All dukes of Saxony, Churfürsten, say that pork goes above all delicacies.

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### 132. danger concerning the sacrament.

(April 5.)

58.

N. told Luther and Philippus that an accident had occurred at Freiberg during the administration of the sacrament. Luther replied: "The administration must be done very carefully. If something happens, one must command God the matter. One must look more at the essence of the appointment than at the danger. Otherwise, Christ should have considered it as well. And after that he told some cases of spilling of the Blood even among the priests, how a priest spilled the chalice in his first Mass. There are many canons in the missals about these accidents.

### God is to be invoked, not soothsayers.

(April 5.)

58.

2, 38.

### The monks' robbery and greed.

(April 8, Monday.)

The conclusion of this section:

59.

30, 13.

59.

And after that he told the story of a monk who had shouted at a dying nobleman: "Squire, will you give this and that to the convent? But since the dying man could not speak and only gave a sign by a wave, the monk said to the son: "See, you hear that your father agrees to give that. The son said to the dying father: Father, is it not your will that I throw this monk down the stairs? When the father had given the same sign, he gave the monk his reward down the stairs. Those robberies of the monks were monstrous.

### 135. time of Easter.

(April 8.)

59.

Afterwards he said about the course of the year, which needs an intercalation, because the Easter feast is so extensive, because it is celebrated in every year on the next [Sunday] day after the full moon, after the equinox in Aries. This year we have it almost 5 weeks longer [i.e. later]. 1)

### 136. hope in all things.

(April 8.)

59.

13, 38.

### 137. derivation of the word bishop. (April 10.)

59.

31, 5.

### With God one must make a covenant. (April 10.)

60.

55, 7.

### The prophecy of Daniel is a very good chronicle.

(April 11.)

60.

75, 1.

1) Easter fell on April 21 in 1538. Since the calendar was 10 days back then, this day coincides with our first of May.

<b>140 The Last Supper of Christ.</b>		
(April 11.)		Table Talks
<b>All people seek an idle life. - (April 11.)</b>	61.	Cap. § 7. 37.
<b>142. the entry of Christ into Jerusalem.</b>	61.	4, 32.
(April 14.)		
<b>143. neglect of the word.</b>	61.	7, 42.
(April 14.)		
<b>144 The Superintendent of Switzerland.</b>	62.	1, 17.
(April 15.)		

62.

On April 15, someone [Simon Sulzer] came from Switzerland, whom the Bernese called a superintendent. He came here first to see our churches and said of the great zeal of the Swiss to be in religious harmony with ours. Luther answered with a sigh: "Strengthen, O God, what you have worked in us. Then the latter told of the bloodthirsty thoughts of the papists, who either out of presumption or under the pretense of arming themselves against the Turks hoped to do something against the Lutherans. Both Carl and the Frenchman tried to make a treaty with the Swiss, but they were more inclined to the Frenchman than to the Spaniards, for the Bernese had completely defeated the Duke of Sabaudia, or Savoy, and had conquered many castles and cities. Luther answered: "Germany owes a debt of folly to God's word because of the contempt [of the word] and because of innocent blood. It will one day fall into one another and unfortunately become a great misery, because they want to exterminate the Lutherans; they consider them, as it were, to be the guilt for which the Turk is coming. But God grant them repentance and us a right confession, that we seek peace and covenant before God in true faith, not in trusting in ungodly covenants. He then read 2 Chron. 28, how Ahaz, the idolatrous king, made a covenant with foreign gods and godless men against God, his Lord. But it will happen to them according to the proverb Ps. 7, [17.]: "His misfortune will come upon his head." Nothing bad will happen to the godly, everything goes out to them for the good.

**145 Saxony is a desolate land. (April 15.)**

63. 76, 20.

63.

**146. duke george slandered luthern.**

(April 16.)

On April 16, it was said of the impetuous nature of Duke George and his courtly conduct, since in his temerity he would have wanted to accuse Luther. Luther replied: I have yielded to him enough and put up with his unmannerly nature, I have offered to do right by him, but he has not wanted to. I still had some letters and proofs from his New Testament. I wanted to have washed his gray colb. My person he pulls through whimsically, a changeling, a bathmaid's son. He calls this university a boys' school. Such a thing does not belong to a prince. I confess that I am the son of a farmer from Moer [Möhra] near Eisenach, yet I am a doctor of the Holy Scriptures, the adversary of the pope. That the pope is angry with me is not to be blamed on him. He has reason, but not just.

**147. by Junker Pabst.**

(April 19, Char Friday.)

The second paragraph of this section: 64.

Table Talks  
Cap. § 27,  
66. 24,  
67.**148. dwellings of evil spirits.** (April 19.)

65. 24, 68.

**149 Sophistic fallacies.**

(April 19.) -

65. 20, 31.

66.

**150. old age is brought about by working and worrying.**

(April 19.)

Then they talked about M. Bucer, who would become an old man through great worries and endless work, since he was not yet fifty. Luther answered: Thoughts can make one old; then also work. I have also worked at times. I have often preached four sermons in one day. Throughout Lent] I preached two sermons and read once a day. First, I preached the Ten Commandments to a large audience. For the Catechism was a new and unusual sermon.

**Weapons and supplies are not to be relied upon.**

(April 19.)

66.

After that he said about the return of the Elector of Brunswick that he would come here quickly the next day, the day before Easter. Luther wondered about the speed, if only it did not mean anything bad. Well, dear God, you do it and govern, we also have princes, cities, people and provisions, money. But we do not want to insist on that, but trust in you. Thine is the matter. Our opponents have more to lose than we do, and they have as much to lose as we do. The Swiss answered: Our country is very ready for peace and for war. The papists strut very insolently against us. Luther answered: "That is why I like to see that our churches are small and in small places, like Schmalkalden, so that the papists have an opportunity to be proud against us and may be the more swiftly disgraced.

66 f.

**152 Tetzel's impudence with his indulgences.**

(April 19.)

Finally, he concluded this meal with the prayer: Ah, dear God, let us do as we will, that we may not ever fight against thee, but that we may say, Thy will be done." Thus David said, "If the Lord says, 'You do not please me,' I will be there" (2 Sam. 24:12). John, the prince of the peasants, said: "If I am not a prince, let me be a nobleman. Only that we do not become hopeful, like Saul, who lost his spirit because he would not obey, but drove out David with war and killed him. That is why he became a disgrace.

<sup>1)</sup> On April 21, Easter Day, Frederick Mecum was there and raised the divine calling of Luther, who, obtained by the sighs of many from God, would have come and lived so long without human counsel against so many tyrannies.

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1) For this paragraph, compare Tischreden Cap. 45, § 70 and § 71 (conclusion).

Luther replied: "This happened without my will, since many people advised me not to do anything against the pope. Luther answered: This happened without my will, since many people advised me that I should not do anything against the pope, in whose waving and waving away my life would stand. But I, challenged, approached like a blinded horse. For Tetzl was too rough with the indulgence, since he insolently exclaimed: "Look at your mother, how she is tormented in the flames of the purgatory; for your sake she suffers this, since you can help her with a penny. Ah, woe to you for your ingratitude, who so despise the blood-drenched grace of God for so little cost. Also at Mansfeld, when he had collected enough money, and had now laid down the cross and wanted to go away, but was not satisfied, he proclaimed the grace again, gave it for half a penny. But the people recognized the deception and gave nothing more. Therefore he went away complaining that they thus despised the grace of God, since St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome would be built with that money. The world would not stand for eight years because of such godlessness. He raged with such insolence that no one dared to speak out against him; and since he had provoked me to my theses, the short epitome of which is: It is better to give to the poor than for indulgences, he soon fumed and preached to Berlin: The heretic shall be thrown into the fire in three weeks, and in a bathing cap he shall go to heaven. Johannes Huß had the same opportunity to write against the indulgence of the pope and his avarice, but it was not yet time to put the beast to shame. I attacked not only the abuses, but also the doctrine and bit off his heart. I do not believe that Pabstism will increase again. His tyranny rages against bodies and consciences and will befall him, as Revelation (18, 6.) says: "Make it double." For he has most proudly oppressed consciences with the greatest tyranny. And the article of justification has to some extent uprooted the lightning of Pabstism. The Sacramentarians have already fought like this. But I still see two sects before me, may God defend them. Let us pray and watch.

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### 153 The pope rejoices in wars that prevent the concil.

68.

(April 21.)

On April 21, there was talk of the Concilium, which the pope was fleeing, - it would be best that the emperor, the Frenchman and all of Germany cite the pope himself before the Concilium by a general vote in order to defend his teachings. Luther answered: "The pope does not allow this and knows a way to prevent the council from being promoted. That is why he does not allow the Emperor and the French to be reconciled. Even if a conciliation were to take place, no reign would go there. It would be a sin if one of the Christians were not angry with the pope, the prankster.

### 154. unity of the swiss.

(April 22.)

The second part of this section: 68.

22, 45.  
37, 25.

### 155 Luther's vehemence against the King of England.

69.

(April 23.)

On April 23, the booklet was mentioned, the title of which is: "Luther's answer to the king's blasphemy in England, in which he attacked him quite vehemently for the second time". Luther replied: I am by the

Necessity forced me to do this. For since I, persuaded by the King of Denmark, humbly asked him to forgive me, and did so in order to win him for the gospel, as I also wrote to Duke George, persuaded by Doctor Bock, the King immediately wrote back: "To the worst defamer M. Luther. Then I had to defend myself, as it says in the same booklet, and refute my retraction against the nits and lice."

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**The Ichneumon is a model of Christ.**

(April 23.)

69. 7, 148.

**The victory of the godly through the Holy Spirit.** (April 25.)

69. 26, 18.

**158. the passage Rom. 8, [34.]**

(April 25.)

70.

Christ, the highest priest, ascended to the right hand of the Father and represents us, Rom. 8, (34.). In this passage Paul depicts Christ with the most glorious words, in death the sacrifice, in the resurrection the victory, in the ascension the dominion, in the representation the priesthood. For under the law of Moses, the priest alone entered the Holy of Holies and prayed for the people. Thus our Lord Christ is finely portrayed by that figure.

**159. two church bodies.**

(April 27.)

70. 20, 30.

**169. by M. Johannes Agricola.**

(April 27.)

70.

In these days he was quite sad and somewhat angry, had a bitterness that he did not want to reveal, and acted as if he were angry with his wife. But it was another cause, as I suspect, namely the impenitence and dissimulation of M. J. Agricola, which he mentioned in a few words: I have done enough with the man, I have so far promoted him to the Elector with apologies and entreaties, but I do not want his made-up doctrine. I have done enough for him privately and publicly with exhortations. After my death, I will boldly and freely repeat this.

70.

**Where a bull gets its name from.**

(April 27.)

I believe that the name bull comes from the fact that a bull is the execution of a will and council decision. But I do not believe that Rome has this knowledge of its own expressions. For Rome has learned people, but in the holy scripture there is a great falsehood, as he interpreted the passage of Marci at the last: Signa eos, qui crediderunt, haec sequuntur, i.e.: Sign to me those who believe; where they have taken a noun for a verb. Jonas answered: The best times are to be hoped for the offspring, because in a few years the best lecturers would come out of it. Luther replied: I am worried that the best has now happened, but now the sects will follow.

**163. robbed the old Sara.**

(April 27.)

72.

Luther asked Jonah from the 17th chapter of the first book of Moses: How would it be possible to believe that Sarah, already ninety years old, who was no longer in the way of women, would still have been stolen by King Abimelech. Jonah answered that ninety years at that time would have been like twenty years for us. Not at all, he said, because Abraham was nearer to David than to Adam, since in David's time seventy or eighty years are called the life of a man. The springtime of the world was before the flood, after which its flowering ceased. Summa: The holy scripture is an inscrutable book, it will never be fathomed. I read the first Psalm today and in the other verse: "But have pleasure in the law of the Lord", I found a doctrine [locus], which I did not know before. That is why the Spirit of the Lord, Isa. 11, is described with so many different names.

**164 The Lightning at Prague.**

(April 29.)

73.

On the penultimate of April, news was brought from Prague that lightning had struck the church tower twice with very strong thunder, and for the third time the church itself had been struck and set on fire, and this had happened while a child of King Ferdinand was being baptized, whose godparents were said to have been the Pope's legate and orator and the wife of the prefect of Upper Lusatia. This thunder and lightning were praised by the courtiers as a sign of the great glory of the child. Luther answered: It is a great presumption of the godless who despised the terrible signs of God and dared to interpret them in the opposite sense. For also the holy scripture and the stories of the pagans indicated that a striking lightning meant great misfortune. So also the 104th Psalm [v. 7.]: "From your thunder they go away."

**165 He comforts Wellern.**

(April 29.)

73. 26, 44.

74.

**166 The Rhinoceros.**

(April 30.)

Last April Luther mentioned the rhinoceros. This animal would have an armored body and fought against the elephant and slit its belly with its horn. It is a wonderful creation of the things, since God brings opposite together, the Rhinoceros with the elephant, the water with the fire, the spirit with the flesh. I with the pope. They are opposite elements, and yet they are preserved, although one devours the other. For when water and fire collide, either the fire is extinguished or the water is exhausted. But on the last day there will be a great destruction, when all the elements will melt into ashes and the whole world will be restored to its original chaos. And then there will be a new heaven and a new earth, and we will be transformed. Satan will remain like that because he has nothing elemental. Paul had very great revelations, who made this known.

**167. everything becomes small through frequency.**

(April 30.)

The conclusion of this section:

D. Jonas answered: "Our peasants accuse the pastors of teaching the holy ten commandments too strictly. For they teach their children and servants to do evil and wrong against all the commandments. But St. Paul is a man who does everything in remembrance of Christ. Oh that he were known to all men. But in his whole decree the pope does not treat even one passage of Jesus Christ for the consolation of a sorrowful conscience. Nor has the Roman church had a single pope who has interpreted only one book of Scripture, except Gregory, who wrote moral teachings [Moralia.] about Job. Ah, HErrgott, the Holy Scriptures demand a careful researcher. The papists, however, do not care about it, even despise it.

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 74. 6.  
 75.

**The passage 1 Petr. 5, (v. 2.). (April 30.)****169. hatred of the papists.**

(May 2, Thursday.)

On May 2, he said of the irreconcilable haff of the papists against the gospel, which had burned indelibly from the beginning of the world. For the Babylonians in the 137th Psalm [v. 7.] do not cease, but cry out: Pure off. The Jews did not cease against Christ and the apostles until they were destroyed. So the papists today bring forward much more to exterminate the Lutherans than against the Turk. Therefore, let us pray and watch.

75. 31, 5.

76.

**The presumption seeks immortality.**

(May 6.)

On May 6, he said of human presumption, since all men realize that they are mortal and frail. But everyone thirsts for immortality here on earth. In the past, kings sought immortality by building pyramids, as they do now with great basilicas and buildings. Soldiers chase after victory, and scribes seek an eternal name by publishing their volumes, as we now also see before our eyes. But in the meantime, the glory and eternity of God is not looked upon. Ah, we are miserable people.

76.

**171 Question about taking the sacrament.**

(May 8.)

On May 8, a foreign nobleman asked Luther for advice on how he should conduct himself when taking the sacrament, whether he could also take it here in both forms and then, if his journey and business were elsewhere, communicate in one form. Luther answered: "Each one should ask in his own conscience what is to be done. If he does not dare to receive it, then it would be better to let [it] be done beforehand. Each one, therefore, should consult his conscience and his anointing. "For no man liveth to himself, neither dieth to himself" (Rom. 14:7), but against violence there is no counsel.

76.

**The five legs of Christ's donkey. (May 9.)**

77. 27, 78.



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<b>173 "Bo" Bullinger.</b> (May 10.)	77. 1, 28.
<b>The Gentiles surpass the Jews in wickedness; the Italians surpass them in presumption.</b> (May 12.)	79. 7, 43.
<b>The gifts of God become small through frequency.</b> (May 12.)	79. 3, 16.
 <b>Behold, here are two swords.</b> (May 12.)	
<p>After that he told about the insolence of the pope, who would have dared to confirm his prestige by the swords of the apostles. For he concludes thus: Where there are two swords, there is the church; but here with Peter there are two swords, therefore Peter is the church. Or like this: Peter has two swords; Peter is pope; therefore the pope has two swords. This is not valid, and the assumption <small>[assumptum]</small> must be denied, because the final speech has four exits <small>[terminos]</small>. Rather, it must be concluded thus: Where the totality of the apostles is and the church, there are two swords; here are two swords; therefore, here is the church. Nevertheless, it was a strange arrangement among the apostles that Christ allowed them to have two swords (Luc. 22, 38.). But Christ resolves this with the strongest solution: "It is enough", as if he wanted to say: You do not understand what I am saying; I said that each one should have and buy a sword, but a spiritual one; but you understand from these two iron swords; it is enough, they would not make it. After that he solves it much stronger (Joh. 18, 11.): "Peter, put your sword into the sheath." He did not intend that he should wield it with his fist, but discarded it <small>[the sword]</small>. It is as if I said to my dear sons Martimchen and Paulichen: Now defend yourselves with the wooden swords, draw them against the Turk.</p>	
<b>177.. Exhortation to theology.</b> (May 12.)	80. 22, 47. 66, 28.
<b>178. success of the gospel in England.</b> (May 12.) ,	81. 27, 138.
<b>179. one does not have to answer rashly.</b> (May 12.)	81.
<p>M. Philippus examined in the house of Ant. Lauterbach, who was a schoolmaster in Stargard. But since he answered carelessly, he said: "Don't answer so rashly, because we don't know more things than we know. Luther answered: Jonas once said that he knew everything in the Holy Scriptures, and was somewhat angry with me because I did not agree with him. But I know that there is much I do not know. I have been preaching for twenty-five years and still do not understand the passage, "The righteous shall live by his faith." (Rom. 1, 17. Gal. 3, 11. Hebr. 10, 38. Habak. 2, 4.)</p>	
<b>180. catechism examinations are useful and necessary for children.</b> (May 12.)	82. 11, 2.

**181. Ferdinand the plague of Germany.**

(May 21, Tuesday.)

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On May 21, Anton Hanold, an excellent man in warfare, said various things about the wars of Emperor Carl and about Ferdinand's very great misfortune, which would be the plague and the eating sore of Germany. Luther answered: Germany owes God a debt of thoroughness. All nations hear of the armor of the Turk, but no one thinks to resist him. The adversaries are trying to figure out how to kill the Lutherans before they resist the Turk.

**182. intention of the pope at the meeting of a council.** (May 21.)

82. 64, 27.

**183. curse of the land at Erfurt.** (May 21.)

84. 4, 104.

**184 Arius ruled for a long time.**

(May 21.)

84. 27, 156.

**185. difference between an apostle and a bishop.** (May 21.)

84. 19, 7.

**186. franc curse.**

(May 26.)

85.

On May 26, they discussed the question of whether cursing was a sin among Franks. For they have the habit of taking on the best and those who are very friendly to them with cursing: See that you are glandular and bruised, my lord, since their heart is without hatred; whether this is a sin. He answered, "Our speech shall be yea, nay, and the name of the Lord shall not be uselessly taken." Otherwise, their cursing may be purer than our good mornings.

**187. lying. Deceive.**

(May 26.)

85.

Lying and deceiving are different; for lying is a falsehood with the desire to harm. But deception is simply as Elijah did, who said he is not Elijah, come, I will lead you to him (2 Kings 6:19). What is to be thought of the words of Paul Apost. 23, (v. 5.): "I knew not that it was the high priest: for it is written: Thou shalt not curse the ruler of thy people." There Paul is being mischievous, as if to say: Art thou the high priest? I know nnr One, the priest JESUS Christ, GOD will smite thee 2c. There he did not sin, but contradicted him out of apostolic spirit: Dear Annas, it will be over with you, and so he curses the whole priesthood, as if to say: You are nothing but hypocrisy itself. Otherwise, Paul knew very well that he was an authoritative person.

**188 The best advice.**

(May 26.)

85. 11, 3.

**189. Peter the Vicar of Christ.** (May 26.)

86. 27, 25.

**190. throwing out the sellers.**

(May 26.)

The second paragraph of this section:

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 86. 7.  
 87. 3, 10.

**191: The King of England's marriage case.** (May 29.)

88. 45, 46.

**192. Thomas More a tyrant.**

(May 29.)

88. 45, 47.

88.

**193 Lecture on Genesis.**

(May 29.)

Someone thought of the lecture on Genesis that it was necessary and useful that it be published. Luther answered: "It is a condensed and imperfect lecture, through which I give others cause for reflection; therefore, it would not be advisable to publish it. It is too weak. For a work requires the whole man. But I am busy, occupied with several things, and cannot accomplish anything satisfactory. For doing much and doing well are not suitable together. For it is not of one cast when one is busy with various things, and Cicero complains that he cannot easily reestablish a disturbed thought. It is a pity in this life. Those who live in leisure and wealth do not want to do so; others are hindered by poverty and various businesses.

**194: Religion, the World Regiment, the Household.** (May 29.)

89. 1, 46.

**195. comedies.**

(May 29.)

89. 72, 2.

89.

**196. fictitious rumor of the Turk.**

(June 3, Monday.)

On June 3, frightening news came of the armament of the Turk, who was to attack the King of Persia, the Venetians and the Austrians with a threefold, very numerous army from all sides. Meanwhile, Ferdinand was walking in Dresden and begging through Lusatia. Truly a fatal evil for Germany, a dog in the run. But afterwards it was said that it was a fabrication of the papists, who wanted to gather armies under this pretext, in order to be able to exterminate the Lutherans afterwards; but the soldiers had left their flags after they had found out about this; the Nurembergers reported this.

89.

**197 The Pabst's defender his eaters.**

(June 14, Friday after Pentecost.)

On June 14 came the news that Duke George had taken Petersberg and had installed his colonel there, and he was also aiming at Zell Monastery. Luther said: If I said that the defenders were the pope's devourers, nobody believed it. Now the papists learn it by experience; they have freely offered keys and treasures to those, now they keep them as by right. So it will work. I believe that the deception of Duke George and others will plague the papacy more than our attack.

**198. the arrival of Christ.** (June 14.)Lauterbach Table  
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89. 7, 44.**199. by D. Jakob.**

(June 20.)

90. 37, 43.

**200. lemnius.**

(June 20.)

90.

Since Luther did not want to suffer the malice of Simon Lemnius and his praise of the bishop of Mainz, he said: I will come with the bishop zuhaufi). I have so far guarded myself against him, although he is the highest and most powerful prince or primate, who can easily defeat me Wittenberg beggar by contempt. He thinks like that parish priest; when a caplan wanted to improve him, he answered: It is called calix or calicem, coclaeus or coclearem, nor am I parish priest and you caplan.

**201. a contested.**

(June 20.)

90.

He gave this counsel to one who was afflicted, that he should not be alone or stand alone, but should use the counsel and comforts of others through the Word of God, because no one who was afflicted would be able to do it.

**202. principles.**

(June 20.)

91.

Strong proofs, which are called principles, axioms, maxims, penetrate all things, because they comprehend in themselves all particulars [locos]: The honorable, the good, the useful, the necessary. Such is the doctrine [locus] and the proof of marriage against the celibate state, where all sane men are forced to say: This is true.

**203. from the Swiss.**

(June 25.)

91.

On June 25, Luther received letters from seven cities of the Swiss, who responded because of the union [concordia]; but since they were still limping, he said, after reading through the letters: Ah, they are pious people who are persuaded. Therefore, they must be followed for a time, until they can be won over. The following day the messenger pressed for an answer. He said that he would gladly write and hoped well of them, that they would discard the opinions according to reason of Christ's descent and ascension from the right hand [of God] into bread, of which we have never taught, but we have simply believed Christ's Body and Blood without ascension and descent; otherwise we could not believe any article of faith of the Trinity and Incarnation of the Son, the Second Person, if we wanted to consult the wisdom of reason. Ah, dear God, those aversions hold many back. How do you think, I beg of you, that the Jews, who were well established in the kingdom and the priesthood, were annoyed when they saw that the righteousness of the Son of God was not the same as that of the Son of God?

1) In the original "zu kauff". Instead, "zu Hauff" will be read, as in Cap. 35, 13. towards the end, where Kummer brings "zu Kampf" and the table speeches "zu Kauf". Also elsewhere the reading of H for K is found, e.g. Cap. 35, 11. "Kauz" for "Haufe".

was offered to all in vain, without merit, and the Gentiles were considered equal to them? What thinkest thou that the Roman empire, the mightiest and wisest, which clung to its divine services, thought that they should be governed by the foolish people of the Jews with miraculous and superstitious fables (for so they blasphemed the faith of Christ)? Such astonishments always caused the persecution of the gospel, as we also see at this time how great blasphemies are spread against the doctrine of the faith and the church, as if we were heretics and rebels. It is still going on.

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**204. there will be sects.  
(June 27.)**

91. 54, 1.

**205. eternal life.  
(June 27.)**

92. 49, 7.

**206: The Papists' Deceptions. (June 28.)**

92. 27, 46.

**207. A King Who Loves Lies. (June 28.)**

92. 44, 9.

93.

**208. Gospel of Lazarus and the rich man.  
(June 30.)**

Last June, on the second Sunday after Trinity, on which the Gospel of the rich glutton was, Luther was asked whether this Gospel (Luc. 16, 19. ff.) was a story or a parable? He answered: In the beginning it would be a story, because he named the persons, the circumstances and the five brothers; afterwards the conversations and the judgment passed by Abraham would be an allegory, which shows how it will be on the last day. It is an adventurous gospel, and yet it has many glorious passages of comfort that are worthy of careful consideration. First, it indicates that there are unknown places where souls are kept, and these secret and hidden things we are not to know. Secondly, the passage that Lazarus is not described as buried, but is told that he is carried into Abraham's bosom. He even forgets Lazarus' body. But he describes the angels' hats that carry him into the bosom of Abraham. This is a comforting saying, that it is more in the soul than in the body. - The bosom of Abraham is the promise and the certain salvation, the container and the expectation of Christ; it is not heaven, but the expectation of heaven. It is a wonderful thing that heaven is not revealed before the coming of Christ. The bosom of Abraham was until Christ; after that, paradise; as the robber came not into the bosom of Abraham, but into paradise; after that, by the resurrection of Christ, paradise ceases, and heaven is revealed, where the dead ascend out of open graves into heaven. But what paradise is, I do not know. It can be a rest in the body itself, as it happens with people who, seized by a rapture, feel nothing. There the soul is not gone, although it is not felt in the body; but when they come to themselves again, they wonder and say: Where have I been? I have felt nothing. So that conversation and counter-talk could very well have happened between the Schlemmer and Abraham in the spirit and in the death struggle. But nevertheless one should

Do not preach in public, because people would be made doubtful. Therefore, these allegorical things should be left aside and the emphasis should be put on the story. Christ often uses such allegories. Matth. 8 (v. 11.): "Many of the morning will sit at table with Abraham in the kingdom of heaven." Likewise John 14 (v. 2): "In my Father's house are many mansions." These are vain allegorical expressions. Ah, dear GOtt, your words are not as cold and bad as human words, but they are above all human thoughts and the wisdom of reason. How Duke Frederick admired the word of GOD, which in simplicity would have the greatest majesty. Therefore we must pay attention to the revealed word. Hidden things we should not know, but believe. Does not the fruit live in the womb, and after that, when it is born, it lives, and for two years the child eats, drinks, sucks, feels, cries, and yet it does not know that it lives, for it cannot think of anything as it lives? Therefore, what do we want to think much about the souls after death? Aristotle and Plato have discussed the soul a lot. Plato says that the soul is the idea, that is, the perfect form of the body. Aristotle, however, claims that soul and body are one being [substantia], and that the soul arises in the body from a germ [traduce] in the way that a root naturally arises from a seed and grain, then a milky rice that is neither wood nor bast, then a soft plantlet, then it grows together more and more and becomes a harder cartilage and finally a tree and hard wood. Thus the soul becomes and grows out of the body and the fruit, when it is still a milky mass. Therefore Augustine, who followed Aristotle to some extent, holds that the soul arises from the flesh and is propagated, but caused by God. For if God brings forth a flower from the tree, why not the soul from the body? Origen, however, says that the soul is not propagated, nor caused, but infused. But Augustine's opinion seems to be better. For by experience we see that souls follow bodies. For, where there is a crippled body, there is also a crippled soul. Ah, dear God, what are we poor people strutting about, since we do not know what our soul is, nor our body? The Holy Scripture argues against Aristotle, who denies that the soul is immortal, but says that soul and body are one being [substantiam] - Christ clearly says: Do not be afraid of those who can kill the body, but cannot kill the soul (Luc. 12, 4.). For the soul is a different substance from the body, and yet it is a great bond, clinging to one another, because the soul loves the body supremely. It does not like to separate from each other. Cicero was a very good philosopher, who believed that the soul is immortal, and he also described the natural, moral and rational philosophy in the best way. He was a noble man, who read and read a lot, and then he was able to say it. He wrote his thing with seriousness, he did not play and follow the Greeks like Aristotle and Plato. I hope God will also help Cicero and similar people through the forgiveness of sins, and should he be without mercy, he will still be several levels higher than our Cardinals and the Bishop of Mainz.

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### 209. from Bishop Albrecht.

(June 30.)

After this, mention was made of the Bishop of Mainz, a very cunning and devious epicure, who, trusting in his wickedness, deceived all, and

but he was a very insolent, a bold, wicked man. That I have called him a lying man is easy to prove. I also want to stand still to him rightly where he wants. I will soon write against him, even if all mine are against it, not with human passion, but with the prestige of holy scripture, and will offer defiance to the jurists. I have written to his hand before. Now I will denounce him to the church, so that I will not be made a party to his wickedness. For he has acted tyrannically enough with Schantz, whom he has let hang for the sake of money. For on the very day he was hanged, the bishop was in Halberstadt and smilingly said: "I think that not everyone will laugh in Halle today. After that he is said to have said again: It is in my mind as if 1) Schantz were hanging on the gallows 2c. Are these not the words and behavior of a tyrant? Therefore, his legend must be given to the day.

### 210. the falling sickness.

(June 30.)

95.

This disease in the children is mostly the fault of the parents, who do not consider time and health in coming together. Because both father and mother should be fresh and healthy.

### 211. the Gospel preached in Italy.

(July 1, Monday.)

95.

On July 1, news was written from Italy that in Bologna, in the last forty days, two monks had very freely and sincerely preached the gospel in public, and with such conviction than it could have happened only in Wittenberg, and that they had numerous listeners with great applause, and finally the bishops and the pope intervened with force against them. They were warned and saved themselves by fleeing. Another, however, was seized and imprisoned, who had Luther's books and translations under the title of Erasmus of Rotterdam; these had been burned. M. Philip answered: "The word of God does not run in vain, but is spread here and there in all countries; if it comes to Italy, they will seriously stop it, because the Italians are stubborn people, not frivolous or unstable.

### 212. from the Bishop of Mainz.

(July 1.)

95. 31, 2.

### Miracles and examples against the blasphemers of the gospel.

(July 7.)

96.

On July 7, Luther was stricken with the disease of dysentery, since diarrhea had preceded it, and since he could not preach publicly, he preached at home the gospel of that Sunday, Luc. 15. On that day, many very godly men, including strangers, came to visit him and told various news. The Rector Philip told of a miracle that had recently happened in his hometown of Breiten, that a girl had fallen from a very high tower and remained unharmed, and that she had looked up immediately after the fall, fearing that her father would have seen it. Luther said: Allhie was no devil, but an angel Gabriel.

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1) In the original: same as.

The following can be found: Then follows:

Philip also told an incident about a certain court organist who had received a gift from his bishop and decorated his house for him and invited the bishop: he wanted to make a miraculous spectacle for him on that day and hour. When the bishop arrived and the house was decorated, the organist felt pain and began to struggle with death, recommended his wife and children to the bishop and died.

The conclusion of this section:

**214. the gospel of luke 15** (July 7)

96. 29, 3.

**215. what kind of things the doctors deal with.**

(July 10.)

97. 22, 48, 66, 42.

97.

When the illness became more severe on July 10, he took a clyster on the advice of the doctors. Afterwards, he said: "This is the end of shame. Because the doctors play with the patients like mothers with their children, although they deceive each other. How D. Stortz at Erfurt did not want to give anything to a farmer who was a drunkard, should eat coriander. The latter, however, was very ignorant and bought four calendars with parchment lids, gnawed and devoured them down to the fourth and asked that he might also drink. When the doctor heard this story, he told him to drink as much as he wanted. This is what happened to a doctor in Heidelberg. A young man had impregnated a girl, and since she felt unwell as a result of the pregnancy, he brought the urine to his doctor. When the doctor looked at it and examined it many times, he looked at it and said: "Fellow, fellow, see what you are dealing with. The latter, stricken in his conscience, answered: "Ah, dear doctor, if the girl is pregnant, tell me and I will take her in marriage. Doctors deal with such things.

**216: The Anabaptist Hans Sturm.**

(July 12.)

98. 37, 99.

**217. news from England.**

(July 14.)

98.

On July 14, a letter arrived from the court about the English legation, that they had been received very honorably by the king, and there was great hope for the course of the gospel in England. There were many bishops there ready for the pure teaching of the gospel, but there was only a lack of learned people, otherwise the people longed for and loved the teaching of the truth.

**218: Twofold necessity.**

(July 14.)

98.

An unconditional necessity is one that exists by its nature. A necessity of the consequence or of the occurring case is, which could also be otherwise, as that Caesar defeated Pompey, that Judas betrayed Christ. This victory and betrayal does not come naturally to Caesar and Judas, because it is not so ordained by God, but is in the will of Judas. What has happened cannot be undone. One must let it be as it is. For everything that is, when it is, must be necessary, but by necessity of consequence.



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<b>219. words of a dying man.</b> (July 17.)	98
<b>220 Spanish Courage.</b> (July 20.)	99.
On July 20, a letter arrived from the court of Ferdinand, denouncing the very filthy and brute lechery of the Spaniards, since they were doing the cohabitation of men and women against the natural way in various ways, and were already almost surpassing the Italian and Florentine weddings in impurity. Luther exclaimed: O Lord Jesus Christ, come with your last judgment, as if he wanted to say: Destroy the world and free your saints. Oh who would have died, I do not desire to live. On this day Johann, Duke of Anhalt, visited him; he stood in his bedroom in front of the bed and talked something secret with the doctor. Luther answered: I desire no more than a blessed hour, for I have now experienced the best of the Gospel.	
<b>221. human sacrifice in our time.</b> (July 21.)	
<b>222. roman wickedness.</b> (July 21.)	100. 6, 22.
<b>223. the external image of the church.</b> (July 21.)	100. 65, 7.
On this day he wondered about the outward appearance of the church of Christ, which was hidden in so much weakness, trouble, sins, poverty and could be seen as if God did not care about it, while the false church rejoiced in power, prestige and holiness. Therefore Paul exclaims Rom. 11, (33.) not in vain: "O what depth" 2c., after he had seen the rejection of the Jews and the acceptance of the Gentiles. Therefore in the article of holy Christian faith it is clearly stated, "I believe a holy church." Because it is not seen, therefore it is believed.	101.
<b>224th marriage case.</b> (July 21.)	
<b>225th Meeting at Leipzig. (July 27.)</b>	101. 43, 130.
<b>The godly are subject to Satan according to the flesh.</b> (July 27.)	101. 45, 14.
<b>227. prophecy of Staupitzen. (July 27.)</b>	102. 47, 10.
<b>228. by Cicero.</b> (July 27.)	102. 22, 9.
<b>229. a lute for mass. (July 27.)</b>	103. 73, 4.
	103. 35, 7.

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<b>230. water the noblest liquid. (August 1.)</b>	
On August 1, he again lay down with sciatica [hip pain], a very serious disease of the hips, and became so frightened that he rolled in the straw spread on the ground, and at last, since he had been freed early and his prayer had been answered, he thanked GOD for his miraculous deliverance. Now, when he was exhausted and liked to drink water, he said: "Dear God, how noble a juice you have given in the dear water, which surpasses all wines, and yet, when we are healthy, we regard the water as nothing, which nevertheless cools and refreshes so sweetly!	
<b>231. praise of the middle road. (August 1, Thursday.)</b>	104. 45, 56.
<b>232. delay of death. (August 1.)</b>	104. 48, 17.
<b>233rd Italian Hospitals. (August 1.)</b>	104. 14, 19.
<b>234. audacious doctors. (August 1.)</b>	105.
Audacious doctors are very pernicious because they arrange everything according to the will of their patients. Such fellows must have many churchyards. Therefore, a learned and cautious physician is a great gift from God, who is not easily moved here and there.	
<b>235: The margrave invalidated by fornication. (August 1.)</b>	105. 45, 4.
<b>236. pain of spiritual temptations. (August 2.)</b>	105. 26, 47.
<b>237. Murmuring of the People against God. (August 2.)</b>	106. 4, 68.
<b>Do not seek things that are too high for you. (August 2.)</b>	106. 2, 9.
<b>Executioners were once in a very honored state. (August 3.)</b>	106.
On August 3, one spoke of the savagery and audacity of the executioners, who, accustomed to human blood, become reckless boys and make almost no distinction between the blood of a human being and that of an animal. Therefore one reads in the holy scripture that the next councilors of high rank have to do such work. This is what happened with the Romans, where the guilty were executed with the axe, and they saw that it was a great thing to take a man's life.	
<b>240. the year 38 a damaging one. (August 3.)</b>	106. 3, 41.

**241. deception of friends.****(August 3.)**

How is it that he whom you trust most deceives you the most? Philip answered: Xenophon writes very well: You do what is very easy, a friend [you do] wrong. For a friend does not think of it, therefore he is soon deceived. This also happened in Magdeburg, where two very friendly noblemen, who were fond of each other, jokingly attacked each other, and finally one wounded the other in anger. The one who defended himself cut off the other's neck with his sword.

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107.

**The Gospel of Marci 8.****(Aug. 4. Dow. VII. x. Irin.)**

On August 4, he contemplated the very great miracle of the Gospel, where Christ fed 4000 men with 7 loaves of bread; he does such miracles daily. But no one takes care of it. If he had made all grass to bread, all trees of bread, they would have despised it, as they slandered him because of Lazarus (Joh. 11, 21. 32.): "If he had loved him, he would not have died." And since He had healed many, they demanded signs from heaven (Marc. 8, 11. Matth. 12, 38. 16, 1.). Summa: If God, our Lord, does it, it is no good. But if we choose it ourselves, it is something. Such is the wisdom of the flesh. If it is even overwhelmed, it cannot recognize it.

**243rd Karger felt.****(August 4.)****244. the alphabet of Julius Caesar. (August 4.)**

107. 4, 93.

**245. duke George the patron, the bishops 2c. the clients. (August 5.)**

107. 72, 3.

**246. no misfortune alone.****(August 5.)**

As one sickness pressed upon another, and the tearing of the limbs and the stone raged, Luther said, "Give patience, O Lord, and that we may only remember Thy Son's suffering and death. After all, there may be various diseases in us. This is according to the saying of Adam: No misfortune alone. As it is said of the Duke of Savoy, who in one day heard of the enmity of the King of France against him, and the alliance of the Swiss against him, and he learned of the death of his son; has been enough at once. Such is life in the world, exposed to all dangers.

107. 45, 18.

108.

**247. the first run of the gospel.****(August 5.)**

. On that day the Leipzigers said much about the course of the Gospel, that it had first had miraculous progress. Luther answered: I freely confess that I did not begin this difficult matter with intent. For I was such a papist that I wrote against Erasmus, who was hypocritical about the papacy. But God miraculously called me into this matter through time and opportunity. I would have first carried wood about such a heretic,

108.

who would have attacked the Mass and the celibate state. This also helped the course of the Gospel a lot, that in the year 19 Maximilian died and the papists in that interregnum [time when there was no emperor] wrote against me in a strange way. There I had to defend myself. It all happened out of divine counsel.

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**248. the devil strikes with disease.** (August 5.)

108. 47, 16.

**249: Against the Wise Men in the Holy Scriptures.**

(August 5.)

109. 1, 9.

**250. hungarians ask for special communion.**

(August 5.)

109. 19, 8.

**The blessing of God is common.** (August 5.)

110. 4, 94.

**252: The Gospel Preached in Italy.**

(August 6.)

110. 27, 141.

**253. guenons.**

(August 6.)

110.

There was mention of monkeys and guenons, which were angry and deadly animals that preyed on people. Luther answered: "They are strange animals in which the devil is hidden, and one must not play with them. But with birds, siskins, goldfinches, lambs, and dogs we can all the more safely joke for a while.

**254: What eternal life is.** (August 7.)

110. 3, 10.

**255. devil whores.**

(August 8.)

111.

On August 8, there was much talk about epicurs and despisers of God who pledged themselves to the devil, as weather makers, milk thieves, devil whores with whom the devil would have dealings.

The following: 111. 24, 73.  
The conclusion: 111.

On the same evening, an old man, ferryman, over 90 years old, a very godly hearer of the Word, died and fell asleep with wonderful constancy and groaning for eternal life; after not having eaten for 22 days and not having been able to drink for 16 days, he fell asleep in the Lord with very great faith and patience.

**256. old wines.**

(August 8.)

111. 4, 109.

**257. the music.**

(August 8.)

111. 68, 1.

**258. negligence of craftsmen.** (August 8.)

111. 72, 4.

**259 The Plague of Pretentious Enthusiasts.**  
**(August 14. Wednesday.)**

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 h pag. Cap. § 37,  
 112. 101.

**260 The emperor missed the best opportunity.**  
**(August 14.)**

112. 45, 87.

**261. the crocodile.**  
**(August 14.)**

112. 7, 148.

**Beware of the ways of the world.**

113.

**(August 14.)**

Superstition always has a place and a pretext for superstition, as the fame of the monks was from the contempt of the world. For Paul Rom. 12 (v. 2) says: "And do not be conformed to this world," as if it were ungodly to be subject to worldly orders and institutions, since Paul and all Scripture forbid only the passions and ungodly movements of the heart after the manner of the world, ambition, greed, benevolence, revenge, etc., to which inclinations the whole world gives the reins. Two years ago in Antwerp, for example, there was a splendid celebration in the world's manner, and plays were performed. Antwerp was painted on a carriage with the inscription above it: Antwerp, the Queen of the World. On one side was Neptune, who offered great treasures to the queen. On the other side Mercury offered many things. But this is the way of the world, namely contempt of God, pride and elevation in the gifts, abuse of the creatures.

**263. deprivation of the churches.**

**(August 14.)**

113. 56, 3.

**The great diversity of the challenges.**

**(August 16.)**

113. 50, 3.

**265. by Erasmus of Rotterdam.**

**(August 16.)**

114. 37, 121.

**266. children's lives.**

**(August 17.)**

114. 3, 54.

**267. nature of bees.**

114.

**(August 17.)**

Luther killed drones flying around. In the meantime, however, he considered the nature and order of bees, that no man, not even the wisest, could fully recognize the nature of bees. For when a bee has stung with its stinger, it is worthless, and is forced to be a keeper, to fetch water; thus it is degraded. And these animals perform their work with the most accurate and faithful work, and are begotten without mating.

**268. no end to the sects.**

**(August 18.)**

114. 37, 35.

## 269. questions of the Magister Förster.

(August 19.)

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First question:

22, 50.

115.

115.

Second question. The text in Moses, Deut. 4, 35, Deut. 5, 19, seems to allow the private revenge to the one who seizes the killer of his relative before he has gone to a free city. These passages seem to be against the Scriptures, which forbid the private revenge. He replied, "That provision in Moses is judicial and abolished, just as the usury of the Jews was permitted among the Gentiles and only ceased with the other judicial things.

Third question. Why Ruth did not act according to the right of kinship, since Boaz was not the brother of her deceased husband, and the law Deut. 25 clearly expresses the brother of the deceased husband. He answered: That passage is an interpretation of the law 5 Mos. 25., namely, that if the brother of the deceased does not want, then the next blood relative after him should marry her. Furthermore, Naomi did not accept Ruth to marry this Boaz, but because she was to join him in the most intimate way, so that she might be well acquainted with him; this text we have dealt with in the English disputation. <sup>115.</sup>

Fourth question. Against the Judaizers, who demand testimonies of the Old Testament, namely, that Mary was from the tribe of Judah and from the house of David, but the tribes and families were completely confused after the Babylonian captivity. He answered: "Our evangelist expressly says that Mary was of the tribe of Judah. Those who do not want to believe this may remain unbelievers. And such Judaizers cannot defend themselves with the passage, Judges at the last, where the tribe of Benjamin was broken off [v. 6.]; this tribe was no longer a people of God because of fornication, but it was a tribe cut off and banished from the people. Therefore, the six hundred were forced to marry heathen women and the stolen. <sup>115.</sup>

Fifth question. About the passage of the Scripture Joshua 24, (v. 19.): "Ye cannot serve the LORD: for he is a holy GOD, a zealous GOD, who will not spare your transgression and sin." By these words he seems to reject the godless people altogether. And yet these words soon follow, "If ye forsake the Lord, and serve a strange god," which mean that they were still pious and had not fallen away. Luther answered: "This is the last farewell of Joshua, who warns them with a special movement, as if he wanted to say: I am afraid that you will anger God once again, and God will punish you, for He does not like it. If you then anger Him and fall from Him, then God will be angry, and so on. Another solution is that the first words are spoken by the wicked, and the following by the pious. Just as we have psalms here and there in which the people are exalted to heaven and praised; soon after, they are humbled to hell, and by means of a synecdoche, the pious among the people are spoken of there, and the wicked here. This is also what we do in our sermons in our church, namely, we praise a part, the good ones, and soon, on the other hand, we scold the wicked and bad ones. Thus the church is called holy, since the least part is holy.

Sixth question: 116.

43, 82.

Seventh question. Since Balaam repeatedly asked the evil spirit for advice and received different answers: whether he asked the true God for advice. <sup>116.</sup>

and received an answer from the true God. He answered: Balaam first asked the true God for advice, from whom he received an answer. He was supposed to have stuck to this word, but later, when his avarice was stimulated by the promises of Balak, he soon went to the magicians, who said otherwise. Thirdly, again the true God resisted him through the angel. But afterwards he turned again to the magicians and although the text said [4 Mos. 23, 4.] XXXXX XXX, as if the LORD had answered, they are words of fact, not of matter. As the papists praise the true God and Christ and yet praise and do the works of the devil under his name. And there the text is clear.

Eighth question. How to understand the passage Joshua 5, (v. 9.) where it is read: "Today God has taken away the shame of Egypt from us"? He answered: The solution is simple. For after Moses had circumcised the people according to the law, he said: Now you are no longer Egyptian, for you have been circumcised and are now no longer Gentiles.<sup>116</sup>

Ninth question. Whether David sinned when he himself charged Achish (1 Sam. 29, 8.) to fight against the people of God? [He answered, He did not sin]. 1) For Saul was then rejected and no longer king of the people of GOD, and he was in the position in which the Papists are now. Secondly: David did not offer his service of his own free will, but because he was among the Philistines, he is required by the king, like a servant; just as our subjects can fight against the Papist church.

Tenth question. The passage 1 Sam. 2 (v. 25), how is it to be understood? "If anyone sins against a man, the judge can settle it. But if anyone sins against the Lord, who can plead for him?" Luther answered: "It is more tolerable to sin against the second tablet than against the first. He should only take the holy ten commandments rightly, then he will see that it is a greater sin to sin against the first table than against the second.

Eleventh question. Whether Saul could prophesy from the evil spirit, and what kind of prophesy was it? He answered, "At the time Saul prophesied, he was not driven by the evil spirit, but his prophesying was the interpretation of the law in his house.

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117.

### 270 The Bishop of Mainz a plunderer.

(August 20.)

On August 20, the news was told about the Bishop of Mainz that he had departed to Italy and left Germany, perhaps hoping for the papacy. Luther answered: "If this is true, it is an excellent disgrace, worthy of a cardinal, who, after he has completely flayed his cities and cathedral churches and pledged his nobles with a large amount of gold and transferred a nobleman, Kurt von Amberg, with 63,000 florins, leaves them afterwards.

### Luther's verdict on witches.

(August 20.)

117. 25, 4.

### 272. wit.

(August 22.)

117. 14, 12.

1) Thus supplemented by

**How Balaam was killed among the Midianites.** (August 23.)Lauterbach Table  
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2, 164.**274 Letters from the Cardinals to Nausea.** (August 23.)

116. 54, 2.

**275. from monks.**

(August 23.)

119. 30, 14.

**276 Purity of the Nicene Council.** (August 24.)

119. 54, 3.

**The eloquence of Chrysostom without dialectics, words without content.**

(August 24.)

120. 57, 6.

**278 Concubinate.**

(August 24.)

120. 43, 63.

**279. danger from false brothers.** (August 24.)

120. 37, 45.

**280 From rebaptizers.**

(August 24.)

120.

On this day a letter arrived from the Elector of Saxony because of the incessant raging of the Anabaptists, who were trying to infect all countries with their opinions. For the Landgrave had some prisoners at Wolkersdorf, with whom he had found a letter from the brother Peter Tasch, exhorting them to run, for England, Thuringia, Jülich 2c. had brothers of their doctrine who were sent there. Therefore, this letter, translated into Latin, should be printed as soon as possible to warn all countries. For these serpents seduce the people by miraculous boasting.

**281. milk thieves.**

(August 25.)

121. 25, 5.

121.

**282 A little lie is very damaging to the church.**

(August 25.)

After that a lie was told about D. Pommer, that he had already separated a rich woman in Denmark by divorce and had joined her to D. Peter Palladius. Luther answered: I do not want to believe it; they invent such lies against us in order to suppress the gospel, because a small occasion gives the Christians great annoyance, as in church history the Christians are accused when they come together for the Lord's Supper, then they eat the body of a killed person. This lie caused much bloodshed in Lyon, France. This is how they are imposing it on us today. I would like us to get rid of the marriage cases that will never give us peace to study; because people marry every day, cases spring up every day. These things belong before the authorities.

**283 Kingdom of Solomon.**

(August 26.)

121. 45, 34.



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<b>284. plagues for contempt of the word.</b> (August 27.)	122.	4, 69
285: Seeming value of the celibate life over marriage. (August 27.)	122.	43, ---
286. sayings of the fathers about faith. (August 27.)	123.	57, 7.
287 Schlas. (August 27.)	123.	
Sleep is a useful and necessary work of nature. I believe it is the highest complaint when a sleep-drunk person is disturbed from his rest. That is why Hippolytus wrote from Italy that the highest torture is when robbers are interrogated, that they are not allowed to sleep; this disturbance is the most extreme of all tortures.		
288. disobedience of the Augsburgs. (August 28.)	123.	37, 69
289. disposition of the 51st psalm of Philip. (August 28.) (Not by Luther, therefore omitted.)	124.	
290. destruction of Jerusalem. (August 29, Thursday.)	124.	74, 9.
291. "If one weighed my misery." Job 6. (August 29.)	125.	
The children sang the responsory: "If one weighed my sorrow and put my suffering together in a scale" 2c. [Job 6, 2.], likewise (13, 22.): "Call to me, I will answer you." Yes, truly, this is how one must speak with God, this is how one would like to lead it out, if one were to expostulate with Him in such a way that He would have to hand over His right. Ah, what a pity is human life! This Job was a pagan and yet most happily converted. Another responsory was also sung: "JESus lay down" 2c. He said: This is a beautiful note, also a beautiful text, only that they have twisted it to the One figure, as also the text of the banquet of Ahasuerus (Esther 1, 3.) is twisted. For St. Thomas is said to have made the responsories, who mostly put them from the New Testament and the verses from the Old Testament.		
292. Of the Jews. (August 29.)	125.	74, 10
293 Two Frenchmen came to Wittenberg. (August 30.)	125.	
On August 30, two Frenchmen from Italy, very respectable people, came here to see Luther and Wittenberg, and stayed for several days, attending the lectures and having lunch with Luther and other teachers. They said that they had lived in Italy for the sake of their studies, but since they wanted to go back to France, they had decided to see Germany and Luther first, to pay their respects to him. Luther answered: Here		

you see our very poor kingdom, me, a monk in the monastery, but wonderful brothers, namely my wife and children. You can say this. But beware that you do not say that you have seen us, but only heard us, and God keep you in this steadfastness of your spirit.

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**294. exhortation to patience.**

(August 31.)

125. 26, 4S.

**The Church of God must be in the company of people.**

(August 31.)

126. 20, 7.

**296 Human lore.**

(August 31.)

126. 33, 1.

**297th News from England.**

(September 1, 11 Sonnt, n. Trin.)

126.

On September 1, a letter arrived from England from the vice-chancellor about the happy course of the Gospel, that many of the bishops agreed with the king, and that the king had destroyed an excellent shrine to St. Mary Portelasse [*Παραθαλάσσια*, i.e. by the sea] and broken the image, the treasure away. The pope has confirmed this idolatry with very great privileges.

**298. the calendar must be improved.**

(September 1. Cf. No. 135.)

126.

He said many things about the course of the sun and that it would be very necessary that the calendar would be improved by intercalation, which would be the office of the princes, because the calendar governs the whole world. It is from the times of Julius Caesar the 1500 years ten days back. It is still by two days, the world does not stand so long. We should have kept this 38th year Easter, Reminiscere 1) [as] the [Easter] day, before, as the Jews strictly observe. So we keep it five weeks later, although the mathematicians, if they came together in unity, could easily restore the year.

**299 The Turk.**

(September 8.)

126. 75, 1.

**300. auxiliary income of the church.**

(September 8.)

127. 22, 82.

**301. trip to Lochau.**

(Sept. 10, Tuesday.)

127.

Luther was called to Lochau on September 10 by the Elector, with whom he negotiated many mysteries. During the journey he read the 103rd Psalm: "Praise the Lord, my soul. Then he asked Jonas what kind of psalm it was. It is very beautiful, thanking God for the immense grace and gifts of God. Therefore, he exhorts in a threefold manner, "Praise the LORD, who forgives all your sin. "2c. [V. 3.] This I understand theo-

1) Reminiscere in 1538 fell on March 17 of the old style. According to the new style, it would have been March 27. Cf. no. 135 of this appendix.

logical, but grammatically I can not. However, it describes the most perfect grace and forgiveness of sins. All of life is given to us in this verse, "all." Second, he adds, "He that healeth all thine infirmities." This I do not understand, what he means by infirmities, for manifold indeed is the infirmity of inclinations, of sloth, of passions. "Who redeemeth thy life from destruction" [v. 4.]. This is the strongest [absolutissima] preaching of the forgiveness of sins, this is the erasure of the manuscript, in which God presents Himself to us completely, as Satan does the opposite, who only frightens, wounds and captivates the consciences. The sum of this psalm is: God most mercifully forgives all sins by grace and heals nature in what sins are left that still cling to us. He helps and heals. How follows how they are strengthened, namely by grace and pardon, as if to say: 'So God helps His own. ' He not only washes, but also adorns us royally. But what these gifts are, I do not know so highly, because there is no desire of the unknown (Ovid. ars amat. ΠΙ, 397); for what we do not know, we cannot speak. Therefore it follows: "Who maketh thy mouth merry" (v. 5.). Here the pen is not cut, that one should write with it what the mouth is, what the goods are, that he may fill us. Therefore he saith, "Thy desire shall be renewed." This is a remark: you will give birth to it anew, as an eagle becomes young again, although it can be understood of all birds that moult and bow. "As high as the heavens are above the earth": the mercy of God is built as high as the heavens are from the earth. But the weakness of our flesh always thinks and is in doubt that heaven will fall on its neck, since mercy and grace are far more glorious than our understanding. That is why Paul exclaims, Phil. 3 (v. 12.), that he is "not perfect, but he pursues it", and Rom. 7 (v. 6.) Paul complains about "the law that holds captive". I also console myself when I see that Paul cannot grasp such things. Away with the presumptuous who ascribe everything to themselves. "As a father hath mercy on children" [v. 13.] "And as far as the morning is from the evening" [v. 12]. This is a great affirmation, but we do not believe. But notice in this psalm how he always puts, "To them that fear him" [vv. 11, 13, 17]. They must do it. And the interpretation of those who fear him follows. "We are dust and like hay" [v. 15]. This is the description of man. But we do not believe the merciful God. The "Lord in heaven" [p. 19.]. This is the conclusion, i.e. God is powerful and active, who will not leave us unpunished, and he can repay everything.

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### 302. observation of the animals of the field. (September 10.)

128. 2, 61.

#### The passage 1 Pet 5.

(September 10.)

128. .

Feed Christ's sheep, *πισταχοποιυτες*, i.e. watch well, not unwillingly, but gladly. Not selfishly, but from a righteous heart, not tyrannically over the heap you are commanded. This is a very high text, which accuses almost all ministers of sam word, because no one is so sincere that he should do it so voluntarily and preach to the glory of GOD.

### 304. contempt of the word by the antinomians. (September 10.)

128. 22, 63.

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**305 Luther's conversation with J[akob] S[chenk].** (September 11.) -

 Lauterbach Table Talks  
 MA129. Cap. § 37,  
 47.
**The devil is a murderer.**

(September 12.)

129. 24, 74.  
24, 75.**307 A sodomitic canonicus.**

(September 12.)

130. 27, 130.

**Justice of God in Paul.**

(September 12.)

130. 12, 85.

**Do not seek high things.**

(September 12.)

131. 1, 82.

**310. the simple of Christ.**

(September 12.)

131. 7, 44.

**311. disobedience to superiors.**

(September 14.)

131.

On September 14, Luther, together with Philip, scolded the schoolteacher at Niemeck very harshly, because he was puffed up against his pastor, because such church servants caused their older masters to be stalked and out of ambition increased the faults of these older ones and belittled them, and all would become people like Ham [Chamonists] in the case of Noah (Gen. 9, 22.). And at last he admonished him with very sharp exhortation to reverence his teachers, that he would desist from this disobedience, [or] be idle of the land.

**312. Germany's certain plague.**

(September 15, 13 Sonnt, n. Trin.)

131. 4, 56.

**313. objectionable seals.**

(September 15.)

132. 73, 10.

**314: The Gospel's content and teachings on the 13th Sunday [after Trinity Sunday].**

(September 15.)

132.

Today's Gospel Luc. 10. about the Samaritan is very beautiful. One should preach four weeks of it, because it is popular and pleasant, [so] that the Magister Sententiarum in the fourth book will do it. For the Gospel has many beautiful passages about grace and the teaching of the Law described in the most beautiful and briefest way; then the malicious, hypocritical nature of the scribe, whom he also examines well, pays him well, for how could he make it more hostile than by painting the priest and the Levite, the holiest of God's people, so that they pass by, leave him lying there, and do not help him? If only he had said, They have not seen him. But he says that they are so hard that they have forgiven the half-dead man.

negligent. Turks should not do that. Therefore he brings in the Samaritan, to their shame. Then there is also rich material in the parable, also of the two pennies 2c.; in short, it is a rich gospel.

	Table Talks
<b>The hope of the preachers is the ruin of the church.</b> <b>(September 16.)</b>	132. 37, 40
<b>316. deer rut.</b> <b>(Sept. 15.)</b>	132.
<p>As he passed through the forest at Lochau, he saw many packs of deer and the stags wrestling and leaping alternately. He said: How great an order God has placed in the creature, that this deer has a certain time for rutting every year! After that it cares for nothing. It is a very pure animal. But man is so unclean and very nasty. Therefore also its corpse is very stinking.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*</p>	
<b>Marriage must begin with prayer. (September 18.)</b>	133. 43, 33.
<b>318. certainty of the principles.</b> <b>(September 18.)</b>	133.
<p>The principles are certain in two respects, because they are the light implanted in the mind by God. Secondly, because if the opposite is assumed, corruption of nature follows. Therefore, every certainty in doctrines arises either from principles, or from experience, or from the word of God. Experience, however, is certain because it is so ordered by God. Away with the darkness [perplexitas] of the academics, which is false and annuls and overturns all certainty in all things.</p>	
<b>319. miscellaneous peoples. (September 19.)</b>	133. 76, 24.
<b>320. content of the gospel of the ten lepers.</b> <b>(September 22, 14th Sunday n. Trin.)</b>	134.
<p>On the 14th Sunday after Trinity, he spoke of the Gospel of the ten lepers, which contained a wonderful theological teaching about faith and its effectiveness, which is to be impressed on the most afflicted consciences; then a moral teaching about ingratitude, which is necessary against the authorities and the despisers of the Word at all times. It also appears in this gospel, and eight days ago in Luke 10, and in many others, that Christ was very angry with the Jewish people, so that he wanted to take the kingdom and the priesthood from them. That is why he makes the ingratitude of the Jews so great here, in that he also praises them immensely the Samaritan, who returns as a stranger, without law, and praises Christ most highly. Jews and priests were peelers, so that the Gentile surpassed them in sincerity of faith. This means that the law is honestly preached against this most holy people: the Samaritans, who are not bound by the law, observe the law more, while the Jews insist on the law to the highest degree against the Gentiles, which they keep less than [neither] they. Summa: The law of Moses is given only to the Jews, and this passage solves many objections; that faith justifies, and the law does not concern the church as far as justification is concerned. Summa: The Jews are a very proud and superstitious people, very inclined to sophistry. Just look, I beg you, how they have twisted the passage and the glorious promise of Christ (Haggai 2, 7.) [in the German Bible 2, 8.]: "There shall be</p>	

then come the consolation of all nations." This is what they interpret from the abundance of gold, silver, power and honor. This shall come abundantly to them and they invent a new paradise, so to speak, and thus they twist the most spiritual prophecy and promise to carnal things and their belly, since they see by daily experience that their imaginations are false.

Lauterbac ? Table  
h speeches Cap.

<b>321 Hungarian students.</b> (September 22.)	135. 19, 8.
<b>322. contempt for the servants of the word.</b> (September 25.)	135. 22, 54.
<b>323 The Lanf of the Gospel in Denmark and England.</b> (September 26.)	135. 27, 41.
<b>324. Zwingli.</b> (September 26.)	136. 37, 27.
<b>325. blindness of the papists.</b> (September 26.)	136. 27, 47.
<b>326 The church is overwhelmed by the quantity of books.</b> (September 26.)	137.
<p>The Augsburgers and Wittenbergers persuaded Luther to admit that his books would be collected in volumes. He replied: I will never agree to your plan; I would rather that all my books perish and only the Holy Scriptures be read. In this way we will get into writing and let the Bible go. For Brenz, too, has made such a great interpretation of twelve chapters of Lucas that the reader is disgusted to look at it. The interpretation of Galatians is also of this kind. I wonder who made these such great orators. Who would want to buy such large volumes? Or if he also bought them, who wants to read them? If they should also be read, who will be edified from them? 1)</p>	
<b>327. content and teachings of the sermon about the angels on Michaelmas.</b> (September 29.)	137. 23, 2.
<b>The righteousness of God, who accepts the children.</b> (September 30.)	137. 3, 56.
<b>329. epieurism of Erasmus of Rotterdam.</b> (September 30.)	138. 37, 121.
<b>330. john Agricola.</b> (September 30.)	138. 37, 36.
<b>331 Letter from nuns to Luther.</b> (September 30.)	138. 30, 16.
<b>332. dysentery of Luther against the Dreckpoelen Lemchen. 2)</b> (September 30.) (This epigram [of ten lines] is not suitable for sharing).	139.

1) Cf. Tischreden Cap. 1, § 76.

2) Lemchen rst the shame poet Simon Lemnius at Wittenberg. Cf. Tischr. Cap. 28, § 13 and Walch, old edition, vol. XIV, 1334.

**333. schools the foundation of the church.  
(October 1, Tuesday.)**

Lauterbach Table Talks  
pag. Cap. § 67, 4.  
139.

**334: The dishonorable state and the veil of virgins. (October 1.)**

IM. 30, 34

**335. habitual handling.  
(October 1.)**

What one is accustomed to and educated in, he cannot hide from. A scribe, when he comes across books, he lets himself remember. Therefore, I have seen a public host who had all kinds of tools, military, for fencers, musical and handicraft tools ready and lying in front of his eyes, by which he recognized every newly arriving guest, what state he was.

IM.

**336: Avarice tramples religion underfoot. (October 2 and 7.)**

IM. 4, 96.

**337: Against pusillanimity.  
(October 7.)**

141. 22, 58.

**Job dwelt at Uz as a heathen.  
(October 7.)**

142.

After that he asked about Job, which in German is actually called Of, as today Of [i.e. Offo] of Schrieben. For in Hebrew it is written that he was an Idumean Gentile, of the seed of Abraham, but not circumcised, long after the times of Abraham, perhaps in the fifth generation thereafter, and dwelt at Uz, at Jtzsch near Bratte, for Uz is as much as our Jtzsch. The word of God is sent to him. It is very comforting that God does not despise the wretched heathen, Job, Naaman the Syrian, the Moor, the Queen of Sheba, Nineveh. He also wants them to be part of His kingdom, as if He said: "Even though salvation is for the Jews, it is not for the Jews alone. Behold, I beseech you, the Holy Spirit in the Gentile Job, with how exceedingly clear words he describes GOD, and that is, the One who took flesh upon Himself, eternal life and the resurrection of the dead, so that neither in the Old nor in the New Testament is the resurrection of the dead described in such bright words as in Job, Cap. 19 (v. 25): "I know that my Redeemer liveth" 2c. "And at the last day" 2c. Hence we now call it with us, the last day. "And mine eyes shall see him." Isn't that gloriously spoken by an uncircumcised Gentile, I don't know how to speak it more clearly. Yes, God also gave the Gentiles their prophets, as Babylon and the Persians had their prophets, but to Alexander and the Romans He gave no prophets.

**339: One should not invite the devil as a guest. (October 7.)**

142. 24, 21.

**340 The Lichtenberg Monk.  
(October 7.)**

143.

The devil is an enemy to me, not without reason, because I have torn his empire apart; what none of the kings or princes could accomplish, God has accomplished through me, a poor beggar, a monk, an egg man. Even though many believe that I was painted in the Lichtenberg prophecy, because I

It must be, according to their judgment: it is the devil's prophecy, who has well seen that his kingdom is collapsing and cannot exist through lies. Therefore he has seen a monk, uncertain of what kind he is. He cannot give him any color on his cap, but paints a devil on his neck to scare people away.

Lauterbach Tischreden  
xag. Cap. §

- 341 The poet Prudentius.  
(October 7.) 143. 57, 8.
342. J. (Schenk's) Thorheit.  
(October 7.) 143. 37, 52.
343. \*Op<sup>h</sup>ovomeiu [right Theilers of Paul.  
(October 7.) 144.
- The word of God must be well and carefully divided, because there are two kinds of people: the contrite, for whom comfort belongs; the unbending, for whom the law, threats, examples of wrath, the fire of Elijah, the waters of the flood and the destruction of Jerusalem belong. They are to be attacked and terrified.
344. by the Elector of Saxony. (October 7.) 144. 45, 78.
345. the mice anno 1539.  
(1539, October 10, Friday.) 145. 15, 33.
346. a timely death.  
(1538, October 10, Thursday.) 145. 48, 21.
347. suspected as enemies.  
(October 10.) 145. 37, 53.
348. the italian wives.  
(October 11.) 146.
- On October 11, he said about the wickedness of the Italians, who did not allow their wives to attend the banquets of their guests, nor did they let them go out freely, but kept them, locked them, bound them. That is why historians marvel at the straight nature of the Germans, who trust body and wife and children to each other. The French are horny, but the Spaniards are quite unruly and surpass the Italians and French in all wickedness. No nation can dislike them. That is why the King of Hungary did not want any Spaniard in Hungary against the Turks this year. They have beaten them all away. They are much more cruel than the Turk.
- 349 A hypocrite.  
(October 11.) 146. 37, 63.
350. wit.  
(October 11.) 147. S8, 16.
351. Christ preached from the book. (October 11.) 147. 7, 45.



	Lauterbach pax. 147.	Table speeches 76, 26.
SSL. Italian Poison Mixer. (October 11.)		
353. wit. (October 11.)	147.	28, 17.
354. benefit of the disputations. (October 11.)	148.	67, 18.
355. antinomer. (13. October. 17. Sunday n. Trin.)	148.	
356. zeal of the Elector in reformation of the university. (October 13.)	148.	45, 86.
357. J. S(chenk) a false brother. (October 13.)	149.	39, 20.
358 Talking down from heaven. (October 13.)	149.	
At the dinner table, the 73rd Psalm was read against the anger of the happiness of the wicked, where David complains (v. 9): "What they say must have been spoken from heaven," i.e., in the freest and most certain way, they spoke what they wanted, as the teaching of the Pope was about his power, "you are Peter" (Jn. 1, 42. Matth. 16, 18.), about indulgences. By this impertinence they challenged John Huss and me to the battlefield, insisting and concluding: because the pope says it, therefore one must believe it, although John Huss did not yet recognize the pontificate, because he only saw some abuses and concluded from the customs to the person of the pope; but we begin with the person of the pope and proceed against his customs. If the pope were like St. Peter, he would still be godless.		
359 The Angular Mass. [Sicca Missa.] (October 13.)	149.	35, 5.
360 The Origin of the Reign of the Papacy. (October 13.)	150.	27, 26.
361 Of the Antichrist. (October 13.)	150.	27, 65.
362 Marriage is hated. (October 14.)	150.	43, 62.
363. summa: The ultimate purpose of the human statutes. (October 14.)	151.	33, 2.
364. Rule of the Papist Fast. (October 14.)	151.	33, 4.
365. marriage case. (October 15.)	151.	43, 82. 43, 83.
The papists do not have equal power with the apostles. (October 15.)	152.	27, 64.
(This number is omitted because contained in No. 184. May 21.)	84.	19, 7.

**367. praise of concord.**

§ auterbach Tischreden  
xsK. Cap. K  
152.

(October 16.)

On October 16, the day of Galli, he said much about the trials of lawyers and trades and wars, which always fished with a golden fish. That is why it is best to reconcile immediately. If it has come to quarrels and wars, then misfortune follows. That is why the ancients spoke well and wrote it on the city gates [portis publicis]: In peace the hoe and the plow run, [Pace bidens vomerque currit. Tibuli. l. el. 10, 49.] Likewise: The right may well judge, but not reconcile. Because peace must finally follow a protracted war, concord is most useful, which prevents many ills and prevents future misfortunes, as Claus Narr has advised.

**368 Mag. Nicolaus Hausmann's letter to the Bishop of Meissen.**

152.

(October 16 and 17.)

(Although this letter is not from Luther himself, it has the content and manner of speech entered by Luther, as Kummer p. 399 (according to Seidemann's information) notes. Since this letter cannot find a place among "Luther's letters", we share it herewith).

Venerable Father in Christ. Having been called to govern the church in Freiberg, and especially in these very dangerous times, I feel how little I am up to this difficult task. Furthermore, since the Pope may never want to allow a council for the reformation of the church and doctrine, I am urged by my conscience to look around, where I might find advice and help, by which I can be sustained. Since Your Honor has the highest calling in this country and, according to the saying of Paul, should be a steward who gives food to the servants of Christ in due time, I have decided to humbly approach Your Honor with this letter and to ask to the best of my ability whether the Lord might give me grace to show comfort and hope through Your Honor, so that I may be able to govern this church all the more blissfully in confidence in such a great bishop. For although we reject most of the teachings of the pope with the greatest justification and strive to faithfully and sincerely present the Word of God to the servants of Christ, we have never (not even Luther himself) wanted to diminish and abolish the prestige of the bishops; rather, we wish that it not only remain intact and unharmed, but also that it be helpful and comforting, especially in this time, when people are unbridled in all classes, from the highest to the lowest. Therefore, for the sake of Christ, I ask Your Honor to indicate to me what help and consolation I may receive from Your Honor in this matter, so that I may be able to govern with all the more confidence the district entrusted to me. I wish to teach the word purely, to maintain the discipline of the church, to honor the superiors and, as much as God grants, to live for the edification of all, not to give offense to anyone, if only it can be left to me, and at the same time I can obtain help and good will from Your Reverence. I expect a gracious and godly answer 1) in Christ. Your Honor is well. Simonis and Jude (28 October) 1538.

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1) After the signature: "humble Nicolaus Hausmann", Kummer remarks that he had not received an answer to this letter, and that his second successor, the superintendent Caspar Zeiner [Zeuner], had also written to this bishop on advice and with the words of Luther.

On October 17, the honorable man, Mag. Nicolaus Hausmann, a venerable old man and faithful servant of Christ, went to his profession in Freiberg and Luther gave him his farewell blessing that he should take up this profession in the name of the Lord: Go, my dear Mr. Hausmann, God will be with you and comfort you. Do not be broken down, for it is not your cause that is being pursued, but Christ's, the Son of GOD. When he said this, both of them began to weep, and the tears also flowed from those standing by.

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### 369 Hans Metzsch.

(October 17.)

153. 21, 4.

153.

### 370. when and how Freiberg started.

(October 17.)

In the year of the Lord 1172 Freiberg in Meissen was built by Saxons from Goslar. That is why a part of it is still called the Saxon city, which at that time was still completely a desert, uninhabitable because of the [dense] forests, except that on the bank, which is now called the Münzbach, there was a very large spot called Christiansdorf, which is located all along the creek. On the height, where St. Peter's church now stands, stood a gallows. Which area all Margrave Otto should have given to the abbot in the Celle. But since at that time wagoners were driving towards Goslar and saw ore on the road, which looked like Goslar ore, they threw it on the wagon safely, which held a lot of silver in the sample. Immediately, some Saxons from Goslar went with the wagoner to the place, mined and struck, found excellent ore, so it became a large supply. Margrave Otto, however, gave Ruspen [Rosswain] to the abbot for this place, and such a large mine was quickly established, which none in the German lands has ever equaled. Those at Jglau in Moravia have given them mining rights, as Wittenberg has taken its university from Tübingen. Thus this city Freiberg had very large liberties, until in the times of the duke George some were taken from it. Has stood 400 years less 34. This told Hausmann to Wittenberg.

### I advise Hieronymus Schurff, Doctor of Laws at Wittenberg.

(October.)

(This advice to the council of a city (Halle?) under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Mainz indicates that, according to Scripture, the fathers and the spiritual rights, a congregation has the right to seek out and choose its own preachers and pastors, and to partake of the Lord's Supper in both forms is also commanded in the same to the laity. Omitted because not by Luther).

Then follows, immediately following the preceding, but not belonging to it, the second paragraph of:

154.

155. 15, 3.

### The emperor is unhappy against the Germans.

(October 23.)

155. 45, 58.  
The conclusion of this section: 156. 37, 29.

### 373: The mice attack a farmer's grain. (October 23.)

156. 4, 97.

### 374 On the Violence of the Devil.

(November 4, Monday.)

156. 24, 106.

	Lauterbach	Table speeches
<b>The eloquence of women is dangerous.</b>		
(November 4.)	156.	3, 77. <sup>s</sup>
<b>376. prayers and chants of the papists.</b>	The following: 157.	1, 41.
(November 4.)	157.	27, 104.
<b>377. canon law.</b>		
(November 4.)	158.	32, 5.
<b>378. mag. hausmann's death.</b>		
(November 6.)	158.	48, 4.
<b>379 Talk well.</b>		
(November 6.)	158.	73, 9.
<b>380 There is no need to write against Witzel.</b>		
(November 6.)	159.	37, 70.
<b>A heroic man is not a man.</b>		
(November 6.)	159.	63, 7.
<b>382. cabbage hare. Also from the landgrave.</b>		
(November 6.)	159.	
<p>On November 5, the enemy Kohlhase devastated the village of Maretza, 1½ miles from Wittenberg, at night with robbers, and he hanged the escort in the bathroom and pierced him, and the shepherd he led away with great booty from the village. When Luther heard this incident, he was very excited about it and suspected that it must be with herbs 1) that the noblemen and the Saxon captains turned a blind eye. If such a thing happened to the landgrave in Hesse, it would not be given to him. He is a noble prince, keeps his land and street pure, [I] will accept his escort for the escort of all princes and emperors. For this is the proper office of princes; because the cabbage hare begins to shed [begunnet] blood, he shall not do it long. The blood shall drown him. 2)</p>		
<b>The monastic discipline is good.</b>		
(November 9.)	159.	30, 17.
<b>384. cuirass [fur skirt] female ornament.</b>		
(November 9.)	160.	
<p>The most beautiful and honest and necessary adornment for women is cuirasses and caps, just as men's most necessary clothing is pants and dusters. For the lower leg clothing of men is nothing other than the extended thigh clothing, that one has stretched the Bruche [pants] from the hip to the feet.</p>		
<b>385. five-year silence of the students.</b>		
(November 9.)	160.	22, 77.
<b>386 The Turk boasts that he is Saracene.</b>		
(November 10.)	160.	75, 1.

1) D. i. With wizard.

2) About Kohlhase, compare Luther's letters, Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 373, No. 405; Vol. XXI, 1304, No. 856, § 3.

		Table speeches	
<b>387. the turkish language.</b> (November 10.)	161.	75, 1.	
<b>388: Of Jokes! and the Emperor Sigismund.</b> (November 10.)	161.	28, 18.	
<b>389. privilege of young spouses in Moses.</b> (November 10.)	162.	43, 34.	
<b>390. the death of a sme man a sign of wrath GOD.</b> (November 10.)	163.	48, 23.	
	The conclusion of this section: 163.	22, 59.	
<b>391. various effects of the sun.</b> (November 10.)	163.		
<p>The sun works different things by one drive in different objects; because it dissolves everything warm, but it restricts the cold. Thus the one is cold by its property, but warm by its power. For there is a double cause, the true and necessary one, which Aristotle calls <i>αἰρώων ἀληθινῶν</i>, or <i>τὸ ὄν τι</i>; the other is <i>sine qua non</i>, which is not necessary to the accomplishment, [Arist. <i>Analyt. post. II</i>, 11. (Seidemann.)]</p>			
<b>392. marriage case.</b> (November 10.)	164.	43, 84.	
<b>393. the essence of marriage.</b> (November 10.)	164.	43, 34.	
<b>394. principles / practical;/ cognizable by reason.</b> (November 10.)	165.		
<p>Luther then asked what the cause was that people understood less the practical principles than those recognizable by reason? For 2 times 4 makes § 2c. This principle, which can be recognized by reason, is always certain and firm. But the practical one: Honor your parents 2c., is less taken into account. I answer: It is the cause and fault of our corrupt nature, so that our judgment is so darkened that we can see those natural things less.</p>			
<b>395. simplicity of Luther.</b> (November 10.)	165.		
<p>After that, the teachers said of Luther's perspicacity and spiritual gifts, who could completely recognize the most difficult things before they had even occurred. He answered: Not at all, but he was a very simple man who could easily be deceived; as the nightingale, the simplest of all birds, is easily caught, so also M. Luther is easily deceived.</p>			
<b>396 Community of goods.</b> (November 10.)	165.		
<p>The community of goods is not according to natural law. It is not something commanded, but left behind. If it were a commandment, it could not be maintained because of the corruption of nature, because there would be more who would consume the goods than would bring them, and so confusion would arise.</p>			

<b>397. the Italian air is pernicious at Rächt.</b> (November 14.)	Lauterbach Table Talks Cap. § 76, 26.
<b>398. the best breasts and power of breast milk.</b> (November 14.) Then the following:	165.  166. 3, 80.
<p>After that, they spoke of how harmful it was when a child was breastfed by a pregnant woman; for the fruit in the womb always draws the best substances to itself, takes the cream and leaves the whey for the poor guest outside. That is why all women agree that it would be best for the child if it were soon weaned.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>399. stepchildren.</b> (November 14.)</p>	166. 43, 5.
<b>490 Mag. Franz [Burkard] of Weimar.</b> (November 15.)	166. 80, 1.
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Luther's prayer for his enemies.</b> (November 15.)</p> <p>Afterwards, he pondered much on his way whether he should invite H(ans) M(etzsch), who had been excommunicated, to the wedding; he could not be admitted to the holy act, because he stood hardened on his wickedness; he did not promote much good, but hindered it according to his devilish character, and still boasted in his wickedness. Yet I pray daily for him, for Duke George, and also for the Bishop of Mainz, that God, if He pleased human ways, would convert even these enemies.</p>	167.
<b>402. almo ivy for free.</b> (November 15.)	167. 14, 13.
<b>403. consideration of the creatures.</b> (November 15.)	167. 3, 18.
<b>404 The pope concedes the church properties to the emperor to sell them.</b> (November 16.)	
<p>On November 16, news about the pope was reported that he had promised the emperor and the duke of Ferrara that they could divide the church properties, even whole abbeys, to pay for the war costs against the Lutherans. They are dealing with misfortune. Let us pray and be pious that we may be concerned with our zeal also for the foreigners, for the duchy of Duke George. It is good that our princes have gone before.</p>	168.
<b>405 Question about the 32nd Psalm.</b> (November 16.)	
<p>On the way back, Luther asked Jonas how the passage rhymes, Psalm 32, [v. 2]: "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord does not impute iniquity, in whose spirit there is no falsity"; how the two passages fit together: He is blessed because he is not imputed, and: He is without falsity? D. Jonas answered: This sentence belongs to it [esse propositionem categoricam], namely, such people are sincere and godly, and it is said against them.</p>	168.

who drew a carnal freedom from the gospel. Luther answered that this was a godly answer, but it was not in the passage, because this sentence was spoken conditionally [esse propositionem hypotheticam]. The first sentence is: Blessed is the one whom God accepts according to His grace and mercy. The second: and in his spirit there is no falsehood. He must also believe, so it will be comforting for him. Even if he does not believe, God is true; but it is not to his advantage [sed non illi].

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#### 406. way of the ban.

(November 16.)

168. 21, 3.

**The distinction between two kinds of sinners is necessary.** (November 16.)

169. 22, 60.

#### 408. question about Job.

(November 16.)

169. 24, 51.

169.

#### 409. The Gospel of the Old Testament is interpreted.

(November 16.)

The worship of the New Testament and the religion that has to do with faith is the most certain, which is based on the oral word. For the oral preaching of the Gospel is the most certain and is the explanation of the whole Old Testament, which is still dark, as Revelation 5 indicates the book that is sealed and opened and revealed by the Lamb. The papacy has the most apparent worship, in which it boasts of the Word of God, faith, Christ, sacraments, love, hope, but it denies the power of all these and teaches things that do not belong to it, which contradicts it. That is why Paul says (2 Tim. 3, 5.): "They deny the power of godliness"; he does not say: they have no godliness as far as their life is concerned; he also does not say: they deny godliness, but: they deny the power of godliness, namely by their false and superstitious teaching.

170.

#### 410. thomas, scotus, occam.

(November 17.)

On November 17, he said much of the Thomists, Scotists, and Novelists [Occam], three sects that struggled with wonderful subtlety over the words that were taken to be essential or significant, as in the example: No one and no one bites the sack, whether no one and no one is taken essentially? as they would have teeth? Likewise: The lewd woman will be a virgin; there the lewd woman is taken from the future and in another sense, namely, the child that is not yet born, which will be a virgin, will be a lewd woman afterwards. Likewise: No man runs; this sentence is true if the men rest, if also all women run, because "None" is of male gender. That is what they are called restriction. Likewise Haecitas, Oppositio, Suppositio, Alienatio.... All this has come from ignorance in grammar and grammatical figures. Now are very favorable times for all arts and knowledge [facultatum], which are most clearly presented and learned in a short time, for which we cannot thank God enough. Woe to the young people who abuse this golden time. In the past, the sciences were more splendid in Greece, and nothing in Germany and Italy. For Paris was

the originator of many errors, as it still is today, because nothing but Thomas, Scotus and Porphyrius was read there. Thus the sciences wander from one place to another. Today they flourish in Germany and France, God grant! for a long time.

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h pag. speeches  
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**411. latomus.**

(November 17.)

170. 28, 20.

**412 Of the Threefold Church of the Pope.** (November 17.)

171. 27, 105.

**The two main errors in the papacy.**

(November 17.)

The following piece of this section:

171. 27, 106.  
172.

Yes, if the devil had as much power as God, then we would see from experience that he would be godless; but God always gives more good than evil, therefore he is found to be just and true in deed. But if we cannot grasp it, then we should exclaim with Paul (Rom. 11, 33.): "O what a depth of riches." This exclamation is the most beautiful and general solution of all God's judgments, and it is good that God has reserved His judgments for Himself. It was said by Bucer, who dined with Luther: When Paul was converted, he said (Acts 9:6), "O Lord, what wilt thou that I should do?" He does not say: What wilt thou do? Luther answered: I would very much like to talk with St. Paul about the high questions of the temptations, what the *σχόλοψ* [sting] had been, and the angel of Satan, who had attacked him with

fists (2 Cor. 12, 7.)? I think it was Lucifer's legate *a latere*, or his highest cardinal. If we did not have St. Paul with his writings, we would be very poor. That is why St. Paul is not unjustly blasphemed by the papists, as if he were the father of the heretics, and as Dietrich von Speth, that exceedingly godless scoundrel, says quite impudently, there are 1) not greater three boys, because St. Paul, the bishop of Salzburg and Salamanca, these three have caused all misfortune. He would like to erase Paulum and put himself in his place, so that the devil's trinity remains, or let Sadoletum and Petrum Bembum be there.

**414 The gospel must be bequeathed to the descendants.**

(November 17.)

172. 1, 12.

**415] Carl as a human being.** (November 17.)

173. 45, 51.

**416 Cause of the leakage of the rivers.**

(November 17.)

173.

After that, Bucer and Luther spoke of the outpouring of the rivers, which had erupted two years ago in general because of the previous earthquakes in Campania and the Alps, where the earth, opened by spirits, had driven forth [new] sources of the rivers. The Nile always leaks, but it makes fertile the fruit-bearing clods. The Elbe carries only sand with

1) In the original: he has.

2) In the original: let.



and washes away houses and trees. The Elbe is called Eilf in German, from the eilf springs from which it rises. It is an unstable river because of the sand and has a short course, but the Rhine, the Po and the Danube are main rivers that flow far.

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**417th article of our faith.**

(November 17.)

173. 13, 37.

**418. campanus.**

(November 17.)

174. 2, 39.

**Religion serves as a handmaiden to superstition.** (November 17.)

174. 40, 1.

**420. church properties.**

(November 17.)

174. 56, 4.  
The follow-up cde: 174. 12, 71.  
The conclusion: 174.

The world promises great things and delivers little; it does like the innkeepers who give little to their guests and put them off with words, according to the Greek proverb: *ἐπίσχυμα* est majus φάριψ,<sup>1</sup>) the addition is greater than the purchase.

175.

**421 Bueer's departure. Glory of the Scribes.**

(November 20, Wednesday.)

On November 20, after the doctors, the chancellor and the vice-chancellor had dined together, M. Bucer went away in the afternoon at the second hour in peace to the landgrave. May God the Lord faithfully guide his message. Amen. Just that day letters arrived from Amberg and the Palatines asking for preachers of the Gospel. After that Luther said: "Behold how God raises the lowly from the lowest. He calls the wretched to deliver messages for the direction of the greatest affairs, because the nobles are not able to do it. The prince uses the scribes, party stallions. Caspar Müller 2) sat on a splendid chariot and said: "We want to be driven splendidly on covered chariots. For they must have us, even if they are of such high nobility. After all, our H. Metzsch may hypocritically humble himself, as he wrote on his chair: I am not one of the ninety-nine sheep (Matth. 18, 12.), if he knows it much differently than he says; he does not want to be the hundredth lost one. In spite of him.

**422. bread. Wine.**

(November 20.)

175. 3, 19.

**423. the reformers of God.** (November 20.)

175. 4, 16.

**424. classes of lawyers.**

(November 20.)

176. 66, 41.

1) Instead of the original, which, however, is not found in the dictionaries, may want to read.

2) Caspar Müller, Mansfeld Chancellor. Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1806 f.

**425: The world is governed in an irregular way.** (November 20.)

Lauterbac  
h PK8176. Table  
speeches  
Can. 4, 17.

**426 The Roman Empire.**

(November 20.)

176. 76, 27,

**427. praise of marriage.**

(Nov. 22, Friday.)

176. 43, 35.

**428 Saxony Law.**

(November 22.)

177. 66, 43.

**429 There will be a war of the papists because of the church goods.**

(November 23.)

178. 56, 5.

**430th rule of the Franeisean.**

(November 23.)

178. 30, 18.

**431. Catharina von Brandenstein.** (23, November.)

178. 45, 25.

**432. hatred of the laity against the clerics.** (November 25.)

178. 22, 62.

**433. great jewelry of this world.**

(November 25.)

179.

Then he looked at the bride's ornaments of gold braid. He said, "Solomon and Julius Caesar, who were far richer than we, did not wear this. Now everything must be gold. That which would have been given for church ornaments is now hung on the neck, although gold and silver would still be a more suitable ornament than silk 2c. Dear Lord God, how many ornaments you have given us for the vanity of this miserable life! What a fine ornament that will be in eternal life! If Adam had lived and died to this day, his life would have been nothingness and vanity.

**434. Bride and Groom, a Germanism.** (November 25.)

179. 63, 35.

**The soil does not support it.**

(November 25.)

179.

After that he said of the despised Wittenberg, which thirty years ago would have had no name, would have been completely dirty and lowly. If one had sown pious, honest people in it, coarse Saxons would have sprung up. Like the Eulenspiegel, who sows pebbles in a market and says: I sow bad boys. If I had sown pious people, peelers would have sprung up, for the land would not bear it.

**436. why few history writers find?** (November 25.)

-179. 73, 3.

**437: The pope permits the plundering of church property.** (November 25.)

180. 56, 6.

Turbatus est furore oculus.

(November 25.)

Lauterbach Table  
pag. speeches  
180. Cap. §

After that he asked the Hebrew (Aurogallus), what does XXX actually mean? It does not mean anger [furorem], but sadness, as the Psalm says (Ps. 6, 8, 31, 10.): Turbatus est furore oculus meus, i.e. with sadness, as if he wanted to say: Someone might become gray before such hardship. For the word furor obscures the whole verse. Ah, I have often been glad when I have found a word that has illuminated the whole sentence for me. For here the word furor leads our mind to anger, of which the text does not say here. Also in Paul (Eph. 4, 30.) is the same word: Do not grieve the Holy Spirit.

#### 439. you have dug through my hands.

(November 25.)

181.

They have dug through my hands and feet. (Ps. 22, 17.) This text of Christ being crucified is completely mocked by the Jews, even they say that Christ was not crucified at all, because neither Moses nor the prophets indicate that this kind of torture was used by the Jews, but stoning or burning. To them I reply that the Romans did not kill according to the law of the Jews, but according to the customs of the Gentiles. For to this day men are hanged in Syria, as they are impaled on a stake in Hungary. Therefore, the conclusion of the Jews that Christ was not crucified is not valid, because in Moses we do not read anything about this kind of torture, except the hanging on a wood, but not about the piercing of the hands and feet.

#### 440. The wolf cannot say: Father.

(November 25.)

181.

After that he spoke to the Englishman about the character of the wolf, which should have learned the name father. When he had spelled it together, he spoke lamb. He could not forget his German [germanismum]. But you Englishmen do not have wolves, but are wolves yourselves.

#### 441. greed.

(November 25.)

181.

Great is the covetousness of men, even in the time of the gospel, and they hasten to help no one in his need. Luther answered: "Even if our hearts are not so inclined to give, a Christian must still be mindful of his duty of love, so that he may be glad [to give] because of his duty, just as the spendthrifts waste everything too much, as Seneca says to a prodigal: "You have a disease that you give too gladly. For the prodigal is not to be praised who neglects thrift altogether.

#### 442 The Papists' Flawed Arguments.

(November 25.)

181. 27, 107.

#### 443. praise of eloquence.

(November 25.)

182. 67, 20.,

**444: The good is twofold, moral and indifferent. 1)**

(November 25.)

Lauterbach table  
speeches pnx. Cap. §  
182.

It is good not to eat flesh and not to touch a woman; therefore, it is evil to eat flesh. I answer: The conclusion is false, because there is a deception in the composition and in the division. For it is good not to eat meat, namely, if the brother is vexed thereby. For the good is twofold, a moral and an indifferent. If the good is taken in a moral way, then its opposite is evil. But if it is an indifferent good, then it is not directly opposed to evil. For the rule of the opposite does not apply except to that which is directly opposed.

**445. Johannes Agricola.**

(Nov. 29, Friday.)

182. 37, 28.

**The plague is a punishment.**

(November 29.)

182. 9, 15.

**447. paul lindenau.**

(November 29.)

182.

On this day a letter came to Luther from the council in Freiberg, in which they asked for the confirmation of Paul Lindenau as superintendent and for Antonius Lauterbach as his successor. But D. Luther was agitated and did not want to agree to the appointment of the latter, he was not up to such a great office, and he wrote them his opinion".

**448 The Landgrave.**

(November 30.)

183.

Last November, there was much talk about the armaments of the landgrave, [his] armament order. Luther answered: Our Lord God grant us peace and prevent those warlike armaments, although our princes are not to be greatly blamed; for they are sought so carefully that no treaty nor imperial diet is held, see only if they could get a cause.

**449. which riches find the best. (November 30.)**

183. 22, 63.

**450. various punishment of theft.**

(November 30.)

183.

It was said of theft that it is not punished so severely among any people as among the Germans and the English. France whips a great thief, if he is caught, with rods, if he is caught the second time, he is made recognizable by cutting off the ears, if caught the third time, he is punished with death. Luther answered: The law of the Lacedemonians is admirable, imitates most the Greeks, because the same permitted the secret theft: That one would like to steal, only that he kept it secretly, that one did not seize him, so that one teaches the people to have respect for their own.

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1) Cf. no. 73 of this appendix.

**451: How to do good.****(November 30.)**

Someone apologized that he would have liked to help people with charitable deeds if the ingratitude of the people did not frighten him so much. He replied: "Charity must be hidden and not boastful, it should be done quietly and without self-interest.

**452. the cheese. 1)**

(November 30.)

Non Argus, largus, non Methusalem, Magdalena, Non Habakuk, Lazarus ; caseus iste bonus. 184.

Panis habens oculos, non servans caseus ullos.

Not Argus shundertäugig], rich; not Methusalem [überalt], Magdalena [voll Thränen],

Not Habakuk, Lazarus; this cheese is good.

The bread has eyes, the cheese has none.

**453. the horse.**

(November 30.)

Lucius, anguilla et leo, serpens, femina, catus;

Auris acuta, brevis, caput exiguum, caro dura.

Lucius, an eel and a lion, a snake, a woman, smart; A sharp, short ear, 184.  
small head, hard flesh.

**454. epitaph of an apostate epicure.****(November 30.)**

Cygnus erat, bis pica fuit, ter fune ligatus.

Crux quater hunc habuit. Mansit, ut ante fuit.

He was a swan, twice he was a magpie, three times he was tied with a rope.

Four times the cross had him. He remained as he was before. 184.

**The behavior of a woman is a miracle.****(December 1, Sonnt, First Advent.)**

184.

3, 24.

456. the tool of the tongue. (December 1.)

184. 69, 3.^

**457 Ceremonies of Advent.****(December 1.)**

185. 14, 44.

**458. the italian queen of poland. [Bona.]**

(December 1.)

The Queen of Poland married from Italy [in 1518], of whom the Poles boast three gifts: 185.  
1) a false sense; 2) a painted face; 3) an unchaste body.

**459 Thuringia's fertility.****(December 1.)**

185. 76, 16.

1) Because the interpretation of the three following epigrams presents significant difficulties, we put the Latin first.

Lauterbach	Table
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**460. Question of the death of Aaron.** (December 3.)

On the 3rd of December I (Lauterbach) asked D. M. Luther, how the two passages in Moses about the death of Aaron could be brought into agreement with each other, because 5 Mos. 10. (V. 6.) it says, Aaron died in Moserah, at the twenty-seventh place of residence, but 4 Mos. 33. (V. 38.), he died on the mountain Hor, the thirty-fourth place of residence. He answered, Aaron died in Moserah, but his body was brought to Hor and buried there.

**The papists under Duke George wanted to reform themselves.**

(December 4.)

186. 20, 10.

**462. one's own justice a bite of the hound of hell.** (December 5.)

186. 35, 8.

**463. first measuring caught.**

(December 5.)

186. 35, 9.

**Whether the sacrament is in the private mass?**

187.

(December 5.)

I also doubt very much whether the Sacrament is in the private Mass, because here the commandment of God about the Sacrament is neglected and they change it into a sacrifice. There they do not celebrate *synaxin*, i.e. communion, and have a private silence. One alone holds it, which is quite against the word Communion. But I do not want to condemn their long and prolonged abuse, I want to let them defend and answer for it, the papists. We do not want to be in their danger.

**465. communion for the sick.**

(December 5.)

187.

When the sacrament is administered, the minister of the church must always communicate at the same time. If someone has a hatred, let him be sorry and be reconciled. If he is not qualified to administer it, he is even less qualified to baptize, to preach, to pray. In the past, the church consisted of a few people and people went to the sacrament very devoutly. Now everyone runs around confused. I always think about how I want to abolish the private communion with the sick in the house, but [we] have to keep it like I did when I was sick, that there would be a communion with several others.

**466. boasting of the church to all hypocrites.** (December 5.)

187. 20, 21.

**467. ΕΠΙΕΙΚΕΙΑ. (Equity.)** (December 5.)

187. 66, 53.

**468 Fnrcht vor der Pest.** (December 6.)

188. 47, 13.

**469. contemplation of eternal life.** (December 6.)

188. 49, 8.

**470. praise of the landgrave.**

(Dec. 6.)'

-Lauterbach Table Talks  
pnK. Cap. K 45,  
188. 7.**471 The University of Paris.**

(December 12.)

189. 67, 4.

**472 The Queen of Navarre very immoral.**

(December 12.)

189.

Mention was made of the Queen of Navarre, who once ruled in France. She had her seat in a very high castle, under whose dungeon a river flowed. There she had sent many splendid young men and drowned them after they had been disgraced, so that their fornication would not be revealed. Finally one of them was called by the name of Buridanus. He knew the sad outcome, ordered his comrades to wait for him in barges and pull him out, and so he fell down and was saved. He caught many birds and hung a note on the neck of each of them with this double-meaning sentence: *Reginam Navarrae licet occidere* [i.e. the queen of Navarre may kill, or: One may kill the queen of Navarre]. 1) Such a murderer is the devil, who makes the people so nonsensical.

**It is uncertain who translated the Psalter.**

(December 12.)

189.

When Luther was asked who the translator of the Psalter was, he said that it was uncertain who had translated it, and that the translation was obscure. When he was then asked to translate it into Latin, he said: "Not at all; I would give everyone an example and a reason to translate it, as M. B[ucer] published the Psalter under the assumed name Aretius Felinus. Thereby he has clearly indicated his bad and hopeful character.

**474. You sell your people for nothing.**

(December 12.)

190.

The 44th Psalm was read at dinner. There Luther asked about the verse (13.): *Vendidisti populum tuum sine pretio et non erat multitudo in commutationibus eorum*, what the meaning of this verse would be, how it could be a sale without a purchase price; if it should be a purchase, then there must necessarily be a value, because sale and price are two related things [correlativa]. He said: It is a very obscure translation. Hebrew it means: For ungodliness there is an escape for them, or: for nothing you have saved them. Just as Christ says John 16 (v. 2): *Whoever kills you will think he is doing God a service*. So in German: *You sell your people for nothing and take nothing for it*.

**475 Carlstadt, Petrus Lupinus, Eck.**

(December 12.)

190. 37, 7.  
The following: 4, 80.

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1) Bayle s. v. Buridan. In the tour ds Xssls in Paris. The queen is Margaretha, daughter of Count Robert II of Burgundy, wife of Louis X. Hülln of Navarre and France, repudiated 1313, killed 1315. (Seidemann.)

**476. Luther tears at the writing of the books.**

(December 12.)

Lauterbac Table  
h PUA. speeches  
191. Cap. Z

On those days Luther was troubled and anxious as long as he was planning to write the booklet against the bishop of Mainz, but as soon as he started writing, the pen flew. When he was asked about the speed of his pen, he answered: "I scream while drafting. For I carefully consider all the reasons and individual words on all sides, that such books of the Concept confess me much; of the kind was the book of the Abthun of the Mass. But the papists and our opponents go out and babble, write whatever comes to their mind.

**477. how the reformation of the papists is constituted.** (December 12.)

191. 20, 10.

**478. series of soles of the holy fathers.** (December 12.)

191. 57, 4.

**479. admiration of music.**

(December 17, Tuesday.)

192. 68, 1.

**No one becomes the highest from once.** (December 17.)

192. 67, 19.

**481 Human traditions are the ruin of the church.** (December 18.)

193. 32, 14.

**482. ignorance of the italian victim monkeys.**

(December 18.)

193. 35, 11.

**483 The Italians are suspicious.**

(December 18.)

193. 76, 26.

**The bishop of Mainz is cruel and fearful.** (December 18.)

193. 31, 2.

**485: The adjournment of the council.** (December 18.)

194. 54, 6.

**486 Guest banquet of Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra.**

(December 18.)

194.

Marcus Antonius, a very powerful Roman citizen, mighty over all the kings of Europe, although he was not emperor, was nevertheless a very proud leader of the soldiers, who had a thousand wild pigs served at one meal. When Cleopatra, his second wife, wanted to surpass him in preciousness, she served him, since he was invited, only one dish and swallowed even at the table a pearl, which exceeded in value a prince's treasure. For with great harshness he repudiated his former wife, the daughter of Augustus, and married Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, who was equal to Antony in courtliness. Afterwards he told of the pride of Antony, who had made the queen the queen of Egypt.



The queen invited him to go fishing and pulled out the tied fish so that there would be a large number of them. The cunning queen had it for the best, and set up a fishery against it, invited it and let it also pull out tied fish. Finally, when they pulled out fried fish, she said: The Romans must catch kingdoms, the Egyptians fish. Finally Antonius stabbed himself to death in Athens.

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**487: One must pray against the papists. (December 25, Wednesday.)**

194. 15, 21

**488: Luther's Joy at the Incarnation of Christ. (December 25.)**

195. 7, 6.

This concludes the diary of Mag. Anton Lauterbach about the year 1538. Then Seidemann leaves an appendix of 11 pages, partly written by the same hand as in the book, partly by another hand. The last 7 pages are individual pieces from Kummer's second part. From this appendix, which we do not want to reproduce in its entirety, because what it contains does not fit our purpose, e.g. a fragment of a letter from Luther to Melanchthon from April 8, 1540; a letter from Melanchthon to the Nuremberg bookseller Petrejus, etc., we have included the following pieces in the table speeches:

Kummer, sheet t, 6b,	Lauterbac	200.	Table2, 20.
,, pag 258b f.,	//	201.	2, 121.
285,		202.	13, 44.
299b		203.	75, 1.
366b f.,		203.	26, 1.
375b f..		203.	22, 143.
403,		205.	4, 81.
405d et	//	205.	// 78, 2.

In addition, Seidemann added a number of pieces from Kummer in the form of annotations to Lauterbach's notes, sixteen of which we have used for the table speeches. We do not consider it necessary to give a list of them, because they are scattered back and forth in Seidemann's edition, there is no internal connection between them, and they are accounted for in every passage in the Tischreden.

# Appendix No. II.

Translation of the pieces from the diary about D. Martin Luther, kept by D. Conrad Cordatus in 1537, which are not found in the Table Talks. At the same time as a table of contents for those who want to read through this diary in the original order.

Tischr    just  
Cap.     §  
1,    57.

1. 1).....

2. a teacher (which I would like to have) God did not make, but He wants a speaker. 2)

All spiritual sins go against the sanctification of the name of God, as when one thinks he worships God as a saint, yet he deals in false religion, or does works according to the statutes of men, or affirms false things with an oath to God, or teaches false things by the words of the devil, and boasts and swears that he teaches the truth of God. But it is not the same with bodily sins. For the robber who kills, or the debauchee who commits adultery, does not sin in this way, but follows the inclination of his flesh.

It is certain that a great change in all things occurs as often as the pure word is preached again after it has been rejected or polluted for a while, as after the deliverance of the Jews from Babylonian captivity, the change and desolation of the Babylonian empire followed; after the gospel was preached from Zion, Jerusalem perished; after the word of God was preached in Rome, Rome ceased to be Rome. What else can the Germans expect, who hear the word of God and despise it?

The pope has also ceased to be wise, for it is a folly that he tries to deceive under the appearance of religion, which all men understand to be a deception of the devil. That he tries to fortify his kingdom by force is a similar folly, because he is not able to do so.

(6) It is by reading that the word has remained under the ministry, not by preaching; for in the pulpits the text of the gospel has always been spoken, and it is certain that by this some have been saved. For it is the Holy Spirit with the word of Christ who makes it alive when he wills and in whom he wills.

7. 8. 9. 10..... 12, 6.

1) The numbers in front indicate the numbers of the relevant sections in the Latin diary of Cordatus.  
2) The duplicate of this number in Cordatus, No. 1786, has differently: "(as I would like him) GOtt leidet nicht" 2c.

(11) If you are a private Christian, you shall not be angry with any man. For anger belongs to the worldly regiment, not to the gospel or to a solitary Christian's life.

12. the iron eaters are bold in blasphemy, not manly in chariot.

A Christian is bound by a double obedience, to God and to his prince, and this double obedience is dissolved only when the prince commands what is against God. Then he must obey GOD more than man.

(14) I hear that our grooms and brides have become so evangelical that they refuse to give a bite to the disciples in the old way. Therefore, I will truly arrange that when they come into the church to make the covenant, nothing else shall be sung to them but: O poor Judas. They have learned to be so free that they alone compel us to serve them in all things, but furthermore they do not want to give us a jot. Yes, what we have without them and not from them, they do not grant us. That is also right, because they do not have to be the people who want to reward us.

15. 16. 17. 18..... 13, 48.

19. we must be like God, who throws away everything and squanders it; he throws away the heavens, the earth, gold, silver, grain, and makes his sun rise on the good and the evil; the latter have always outnumbered the good.

20. . . . . 13, 42.

Late experience comes from long misuse of time, and the mind that considers nothing never comes to experience.

22. .... 43, 59.  
2, 69.

23 .....

(24) I am very hostile to all those who sit under the blessing of God and have very little or no cause to sin, but are in all sins, and very great ones at that. But who should not love the authorities if they also sin, since those who are forced to preside over them also necessarily sin often-and all the more seriously and often, in fact, the higher secular or spiritual authorities they are? Tyrants, too, are the devil's governors on earth.

(25) If I were not in the service of God and in marriage, I would go away so that no man would know where I had come. But I would do this out of anger and impatience against the ungrateful world, in order to flee from the world, not because of any carnal sins, so that I would not give a damn, but because of the evil world itself, because it is a despiser of God and a blasphemer of Him and of all things that are rightly God's in the first place.

Every private person takes care of private affairs, as a doctor does not take care of the person, but of the sick 1), and the authorities take care of the community. That is why it is in great danger.

27 ..... 66, 3.

Jerome is neither a theologian nor an orator, but like such a man, whom in our time is called AltensteiB. Augustine grew up by arguing with the Pelagians and is a faithful upholder of grace. Gregory is a ceremonial man, and to such an extent a justice-monger [justiciarius] that he dared to assert that it was a mortal sin to happen to be

1) Instead of Socratem, which the manuscript offers, aegrotum must be read.

would only let a fart go. Ambrose, however, is simple in faith, a witness against reliance on works, and would easily surpass all if he had had to suffer opponents.

20, 20.

**29** .....

**30.** a heretic, if one changes the word, is rightly called an idolater, from the idols they worship, each one a separate one, and which he has devised for him... Toller saint [Tol heiling] is a very clear and appropriate term by which to call a heretic.

4, 93.

**31** (Contained in Lauterbach, February 2, p. 19.)

**32** Verbum Domini Manet In Eternum [the word of God remains forever], that is how Luther interprets the initial letters. [They can also mean: Universa Disciplina Monastica Inanis Est [the whole monastic system is void], also: Verbum Diaboli Manet In Episcopis [the word of the devil remains in the bishops].

**33** ..... 13, 51.

**34** ..... 12, 20.

**35.** ..... 43, 75.

**36** ..... 1, 29.

**37** ..... 35, 15.

**38** ..... 43, 75.

**39** ..... 43, 76.

**40** ..... 27, 2.

**41** ..... 2, 2.

**42** ..... 7, 9.

**43** ..... 76, 15.

**44** ..... 34, 1.

**45.** ... 27, 70.

**46. May the merciful God have mercy on me, a sinner, and give me grace and a grave, for the world cannot stand me, nor I the world.**

**47** ..... 76, 15.

**48** ..... 7, 98.

**There** are two things in the world. There are two things in the world that a Christian should always take seriously, God's word and God's work.

**50** ..... 27, 43.

37, 133.

**51** .....

When someone at the Diet of Augsburg said to Phil. Melanchthon, "Philippe, what do you want to do?" he immediately answered, "Win.

When the bishop of Salzburg argued at the same time with Stromer, a councilor of Nuremberg, and, in order to overcome him, argued that the king of France, who was a prisoner, had given the emperor Carl a great deal of money for his ransom, and that after that he was still pouring it in: How will you now hold yourselves? The latter answered: "We will command the matter to God the Lord. Lang answered, "A goose would have told me that. Namely, this is how such a great bishop spoke about the trade that concerned God's word, and about which one was in dispute with such great seriousness at that time, and in the great danger of Germany, this is how the bishops speak when they hear that the people place their hope in God.

**54** ..... 4, 1.

**55** To the pastor in Zwickau, the very good man Hausmann, he said: "Dear man, if you demand from all my property what is convenient or necessary to you, you will do me the greatest favor; but if you do not,

you offend me deeply. For, since all my things belong to the poor, how should I not make everything I own into a song? But that my wife bought a garden, she did it for herself, not for me, and against my will, not according to it. When I [Cordatus] objected to him 1): Why did you allow her to do it, since it was not your will? He answered: "I can neither bear her pleas nor her tears.

How often did he say to me [Cordatus] when I was in Wittenberg for the sake of the word: Cordatus, if you have no money, I still have some silver cups.

When I [Cordatus] had followed the preacher Hausmann, the pastor of Zwickau, and we both left the ungrateful, rebellious people, he said to us and those sitting by: 2) It would not be so dear to me if six hundred florins were given to me, as it is dear to me that you both have gone away, that you are safe and sound and that you both sit with me. This man had such great charity.

**(58)** Because there are many private disputes and many other harmful things in the Roman Empire, Daniel did not hide this when he speaks of the Empire, which is weak in parts.

**(59)** The opinion of those who think that the celibate state was invented by the pope for the sake of making the priests richer, since they live without wives and children, is false, because under the appearance of religion, which the celibate state pretends to be, the pope has raised himself and all his people to the greatest power and to such prestige that he also has kings under his feet.

Since at the hour of death, when we depart, the angels of God will carry us 3) to bring us into Abraham's bosom, what harm will it do me if a miserly peasant afflicts me with theurge, or a shrew tramples me underfoot, or an angry prince tears off my head?

The fact that walls were built around Wittenberg [said Luther] would be of no use, because they were started without calling upon God, since a Christian should not transplant a little plant without first calling upon his God. But that such a great, long and high wall would be torn down, which could not be built in one or two years, nor could it be rebuilt 4), looked almost like treason. Then he added: "In these dangerous times, I have nothing to put in front of these gaps but an Our Father.

**62** Someone said that the Epistle of John was written in simple words and could be easily understood. To this he answered: Yes, it is easy, but no one wants to think about it.

When the woman brought to Luther the little cakes she had just eaten, he said: "If the peasants knew their status and situation, they would already be in paradise. But being in paradise is the knowledge of God without sins, but the peasants live in the midst of the creatures of God, from which God is known 2c.

**64.** *praetereuntes*, repeated three times, forms a hexameter, according to the number of syllables, and also in the same way it forms a sentence, which nevertheless requires a *suppositum* (something that is spoken of), an *appositum* [a closer determination that stands by it] and a *casus* after itself. But it is put like this:

1) Instead of at yuoä, sä yuoä will be read.

2) Instead of *ussistentikps* read *assiäntikus*.

3) Instead of *portuni exituri* will probably be read *portuturi*.

4) Instead of *reueäiüoure* read *rkueäiüeari*.

Praetereuntes praetereunt es [aes] (sicut thesaurum infossum) praetereuntes, [The passers-by go past the ore (as it were a buried treasure), not paying attention). That is, they do not know that ore is buried there. He said, however, that such things are incidents, not sagacity; what sagacity cannot do, chance does.

39, 18.

**65**.....

When he looked at the sky at night, he said, "He must be a good master who has built such a vault without pillars.

**67.** "They have Moses and the prophets." If the Anabaptists should say for the sake of these words that we must go back to Moses, they are answered that Christ did not speak here for Christians, and he does not set it up as a doctrine, but he tells a story; although I believe that Christ alone was present when this happened. 1) [Luc. 16, 19. ff.]

**68**..... 4, 1.

**69**..... 32, 11.

**70**..... 15, 35.

7, 134.

**71**.....

The kingdom of God is not in speech, it is not in washing alone, but in power. This he adds against hypocrisy, which speaks and says many things about good works and does not do them.

**73**..... 43, 42.

12, 23.

**74.75**.....

If I said that ten years ago I had recognized the ungodliness of the mass, the veneration of the saints, purgatory, and such things as indulgences, I would be lying, even though I knowingly and deliberately preferred to close my eyes to many things rather than dispute them. For I thought, according to reason, that this new deal was to be covered up rather than revealed, because of the Word of God. But as the Zwickauers now prefer to use force against the servants of the Word, so the papists acted with me at that time and brought about what they now feel and are sorry for.

**77. 78**..... 9, 61.

**79**..... 32, 12.

The true and proper goal, says Solomon in the so-called "Ecclesiastes", is: Let it go as it goes, because it wants to go as it goes.

It is my sincere opinion that there are more noblemen in the countryside and rulers in the cities of Duke George who are heartily favorable to the truth of the gospel than among our Elector. Likewise, as far as despisers and persecutors are concerned, I think there are fewer of them there than among us.

Doctor Lazarus Spengler from Nuremberg is the only one who introduced the gospel in Nuremberg, and so far he alone has managed to keep it there.

Although the right is somewhat on your side, a Christian must avoid an evil example in every way.

In the prophecy of Lichtenstein [Lichtenberger], the monk who has the devil standing on his shoulders with his hands stretched against his head is undoubtedly Luther. Now, since a certain pope had interpreted this to mean that all his teaching and life would be of the devil, Philipp Melanchthon, the right

1) So in the original. The text seems to us to be corrupted.

Brother [Luther's], this is by no means to be understood in this way, but rather it means repulsions which Luther suffers from the papists, in that the devil drives them, and this is indicated by the feet of the devil standing on them, with which he kicks Luther, and by the hands with which he hits the head or pulls the hair.

Animals are more cunning than men; therefore, the more barbarous men are, the more cunning they are. This can be seen in the stories of barbarian empires.

86..... 24, 123.

87..... 37, 140.

88..... 2, 148.

(89) He who carefully reads the books of the kings would become a mighty preacher. [He would become a mighty preacher.

90..... 67, 15.

God has decreed that all men shall eat their bread by the sweat of their brow, and He has decreed that whoever does not want this sweat shall be forced to suffer the sweat of an evil conscience. And since God has decreed this as a punishment, the devil also decrees it this way, but for the sake of avarice.

Idle minds cannot pay much attention to the article of justification because they do not need it.

93..... 1, 9.

94..... 2, 72.

The bishops would rather perish in a pleasant way in the name of the devil than be saved and remain in the name of the Lord. For if they would counsel for general and particular peace as we do, they would remain in their goods according to the body, and be blessed according to the soul.

96..... 43, 77.

These verses are in the title: De foro Competenti, and are without doubt against the papists:  
*Composito late fetenti, quaeaso, ciba te, Qui putas exclusum crimen per temporis usum*

(i.e. Feed yourself with a widely malodorous dish, you who think that a wrong becomes right through the length of time). That is, he who thinks that an evil becomes good by lapse of time, or a sin becomes a virtue by age, let him eat dirt.

98. purely natural [pura naturalia], or that which grows from the earth, must be eaten to preserve the natural moisture. Of the kind are fresh peas, apples, pears 2c. 1)

99. 100. 101 ..... 2, 73.

102. . ..... 2, 71.

Baptism is called a bath of the Spirit because of the Holy Spirit, who is given by the power of the promise in the words of baptism: "he shall be saved.

Dignity is that which is considered best. Where the mob rules, freedom is considered dignity, which in fact is more a licentiousness of the great crowd. Where few rule, wealth and nobility are held to be dignity. Where there is the best state, virtue is considered dignified.

1) Quite similarly Veit Dietrich in Oollseta 6xHandschrift (Wrampelmeyer.)

der Nürnberger Stadtbibliothek p. 73.

**105.** Even though we have no favor from our neighboring persecutors, [like] Duke George, we certainly have these, that by their tyranny they bring about that this country is not filled with sectarians.

**106:** "Do not go into judgment with your servant" [Ps. 143, 2]. This forgiveness of sins, for which he asks here, is necessary, not only in the ecclesiastical sphere, but also in the world government and in the household, yes, in all classes and arts. For, where it is not, what can exist? That is why that pagan also says: The highest right is the highest wickedness.

**107. 108.**..... 2, 74.

**109. 110. 111. 111a. 111b.**..... 1, 9.

Campanus writes "against all" (that is the title of his book), but not against himself, as he believes. But he writes more against himself than against all.

Martin Cellarius claimed against me in all ways that my profession was greater than that of the apostles. People of that kind are vain and proud. But they call this their innate pride and malice, which has become even stronger in their minds through their presumption, plerophoria and certainty of the Holy Spirit.

Fish belong in the water, a thief to the gallows, the devil to hell. Therefore, no one should help them, for that is where they belong.

When he came to the small town of Kahla by order of the prince to admonish Carlstadt and the other iconoclasts, they had placed here and there hands, feet and the head of a large image, a crucifix, around the preaching chair on which Luther had to climb when he wanted to preach. Although he was very upset about this impertinence, he did not mention it with a single word, but preached with conciliatory words about the need to carry one's cross and to obey the princes.

Afterwards, since I [Cordatus] was sure that he would not have kept silent out of fear of those people, and asked him for what reason he would have wanted to keep silent, he answered that it was pride against pride, and their very hopeful spirit, which was diabolical, should have been thus repaid like with like.

The noblest jewel of a city is when it knows that the prince wants it well, and to know that it does not have a gracious lord is its greatest evil.

The right of those who sit there [4 Cor. 14:30], of which my new friends are now writing, is that they speak and I remain silent. But that they say I never wanted to suffer this right, so I experienced it differently ten years ago [at Worms] in such a large crowd of contradictors. Furthermore, let the emperor say, and let the pope answer, whether I have not endured the right of those who sit there.

A fine is not a punishment, because people are either rich or do not value money obtained in any way. But the punishment of disgrace, or corporal punishment, or capital punishment, these are the real punishments.

**120** The sermons of the women only make sad, because they are drifting, and if they speak the truth, it falls to them. But he called by this name the long speeches of his wife, with which she constantly interrupted his best words, 1) and D. Jonas had the same virtue about him.

Whatever the Fathers have said about the Trinity, or the origin of the Persons in the Divine Being, they have been careful to affirm that the Trinity is eternal, and in it there is no other time.



than the present, not past nor future. That is why they say that the Father always begets, the Son is always born, the Holy Spirit always proceeds from the Father and the Son.

If he [God] had not preserved the Bible for us through his great mercy, it would undoubtedly have long perished at the instigation of the devil, so much is he hostile to it, and not without cause, since he has also heard the papists in the churches cry out this verse: "The Lord spoke to my Lord," and has certainly understood from this that he will one day inflict upon it the harm that it is now experiencing.

I often wrestle and talk with my God about Christ: You, my God, have given me the man whom you willed to be the Christ and to be called Jesus, that I should believe in him. Therefore I believe in him, and I will cleave to him as a poor sinner unto the end.

**124** ..... 24, 55.

All the enthusiasts with whom I have had conversations have attacked me with the greatest and most presumptuous audacity. In addition, one takes the greatest certainty, which, however, has finally become easily disgraced. Thus, of all of them, Marcus attacked me first, who answered me when I finally asked him to desist from his presumption: GOD Himself shall not take away my teaching. When I finally demanded a sign from him, he said that I would get enough signs to see. From this I did not yet suspect the evil of the peasants' revolt, because I spoke to him simply and sincerely, and therefore I said to him: "My God will probably forbid your God that you do not do a sign. And since he had said, among other outrageous words, that he could immediately recognize people at first sight in such a way that he could also reveal to them the thoughts of their hearts, I challenged him to reveal the thoughts of my heart. To this he immediately answered boldly: I now move this in my heart that his teaching is true. Since I denied that this was true, I did not want to tell him then what I thought, although he asked for it if he did not return tomorrow. When he returned, I told him what was the case, because I had these words of Zechariah [3:2] in mind: The Lord rebuke thee, thou Satan 2c.

A short time later, Nicolaus Storck, his Zwickau master, came to me. When I told him this about Marcus, he replied that Marcus must speak as he [Storck] wished. This Storck laughed very much at the idea that a handful of water should make people blessed, and I did nothing with him by saying that this water was powerful enough to bring about blessedness, because God's word was connected with it, which would bless and bring it about.

After these came the pupil of both, Münzer. How proud he was, and how arrogant in his teaching, no one can say.

After him came a certain turner, a child of Marcus, who said, "My father sent me to you. And I said unto him, Who is thy father? He answered, God; and I said, He also is my father, so we are brothers. Now what message do you bring from our common father? That God was very angry with the world, for he had seen, he said, a great house in which many revelers were sitting. God stood by them and threatened them with two fingers. From this vision his message was revealed to him. I said that I had known this before, but if he had something new and special [privatum] to tell me, he would like to say it; from the whole of the

It is known in the Scriptures that God is angry with the world. Then he went away angry, because I despised his fine admonition.

But I believe that I have endured about sixty of such people, and I have seen that all their proud doctrine has been rejected and perished like the dust of the earth, just as Carlstadt's [doctrine], who always wanted in every way that we should all submit to his doctrine. We certainly could not do that. Otherwise, willing to serve him with my body and fortune, which he strove for with equal zeal, I certainly would not have refused him, but I did not want to obey his teaching because I was not allowed to, and as far as my teaching is concerned, I say with Christ: My teaching is not mine, but His who sent me. Therefore I cannot profane him, as the world desires. Thus I am exercised by the ungodliness of the devil's servants, and the proud blasphemy of Campanus cannot challenge me. That will also fall in a short time, and he will come to his place.

Our God is such a God, who does not care about the strong, yes, he rejects it and works on the weak. That is why it is easier for him (if I may speak of God in this way) to convert man in his infancy than for us old people, who are drowned in the devil's kingdom.

24, 54.

**127** .....

Just as the Jews, after three days, forgot the misfortune they had endured in Egypt and, according to their passions and desires, would rather be in it again than endure in the wilderness according to God's will, so do our satiated listeners and those who have forgotten the burdens that pressed them under the papacy. One also finds such people who would rather live under the papacy than in the freedom of Christ.

Muenzer, Carlstadt, Campanus and people of the like are inveterate devils, for they direct their thoughts to nothing but harm and revenge, and as such people dare and presume more than can be said at the time and in a place of peace, so at the time of danger they find themselves more fearful than a man can believe. This I have experienced. I have seen a frightening example of this fear in Carlstadt. When he lived in my house for more than eight weeks at the time of his expulsion, and no one knew about it, our Elector came to us across the Elbe bridge. He went to the window and in my presence he looked out towards the bridge through a broken triangle [triangular window pane], which was under the window panes, which were otherwise all whole, but immediately he went away. When I asked him why he was leaving, he answered, pale and trembling, "So that he would not be seen by anyone. Of course, I thought that the falling leaf, of which Moses speaks [3 Mos. 26, 36.], reminds of a cause for fear, however small it may be, but the enthusiasts are immediately afraid, where there is no cause for fear at all.

The illness of the spirit, which is called sadness, and death are siblings and children with each other. Yes, Jesus Sirach 1) says [30, 25] that many die from sadness, and that there is no benefit in it. In German there is a very beautiful saying against it: Guter Muth ist halber Leib.

**131** ..... 12, 59.  
**132** ..... 59, 12.

1) In the manuscript erroneously: Salomon. This wrong reading probably arose from the fact that Loolo "iations (Jesus Sirach) was read for Loolomastos (Ecclesiastes Solomon), and Solomon was substituted for it by the scribe.

I [Cordatus] had written these words in my pocket book [in tabulas meas]: Luther [said] to Philippus: "You are an orator in writing, but not in speaking," because I liked the sincerity of both the speaker and the hearer, who wanted to persuade Melanchthon's Luther that he should not answer again to the book which the pastor in Cologne [Arnoldi] had published, whom Luther calls the assassin of Dresden Masers. But what I had written did not please Philip. Therefore he demanded my pocket book from me and often repeated this request, because I used to write in it what I had heard. Finally I gave it to him, and after he had read a little, he wrote this distich in it:

Omnia non prodest, Cordate, inscribere chartis,  
Sed quaedam tacitum dissimulare decet.

[Cordatus, it is not well to write everything on paper, but a silent man must be able to conceal some things].

**133I** [Cordatus] have always recognized that it would be a brazen presumption that I, whether standing in front of the table or sitting at it as a table companion, wrote everything that I heard, but the benefit overcame my shame. The doctor, however, never said a single word that he disliked what I was doing. Yes, I prepared the way for others to dare the same, especially Veit Dietrich and Johannes Schlaginhausen [Turbicida], whose lumps (I hope) I will unite with mine. The whole crowd of the godly will be grateful to me. I wanted to add this because I was very upset by the poetry of Philip. But now nobody imitates us. Furthermore, if someone copies it against my will, let him copy it only with such a heart as I have written it, namely a simple-minded and pure one, and let him praise Luther's words with me more than the oracles of Apollo, the words I say, not only the serious and theological, but also the seemingly entertaining and insignificant ones.

<b>134</b> .....	7, 171.
<b>135</b> .....	9, 14.
<b>136</b> .....	45, 71.

The world regime is either presided over by a few or by many, and yet, if God does not preside over it, it is neither well administered by a few nor by many.

The tragedy represents the royal life, and the comedy the civil or private one. The latter begins with the highest majesty and ends with the utmost misfortune, but the latter has a sad beginning, a middle full of anguish, but a calm and cheerful end. Not different is the life and death of the kings, the citizens and the peasants. The rich man does not want to die, and the poor man desires death.

**139.** the right of the sitters is not that you attack the teacher or the preaching pastor in a hostile way, let alone that it is right to despise them, but it is a friendly union in love over a word of God which you think can be argued about. 1)

The explanation or treatment of the Scripture has a similarity with the one who first purifies the earth for the sake of silver, then also the slag, which is certainly not done for the sake of the silver itself, which is beautiful and bright by nature.

1) Cf. no. 118 of this appendix.

but for our sake, for whom the earth and the dross stand in the way, so that we do not see the silver. This is how one must judge from the word of God.

1, 16.

**141.** . . . . .

The moral teaching of Aristotle [Ethicorum] and the book which we call "Ecclesiastes" [Ecclesiastes] have the same doctrine, (only) that Aristotle measured the respectability of life according to what the best reason prescribes, but the "Preacher Solomon" according to the keeping of the commandments of God. Furthermore, if someone had said to Aristotle: "Don't you see that everything you write about the respectability of life has no continuation if it is to be carried out in life, just as what you teach about housekeeping and the rule of the world does not? Aristotle would answer that he sees this and almost despairs of men and equally of doctrine and the prestige of government, because men despise punishment as well as doctrine. But the "Preacher Solomon" would answer: Do what you do diligently, be it with teaching or negating. If men do not obey you, do not cease to do what is your duty, and: Let go 2c.

In all creatures we see a kind of image of our death and resurrection, because in winter everything seems to be dead, but in summer it seems to live. Yes, even in individual things both are perceived. For all things hear in some measure, and in some measure they live. Thus the age of the youth is a foreshadowing of the resurrection, but that of the old people denotes death.

Such great promises as we see in the Scriptures prove most strongly that this is by far the greatest thing that the devil and the world inflict on the believing man, otherwise this supreme Lord would not take on us so vehemently with His promises.

**145.**..... 2, 149.

**146** ..... 27, 68.

**147** ..... 2, 75.

**148. 149. 150.**..... 52, 5.

**151** A liar must have a good memory [Quintilian IV, 2, 91], because everyone is justified or condemned from his words.

From the left and from the right we now suffer enemies of the gospel, tyrants and false brothers. But He who is greater than the world has given us a promise that is stronger than all enemies, namely: "I am the Lord your God.

37, 134.

**153** .....

**There** is no one who can burden the world with greater harm than the farmers. For they alone possess the field and have from it everything that comes directly from the blessing of God.

**The** more one preaches, the madder the world becomes; indeed, I would that I were forced by some occasion to refrain from preaching, that is, that the devil might have an opportunity worthy of the world and preach what is his in a freer way.

**156.** the church is in a constant decline, as it is written of her (Ps. 118, 13.): "They push me to fall."

**157** ..... 2, 116.

**158. 2)** ..... 24, 91.

**159** ..... 2, 46.

1) Cf. no. 80 of this appendix.

2) Cf. no. 160 of this appendix.

**160 The** Sophists have this theological rule that man can earn grace by purely natural powers [ex puris naturalibus], and they have expressed it by this little verse:

Ultra posse viri non vult Deus ulla requiri.

[God does not want anything to be demanded that is beyond man's ability]. But they are seized here as transgressors and untruthful people, as in all other things. For what is spoken of the world's regime and of the household, and that well [spoken], they have drawn to spiritual things. Furthermore, that it is said: Let it go as it goes 2c., belongs to "Ecclesiastes Solomon", and is a saying, which appropriately says, that if someone in his office or in his housekeeping takes care of his things diligently, but still cannot do what he wants, he should say: Let it go 2c.

**161** When I asked [Cordatus] what the lust of the eye was, he answered that it would not be necessary to carry water into the Elbe if it were not completely dry; but he added that it is written that the eye is not satiated by sight [Eccl. 1:8].

**162** I also asked [Cordatus] from where the papists could have invented the feast of the Assumption of Mary; he answered: by abuse.

Zwingli does not want a world regiment, but he wants an aristocracy. But governing is not in brooding, but in practice, since we see that even the best-ordered kingdoms are overthrown and fall.

11, 21.

**164.** . ..... ..

The Ten Commandments are the source of all laws. Duty is the practice of virtue, as each one should observe. Where there is a school and disputation, there are also sects.

**The** Peripatetics were so called from walking about, because Aristotle taught in walking about, as we do in sitting; the Stoics from the Stoa, which is a vault or hallway under which they taught. The latter were more polite and taught very good things according to reason; the latter were harder and coarser, as the Franciscans and Carthusians are with us, although both placed the highest good in virtue. Furthermore, they claimed that there were some middle good things [media bona], e. g. the

Life, good health, which the Stoics denied. The third were the Academicians, who did not differ much from both. They were so called from a building near Athens in which they taught. The Epicureans, however, said that pleasure was the highest good that pleased and did good to everyone. They made a distinction, however, that some pleasures were according to the soul, others according to the body. This sect mocked the Cyrenians, and so surrendered to the pleasure of the body that they said it was no good but feasting and humbling.

Death is the least of all evils, and it is the so-called natural order, except for those who fear it, just as the law is not a law except for those who are under the law. Thus the comet that now shines in 1531 in the month of August is a comet only for those who see it.

**168.** . ..... .. 24, 90.

**169** ..... .. 70, 2.

Reason slandered the words of the tax collector and said they were unjust, for it said that a sinner is worthy of punishment, not mercy. But the words of the Pharisee it seizes as holy, mostly because he has lived as he speaks and has done these works, since God commands them by the law.

**171.** ..... .. 39, 4.

I have lectured, written and preached for twenty years, and now I have much greater powers than I had twenty years ago.

Anger often does to men what water does to hot iron; it cools them down.

**The** Italians call Pope Clement the Seventh the Wisdom of the World, because of his excellent experience in all the cunning of this world, and the Pope must be truly of such a nature, that is, so excellent above all, that he is inferior in wickedness to no one in the world. The fourfold thing he intends, I recognized before the Diet of Augsburg was assembled. First, that under the pretext of the Lutherans, whom he wanted dead, he wanted to free Italy from the presence of the emperor and in some way send him to Germany for his benefit. Second, if the Emperor did not want to kill the Lutherans, he saw a future opportunity to start a new conspiracy with the King of France and the Venetians, which has now happened. Thirdly, if he does not succeed in this, he will start a war against the emperor with the help of a very large treasure which he has and of which he, as a cautious man, has not wanted to make use until now, since he realizes that one should not start such a difficult matter too hastily. Fourthly, even if this war should not be at all happy, he will prefer to associate himself with Turks, Tartars and all the most godless knaves than with the truth, with which he will never be satisfied. For the pope is of the devil; on the side of the lies alone must the popes stand. Furthermore, how much and what he wanted and still wants above all else, he has never been able to accomplish and will never accomplish, namely, that he wanted to make sects among us. Furthermore, his master, the devil, was finally able to do this, but he was able to do it because of our excessive security, satiety and ingratitude.

This certainly happened in turn, except for the war in which he himself was defeated and took Rome. For the (pope) who followed him, I don't know his name, is said to have summoned the Turk, who devastated Austria again this year. Furthermore, we have never had stronger false brothers than in this year. Incompetent people are now philosophizing about the article of justification; their leader is Philipp Melanchthon. But God will be our help in this, too. Anno 1537. 1)

Preachers, parents, or rulers 2) should only consider that God lets his work go on, and that he does not care at all, that one needs (the work), 2) as he wants, as the sun shines over good and evil, and the grain grows in the same way for all. Even a lewd woman gives birth to her bastard just as an honorable woman gives birth to her son. But God bears this abuse, meanwhile He does not cease to be a just judge, and this time, of which it is written: some will go into life, others into eternal fire, is always present with Him.

**176** I cannot tell you with how great joy I was filled when I found the right use of the sacraments in the papacy, just as I found the right use of the sacraments in the priesthood.

1) The last paragraph is to be regarded as an addition by Cordatus. The sharp words against Melanchthon refer to a bitter dispute of Cordatus with Melanchthon from August 1536 to July 1537 about the doctrine of justification. By the incompetent people (CAUSSARIIS) are meant especially Cruciger and Jonas. Toward the end of 1537, this dispute ceased altogether because Luther silenced Cordatus. How? is not known. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) Instead of K1i6tor68 in the manuscript, probably r66tor68 is to be read. - Likewise instead of "mer" probably "one".

I cannot attain with words how much I have labored to be righteous. But now this worry of mine has completely ceased, after I have realized and believed that before God another wants to be righteous for me.

God has reserved three things for Himself: judgment, vengeance and glory. For to the first belongs a perfect righteousness, which is in God alone. Therefore, to hold authority [i.e. to judge] is his [God's] alone. Secondly, a perfect power is necessary, power to punish and to help. The third is only due to the one who is perfectly good, but only God is good. But since these three things are granted to the authorities and parents by the order of God, it is proper that we obey them with all reverence; whoever does not do so, contradicts God's order 2c.

**178** ..... 13, 42.  
73, 3.

**179**.....

**The** whole way of preaching or rhetoric is to divide, explain, summarize or conclude. If you want to preach about faith, you must distinguish between the faith that is among men and that which is from God. Then you must explain the justifying faith. Third, it is necessary to summarize that only the justifying faith in Christ justifies.

Just as all those who teach the youth well first instruct their students to read Virgil and Cicero most carefully, and then others, not only to read and learn them, but also to evaluate them, so also he who wants to do theology in a profitable way should read John and Paul, but the Fathers and all those who wrote after the Evangelists and Apostles should be read and evaluated.

**182**..... 2, 52.  
27, 44.

**183.** .....

**The** world wants to deceive or be deceived, therefore the world has nothing to do with truth.

**(185)** I have done the best I could with teaching, but I seem to have accomplished nothing but loosening the reins of the wild beasts, which is the gratitude of the world, in relation to which I can also say: You have deceived me, O Lord, and I have been deceived.

The parable of Paul in the letter to the Romans 7 [2-6] is not as easy as some believe. But there are four terms in it: a physical man and a woman, a spiritual man and a woman. In the first marriage (that I say so) the man dies and the surviving woman shall be free, in the second the man lives and the woman dies, who nevertheless shall be free by her death and marries another 2c. But he wanted to connect with this equality an inequality [dissimilitudinem], because the law remains in the flesh.

**The** science has to do with the particular and individual, but the astronomy has to do only with the general. If a boy is born only in this star and becomes a farmer, he will excel; but if he should become a fisherman, or anything else, he will excel [also].

**188.** ..... 12, 7.  
**189. 190**..... 11, 23.  
**191**..... 12, 56.  
**192.** ... 2, 105.  
**193** Natural heat does not consume food in men, but He who said, "Not of bread alone."

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37, 61.  
13, 26.

**194** .....

**195**.....

The first purification in the kingdom of Christ is that of the conscience, the second is civil and concerns civil matters. Up to now we have advised the consciences, now, God willing, we will have to deal with the civil things of which the church has need, namely, that the pastors and church servants have their livelihood 2c. That is why the visitation has begun.

**197.** Is not the 'holy Christian faith contrary to the Lord's Prayer? For in the latter it is said that the church is holy, but in the latter we ask for forgiveness of sins. But this knot is untied by the fact that one man is, as it were, two men, the inward man, who is holy by faith, and the outward man, who is a sinner because of the flesh. Add to this that in the Christian faith we confess that the sins are forgiven, which we ask for in the Lord's Prayer.

43, 3.

**198**.....

**199.** forgiveness of sins comes from God, who works it [effective], through faith it gains form [formaliter] [in us], further from the sacraments, which are means for the forgiveness of sins, as the instrument [instru- mentaliter].

If I had infinite worlds, I would give them all to fully understand what I teach.

Where Moses appears to be smallest, there he is largest, namely when he speaks of things; but where he appears to be largest, there he is smallest, namely when he writes laws. But Moses was the source of the whole scripture, which he himself well knew, because he says Mos. 32, 2.): "My teaching drips like the rain."

Moses speaks in the most simple way, yet God, according to His wonderful wisdom, shows that He is not the only God of the Jews, and by this one thing He shows the abolition of the entire Law.

**203.** anger is the ruler of the world, because the ruler who does not know how to be angry is unfit to be put in charge of a community, completely unfit when he is already in such a position. Of this it is written: GOD aroused the spirit of the Medes and [Ps. 76, 13.]: "Terrible is he that taketh away the courage of princes."

Sharp questions and equally [accurate] answers must be made flesh and blood to carnal people, for with coarse people one must speak coarsely and answer [coarsely].

12, 9.

**205**.....

Since we and the saints use the word of God together, and both parts boast of the correct interpretation, it may seem very doubtful from where one should be certain.

The testimony of the Holy Spirit inwardly, outwardly the agreement with the brethren, makes us certain of the doctrine that we must adhere to the Lutheran part, not the Zwinglian.

The reason of Augustine in the place where he says: "I did not believe the Gospel" 2c. is this: I believe the general church, not the Arians; but this cannot be valid, because likewise the Papists could say that they find nothing of Luther in the Scriptures.

**209**.....

**210. 211** .....

It is a folly, or at least foolish, to present to those whom one wishes to instruct in dialectics: what, how, how great [quae,

1, 31.  
7, 56.



qualis, quanta]. If I were to write a dialectic, I would treat only the second and take out of the categories [praedicabilibus] only one particular, so that if I had to preach about chastity, I would explain it first; then I would speak of its advantages, thirdly of its disadvantages.

It is not probable that the ancestors of the Jews were so nonsensical that they would have seriously meant the fables they invented, which their descendants do. For what is more foolish than to consider as true what they invented about their Shophor [i.e. Shor-Habbar - bull of the field]? It is an ox and so big that it grazes every night all the grasses from the pastures of the whole world, which God makes grow again by the nightly dew. I believe, however, that those wise people mainly illustrated to their children the death that takes away people of both sexes and of every age every day, in that God puts other people in their place, as when I am taken away from that great ox, my son and daughter are put in my place for me; when they are taken away, others will also follow them. But that they add that that ox will be slain at the last day, and every man will eat his piece of roast from it, signifies that death, which kills us, shall be slain, and die in respect of every one of us, that he may no more hurt any man, for he shall be cast down at our feet. This is how I understand the fable of the largest fish of the sea, called Leviathan, with whom God plays three hours every day, that it is the devil, whom God allows to trouble people, but whom God restrains when he wants. But the fact that a movement of his tail brings about a movement of the earth means a very great confusion which he causes in the world.

Since no one can in all ways do what he wants, nor do what we certainly should do, let each one do what he can in his office and say: "Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed," 2c. as when the emperor wants to settle the disputes of Germany and the Germans do not want to. We would like Carl to believe the Gospel, but Carl does not want to. We have nothing more than to pray a blessed and dear Our Father, and let it go as it goes 2c.

As God creates everything from nothing, so He brings everything back to nothing. For what was Alexander the Great? Nothing, before he was. What is he now? Nothing at all. This is how God does it in the rebirth. For before He makes you a new man, that is, frees you from your impurity, into which you have come through the corruption of nature, it is necessary that you first become nothing. For God makes you nothing through the atonement and then something through faith.

No one denies that private affairs belong to private men, therefore the schools, the maintenance of the church servants and priests, and the like, which are public affairs, will not be given to a private man, but to the authorities. A peasant may give a penny for confession and a piece of bread, but he will not give the whole neighborhood to feed the priest or keep his house in repair, for these are works of majesty, not of the peasants. 1)

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1) In praise and honor of God, we must note here that here in America, citizens and farmers, who in our republic are, however, also co-rulers of the country, build and maintain both churches and schools (lower and higher), feed and pay preachers and teachers, and even provide students and pupils at all higher educational institutions with housing and food. This is done for all religious denominations, because the authorities do not care about religion at all, just as in Germany the Jews maintain their church system themselves.

**217** If the universities [universales scholae] were not maintained at the expense of the princes, people would soon see that private citizens do not take care to promote public studies.

Whoever wants to study theology and achieve something, let him be a fool and he will be a theologian. The highest art of a future theologian is to distinguish very carefully between the wisdom of reason and the word, or the science of God. For those who mix the two, mix heaven with earth.

The best pope [and therefore the worst man] of all in the past time was Julius [II.], but in our time, who will also surpass the best [popes] of all times, the best pope is this Clement the Seventh, because he is the worst [man] among all who have ever been, and by far the worst. In addition, he is also a bastard. And the pontificate does not belong to any other men than the very worst. For the papacy cannot suffer a divine government, which is the word of God, over itself, nor the world regiment, nor the house regiment, but a certain middle one among these, that is, a purely diabolical [regiment]. That is why only the devil's real sons can preside over it. And if by chance a good man is placed before him, he still becomes evil by the nature of this realm; of which a frightening example was Leo X, who before was a very good man 2c.

The world is not governed by religion, but by superstition and tyranny, and not by equity, because the world is under the teusel, and since we preach that faith makes free, and the world hears this, it wants to be free in every way, but in a carnal way. Thus it turns the true religion into superstition or rather into the lie of the devil.

In spiritual things there is only one cause and one end; as God's word has God as its cause, but justification as its end. But the sinner, who is the matter, is the thing with which it has to do [causa circa quam]. But if one assumes in spiritual things a material and formal cause in the proper sense of the word, this can only be done by an equation, but not actually. The formal cause in the word is wisdom, truth, virtue, these are invisible formae, they are recognized only by their effects [effectibus]. 1)

**The** first epistle to Timothy is intended to be the right method of Christian teaching, for it speaks first of the law, then of the gospel, as Paul mentions it himself. Thirdly, he comes to the practice of faith; such is the prayer for the kings [1 Tim. 2, 2. ff.).

**223.** It is a positive law [given by men] and indeed of great importance for the world, but the natural law is greater, but the greatest is the law of divine and eternal wisdom. But above all is the law of grace,

1) Cordatus has remarked on this in the margin: formae? [These words refer to the dispute of Cordatus with Melanchthon mentioned in No. 174 of this appendix. In a lecture by Cruciger on the First Epistle to Timothy on July 24, 1536, which Cordatus attended, the latter took grave offense at the following words: Christ alone is the cause for whose sake it happens seansa propter cMsiol; but meanwhile it is also true that man must do something, that we must have repentance seontritionkiol, and by the word straighten the conscience to obtain faith. Thus our repentance and our efforts Wnatns] are causes of justification, without which it cannot happen [sine quidns non]. In the course of the dispute that now began, it turned out that these words came from Melanchthon, whose Dictates Cruciger had used. Now the dispute flared up with Melanchthon himself. (Wrampelmeyer.)

which may [easily] be more depressing than inspiring. 1) Furthermore, I would like to see someone who could actually distinguish between the natural law and the divine law. Also the ceremonies are from the natural law, because the ceremonies are also ordered for the sake of the divine service 2c.

The third commandment is about worship, ceremonies and the law of God.

**The** law is the law, even the law of God; whether it concerns morality, or judicial procedure, or ceremonies, all laws bind the conscience in the same way. But how is it that they have said that only the ceremonial law is abrogated? Who will free us from the others? We must fulfill them, say those lovely people.

**226** On the nature of the peacock. - The peacock boasts and struts in a wonderful way with the richness of its feathers. But when he looks at his feet, he immediately begins to scream and lets his feathers hang down in fright. He is also said to be very jealous and envious, as Aristotle testifies. Besides, he has a hoarse and unpleasant voice.

The peacock is an image of heretics and swarm spirits, for they too are proud in the manner of the peacock and boast about their gifts, which are never substantial, but if they could look at their feet, that is, the foundation of their teaching, they would lower their feathers in fright and humble themselves. Yes, they also suffer from jealousy because they cannot stand pure and right teachers. They want to be all alone and suffer no one beside them, and are jealous beyond measure, like peacocks. Finally, they have a hoarse and unpleasant voice, that is, their teaching is harsh and sad to the sorrowful and godly people, for it depresses the consciences more than it straightens and strengthens them.

**227.** another simile- how the peacock passes through the beauty of its feathers attracts the eyes of passers-by, the doctrines of the heretics have a great appearance among the great multitude, and deceive and delude the hearts of inexperienced and simple-minded people, either by teaching new things, or what is contrary to the reason of men.

**228.** of the nature of the crows. - The crows are said to be very loveless [*atropfoc*]. For they immediately leave their hatched young and fly away, and God feeds them wonderfully thereafter, Psalm 147, [9.].

By the crows are depicted the false and unfaithful teachers and pastors of the church, who leave their young, that is, the Christians who are entrusted to their care, either because of the belly or because of the danger, but Christ Himself feeds them wonderfully afterwards and preserves them in the midst of the wolves, as it happened under the papacy, where God has preserved His own wonderfully above all comprehension of human reason, so that they were not deceived by human statutes.

**229. of the** nature of the heron or *ρωδιού*. - The nature of the heron is wonderful. For when he has settled down in a river, he shall stand motionless on his feet. Then the little fishes swim up, attracted by the smell or the sweetness of the feet, and stay with him. Afterwards he catches and devours them, and as the heron brings a pious behavior as a witness, so the sin brings with it an evil conscience.

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1) These words might be understood from Tishr. chap. 13, 15: It is extremely difficult for a man to believe that God is gracious to him.

The essence of sin is depicted in this bird, which lures people to itself with unbelievable loveliness and certainty, and subsequently brings the lured to ruin.

**230** ..... 39, 12.

**231** Of the eagle. - It is said that the male eagle leads his young, if they are not yet fledged, into the desire and exposes them to the rays of the sun. When he sees that they keep their eyeball immobile against the rays of the sun, he recognizes them as his own, in that the sun is, as it were, a witness that he is their true father. He shall not only fight with the smaller four-footed animals, but also with the deer. He sits down on their horns, throws a lot of dust into their eyes, which he has collected on his flight, and hits their faces with his feathers. He also fights with the dragon. The dragon is viciously greedy for the eagle's eggs, so the eagle attacks him wherever he sees him. The dragon, however, ties up his wings with many twists, so that sometimes they both go down at the same time.

**The** scholastics said that he who does as much as is in him lives well morally, deserves grace *de congruo*, but not according to the mathematical, but according to the physical, that is, a divisible means [*medio*]. 1) If they had spoken this of righteousness before the world, it would have been beautiful. Furthermore, God simply demands righteousness according to the mathematical means, because He is simply and completely righteous, therefore He does not consider anyone righteous if he is not completely righteous, and who (like God) cannot suffer sin completely.

Physics is about the movement of things, but mathematics is about their *quidditas* and their forms. But one must speak of Christ neither according to mathematics nor according to physics, but rather what his benefit is, what he has brought us 2c.

**The fact** that we do not serve our neighbors according to our wealth is the reason why the rich want to increase their wealth, so that they spend much of their pleasure on their bellies, buildings and games. Wealth, and holiness even more, make people mad and so foolish that they do not serve their neighbors, even that they do not know who their neighbor is. Where can one find a bishop now, who is on alms? When have elders and monks done what their rule requires, according to which they called themselves holy? This holiness does not let them see Lazarus lying at the door.

Holiness, wealth, wisdom, power prevent people from loving God and their neighbor. And yet they are all great evangelicals. People dare to say that about them, and God remains silent. You have to let it go, because the more you rebuke them, the more they will be inclined to do what you rebuke, to defy us; let it [i.e. stay with that] that we rebuke them. But when I preach the word of God, you do not defy me, and I will be undaunted, I know that well. [We must suffer these things, and from the multitude also look to the little flock that is obedient to the gospel. The Lord will find the wicked in his time.

**(236)** Christians must exercise their faith by abstaining from sins, which is the performance of good deeds, so that our profession (as Peter teaches [2 Ep. 1:10]) may become stronger and more certain from works. But through sins it becomes weaker and finally ceases altogether. From good deeds we gain the testimony of faith, but from evil deeds we gain the certain testimony that we have sinned against the law.

1) Ueber das *xunetum matUsmaieum* undvergleiche

Tischreden Cap. 9, § 30 und Cordatus

have passed away the faith. But the mad mob does not care now how the law will be abolished, nor how it will be fulfilled. Therefore, when they have to die, they will think about the fulfillment, and when they see that there is no more time, they will despair.

**237** No one can judge of laws, whatever they may be, except he who has and understands the gospel.

It is God who has subordinated all and everything to certain laws, but He has not subordinated Himself to any law. Therefore, no one prescribes laws to God who has willed that he himself be free from all laws; but rather, the authorities should be mindful that it is subject to the laws.

<b>239</b> .....	2, 76.
<b>240. 241</b> .....	3, 32.
<b>242</b> .....	2, 79.

Hilarius was the greatest fighter against the heretics among all the Fathers, even Augustine cannot be compared to him. Cyril was also a great and excellent disputator. Jerome wrote nothing good because he was at peace. Ambrose, however, overloaded with official duties, was very hindered, and since he did not have a fight with heretics, he did not make much use of his great gifts, and almost all the fathers were harmed by one thing, that they led a contemplative life, not a practical one, or had the administration of a pastoral office, such as the care of the poor, sick 2c.

<b>244.</b> ... ..	2, 78.
<b>245</b> .....	2, 16.
<b>246</b> .....	37, 126.
<b>247</b> .....	24, 27.

The man who sits at the right hand of the Father wants to rule for a short time, and the world does not want to suffer him for a short time, but says constantly: "We do not want this man to rule over us", nor does he have to rule for the sake of him who says [Ps. 110, 1]:

"Sit at my right hand." And this king stands thus, as if he lies down and is ruled by all, as if he is completely powerless. It is still written [Ps. 135:6], "Whatsoever he will, that will he do in heaven and in earth." Who is wise? He who understands this dominion.

<b>249</b> .....	14, 27.
<b>250</b> .....	27, 140.

**251** It is natural that he who demands benevolence from others should himself be benevolent toward others.

The appearance of the coming of the Lord will be in power and in spirit. The impetuosity of the guns has the appearance of power, but the spirit is the art of printing, by which the impiety of the papal rule will be destroyed.

<b>253</b> .....	58, 10.
<b>254</b> .....	1, 48.
<b>255</b> .....	13, 48.
<b>256. 257</b> .....	1, 85.
	2, 150.

**258** .....

The third book of Ezra is nothing, for it enumerates the names and repeats what he had brought in the earlier books; the fourth is not so little as some think that it has little use. But it seems to be written after Christ's birth and without order, like Revelation. When he thought of it at another time, he asked me [Cordatus] very earnestly to read it through, saying that I would find in it the very deeds and works of our time.

Table, -just  
Cap. § 34.  
74, 59.

<b>260</b> .....	1,
<b>261</b> .....	

**262.** By faith men know what they know, namely that I live, eat, open my mouth 2c. What does a lamb or an ox know of these things? This is how the matter stands in the whole world.

Even our listeners call our steadfastness and our eagerness in words imperiousness, because they see or hear nothing from us but what they hate.

<b>264. 265</b> .....	21,	2.
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<b>266</b> .....	39,	3.
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**267** Doctor Brück mentioned this as the last words at the Diet of Augsburg, when the Prince of Saxony wanted to leave and had heard that those who had confessed Christ would be threatened with all hardships: Well, if it cannot be otherwise, we know that all the gates of hell are useless against this doctrine of ours. Since the emperor did not understand what these "gates of hell" were, he asked about them. Namely, the judges of religion and the protectors of faith have such insight.

**In** my time there was absolutely no use of dialectics in the schools, but they only recited it with poor general words and categories, and although they argued about them terribly, they did not recognize any use. But I, when I want to preach, still do not think about the categories. When I have to speak of faith, I do not think about its greatness, quality, or essence, but I first consider where it comes from, or what is its causative cause, that is, the Holy Spirit, that it is a gift of God, which is bestowed through the ministry of the Word (which is the active cause). After that I consider the formal and the material cause that he takes hold of Christ. Then I also consider the final purpose, which faith gives us, namely righteousness, and likewise what it gives to God, namely glory. 2c.' Here I also consider the fruits of faith: good works, thanksgiving for such great benefits, which are offered to us through Christ; then I carefully separate this faith from that which is called historical and from other things, so that no ambiguity remains. Such a consideration opens up to me the whole essence of faith, which I could never arrive at through the categories, and in this way it is more easily and simply understood and learned by children and others. But one can also explain faith and other things that have to be preached through the categories, if one has noticed them in such a way that one can simply speak out of them what one wants or what one has to preach. The knowledge of the causes, however, is more excellent, for it is finely straightforward when one wants to speak of things in terms of what they are.

By the abundant and immeasurable mercy of the Lord, we easily recognize the immense wickedness of men, who with the greatest ingratitude despise everything that He gives them without ceasing.

We will not suffer the false brethren in any way as long as I remain alive. But if they will confess that they are ungodly and without Christ, we will tolerate anything from them, even if they kill us. 1)

<b>271. 271a.</b> .....	
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47, 18.

Even though I have had all faith and trials, the amount of tribulations finally forces me to understand the text about the faith that does not remain [Matth. 13, 3]. For we see how many false

1) Similar thoughts Tischr. Cap. 39, U 3. 13. 24.

Table  
speeches

Brothers (like the Zwickauers), 1) who in the past had vigorously taken hold of the faith, now do everything evil to the servants of God under the Christian name. Yes, they want to be the best Christians. Such people are the word of the sower, which falls on the stone and the sand. But I carefully considered this knowledge when I was in Coburg and compared it with the Scriptures.

Thieves and others who are deprived of life because of their misdeeds are happier than we are in that, when they are put to death, they at least civilly recognize their sins, but we neither civilly nor spiritually.

It is the devil who disguises himself in various animal forms, for God does not play in such mummery, but lets the creature be which he has created.

**275**.....

24, 118.

Cursed is anyone who preaches to these stubborn "Zwickauers" who do not deserve it. I will die as an enemy of this city, and when I am dead, I will fight with them and all my enemies who unjustly persecute me because of the word of God. I know that for sure.

I have condemned Zwickau for myself and cursed it in the name of the Lord, especially the leaders, because it will remain unrepentant, and not only this, but also this they demand of us, that we should approve the ungodliness of what has happened, what they are doing against the Word and its servants.

**The** people of Jessen would have once almost become Zwickauers for me, but I was soon after them, scolded them, but they denied me [i.e. denied it]. The von Zwickau are great lords and have many good patrons at court, therefore they do not allow themselves to be scolded, nor do they have any need to follow.

**279** I got used to not being angry for a good while, but the Zwickauers got me out of that rule.

**280** Before I would have communion of faith with those of Zwickau, I would have my neck thrust out with a plank, and not once alone, but ten times.

To Torgau he said: I do not want to have fellowship with the Zwickauers, so that they know that either I am damned or they are damned.

**282**.....

67, 16.

**283**.....

26, 12.

**284** .....

26, 36.

**285. 286**.....

22, 30.

**287** . . . . .

64, 21.

**The** way one does to the world, one cannot govern it. For if coarse and unlearned people are placed at the head, as the world would be worth, then the commonwealth is in a bad way and becomes worse every day. But when very talented people are put in charge, they tear down more than they build. You have an example of both in Cochläus and Erasmus.

The reason of Erasmus is that there is no God; therefore he plays safe in the greatest serious things. And where it would be most in place to assert firmly, he ridicules and plays with ambiguities, which pleases people of his ilk very much; therefore no one dares to speak against it.

**290**.....

4, 22.

**291**.....

12, 8.

1) The dispute with the Zwickauers in 1530-1531. The servants of the Word are Hausmann, Cordatus and Sora" nus. - Luther's stay in Coburg was from April 15 to October 5, 1530. (Wrampelmeyer.)

	Table speeches Cap. K
<b>292. 293</b> .....	2, 29.
<b>294</b> .....	61, 5.
<b>295</b> .....	2, 1.
<b>296.</b> the body [venter] denotes the begetting, as Jn. 7, [38P. "From whose body shall flow rivers of living water."	
<b>297.</b> However great the power, it will not rule, but wisdom.	
 <b>298</b> .....	 27, 119.
When riches accrue to a farmer, he is more burdened than adorned.	
The words of God to Cain [Gen. 4:6, 7] are the words of the father [Adam], who undoubtedly had the Holy Spirit, who teaches the children good things through their parents and chides them for their faults. But Adam soon after the beginning suffered such a sad case in his sons, because his flesh was sinful. 1) Because from this cause all unpleasantness happens to the people.	
 <b>301</b> .....	 22, 121.
<b>302</b> .....	2, 6.
When Samson said that his strength was in his hair, it was because he wanted to escape the woman's insistence. But he alluded to the vow of the Nazir by implying that he had this strength from God and that if he sinned against him, he would lose his strength by cutting off his hair for the sake of sin. This is what happened. Furthermore, that of the foxes seems very similar to a fable, as does the story of Jonah in the belly of the whale. But what God's word says cannot be a fable; one must believe that these are miracles of God.	
The promises of the Jews have passed through the whole world. Therefore, not only one Job believed from among the Gentiles, nor Naaman alone, but also many others, and when Abraham was dead, he left behind him all the lands full of the knowledge of God.	
I do not presume to judge in worldly matters, but I do presume to judge in spiritual matters to the extent that I can certainly judge from two or three words what kind of faith someone has, whether he is sound in doctrine or not.	
Although it is nothing great that those who have the wisdom of God understand the wisdom of the world, it is believed to be impossible for a theologian to understand it.	
 <b>307. 308</b> .....	 2, 54.
<b>309</b> .....	1, 45.
<b>(310)</b> Since the smallest star seen is greater than the whole earth, there is no reason for us to doubt about the dwellings in heaven; for so great a people as now obey the Turk could inhabit one star.	
<b>311</b> .....	2, >32.
Man is a liar, active and passive, that is, he commits and suffers the lie. For he who relies on the children of men is deceived.	
If we know the devil, how can we not know the advice of the pope, who is the most handsome of his members in the world?	

1) In the original: ut suu xeoatrix caro. That the translation given by us is correct, results from the following sentence.



I believe that what is happening to us now happened to the holy patriarchs. For since they had families in need of protectors, they had no protector, and the authorities, to whom it belongs to defend all, were opposed to them. But the Scripture indicates this in very few words by the quarrel that arose over the well. [But we also have a lack of defenders.

That the peasants become so insolent is not to be wondered at, for there is no one to govern them seriously or to prescribe discipline for them. And the only pity of their situation is that they do not become completely insane or rage beyond measure, since they are so neglected by the authorities.

**316.** creation is not only that God made everything from nothing, but also that He alone sustains all things, otherwise the devil would destroy everything in an instant with fire, or by winds 2c.

**317.** Love, considered according to length [duration] and breadth, that is, that it will never cease, and in this temporality serves more than faith, is greater. (1 Cor. 13, 13?)

**The** citizens and peasants only look at the money and the salary of the ecclesiastics in terms of what they receive, but not in terms of what they give; how much they have to take in, but do not look at how much they spend.

It is impossible that the doctrine of faith, where it is in fact, could produce satiety or contempt against itself, but it produces hunger and admiration in the believers.

**320. 321** .....

14, 21.

It is wonderful and almost regrettable that everything that happened before the flood was described so briefly.

Those who made happiness a goddess were wise men, for they saw that everything that happens in the world is not governed by human reason, nor does it endure through human powers, but through divine ones. 2c.

In Paradise, people began to strive for divinity, which [God] has also given to this day to those who are in authority, that they may rule, decree and care for all their subjects. But since most of the time [not], indeed never, what a benevolent authority desires comes to pass, God drives people to freely reject the divinity they freely strive for, and those who are most kindly disposed in the office of authority, because of their ungodliness, throw their rule at God's feet and say: Rule thou, for thine is the government. I do not know and cannot rule from now on.

There is not so great a displeasure against me in this world as my displeasure is against the world.

This distinction is made by Christ, that the pious have but a fragment of bodily things in this world, and a full and entire blessing of all the spiritual things of God in that life; but that the ungodly have all the fullness of the things of this world, but nothing in eternal life. And so what is said comes to pass:

*Divisum imperium cum Jove Caesar habet.*

[And Isaac blesses Jacob, but Esau receives the possessions of this world.

**327** Staupitz said that it was the highest science which all had to learn that things were not right in this world.

We can neither bear the shortcomings nor their remedies, neither happiness nor unhappiness, neither health nor sickness, neither wealth nor poverty, neither life nor death, neither God nor the devil. He added an example from experience. In this year 1531, the soil had borne all too abundantly, for no one could have rightful profit in such great abundance, but in the past years everyone complained about the so very small yield of the soil.

Markolf rightly indicates that at every court there must be an excellently insolent and foolish man, who does not obey the prince, but seeks his own, as at our court Ritese 1)) is. He also implies that the wisdom of the world is not so great that it cannot be mocked or ridiculed, or even drivel. His poem, however, is quite suitable for the Germans, because the Germans, when they come out as poets, always have the dirt and the butt in the mouth.

**The** law of nature is implanted in us as heat is in fire, and is in us as fire is in pebbles. Its use, however, is such as one makes of the mirror. But it cannot be separated from the divine law.

**331 The** sophists said that it is not necessary that all understand the faith clearly [*explicite*], but veiled [*implicite*], that is to say, it is The understanding of Scripture is not necessary for everyone, by which one disputes against the heretics, but it is sufficient that one holds the concept of salvation from one or the other passage of Scripture.

It is in vain that God has the gospel preached to the world, for men abuse it, and yet it must be preached. For in no other way can it be taught to the world than with this mischievousness, that he [God] lets the law be preached to the world, and when the law is preached, he secretly creeps into some people through the gospel after the preaching of the law.

The Holy Spirit must rule the Church, otherwise it is impossible for all flesh to rule the Church; but when the papists arrogated this rule to themselves, to what an abuse has it come! Namely, they have come to call the conspiracy, which was made when a few bishops at a council thought more wrongly than any man can suffer, the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, from which then finally flowed the rule of the Church.

Hans Metsch is my enemy and I am his enemy, not because he does or has done evil to me, but because he wants to be and be called a Christian and yet does evil against me and others. Let him give out this [Christian] name 2) and let us not only offer our hands to his kicks, but let us also offer him our whole body, so that he will trample it underfoot, especially since he is in public office.

As the Turk rules with the rod of iron, so the rule of the pope is by the lie, and as both are earthly regiments of the world, so both are certainly of the devil.

Through repentance Christ receives people in all positions of life, however glorious and holy they may be in the eyes of the world, so that he may show the world through the preaching of faith what he wants all people to do, namely, believe. These two things are inseparable companions in a godly man, otherwise they are separated from each other. For Judas was repentant, but not believing, and all who misuse the gospel now most certainly believe that they are believers, since they are not repentant.

1) This name is probably wrong here. Cf. No. 758 of this appendix and Luther's letter Dec. 6, 1532. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 357.

2) Instead of *nsrmini*, read *nomini*.

As repentance in the name of Christ abhors all life as evil, so faith seizes with the most willing heart the best [life] that comes from the Word.

In the year 1483 I, Martin Luther, was born of my father Johannes Luther and my mother Margaretha. 1) My fatherland was Eisleben. My father died in the thirtieth year [i.e. 1530], my mother, named Margaretha, in the thirtieth year. In 1517 I began to write against the pope. In the year '18, Doctor Staupitz absolved me from obedience to the Order, and left me alone in Augsburg, where I was summoned before the Emperor Maximilian and the Pope's legate, who was there at the time. In the year '18 (cf. No. 569) I was expelled from the communion of the Church by Pope Leo and thus absolved [from obedience to the Roman Church] for the second time. In the year '21 Emperor Carl expelled me from his kingdom, and so I was absolved for the third time, but the Lord received me.

**339 ..... TheBeginning :**

9, 3.

And these follow one another, or exert their effect. Namely, in the time of safety and peace, presumption, disputing (against the known truth) and hardening prevail, but in the time of fear and tribulation, the other three, despair, envy and impenitence.

For in the time of security the wicked is confident and presumptuous, and it seems certain to him that his works please God, and he simply wants to be righteously fine, as the Pharisees constantly want. This is the presumption. When they are rebuked by someone, they become proud and resist the truth that is held out to them, and although they know that it is the truth, they do not want to let go of their presumption. Therefore, this presumption is followed by arguing against the recognized truth. If they do not give up this, they will become so hardened in presumption and in arguing that they will die in their sins, hardened, angry and incorrigible, like Emser and his like, who used my writings and yet disputed my writings until they died.

The reverse is the case with the other three, and at the time when someone begins to feel the wrath of God, like Cain and Judas. These first despair and do not trust that their sins will be forgiven; they believe that they are greater than the forgiving mercy of God. Afterwards, when they see that they are rejected, they envy all men their salvation and want no one to be saved, and all sin with them. They remain obstinate in their envy and despair and do not allow repentance, and as obstinacy is a kind of impenitence to the end in the time of certainty, that is, in presumption and strife, so impenitence to the end is a kind of obstinacy in the time of fear, that is, in despair and envy.

**340 ..... 12, 51.**  
**341 ..... 75, 1.**

**342.** In the year 29, the Duke of Saxony wrote me a letter from the Imperial Diet at Speier, which also contained this: it had been publicly warned that none of the princes should hear the preachers who boasted that

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1) In this number, there are quite a number of erroneous statements in the original. However, because it is quite generally known and recognized that it behaves with the dates as corrected by us, we do not consider it necessary to spread about it further. First, the year 1484 is given as the year of Luther's birth. Then twice Hanna as the name of his mother. Further, that Luther began to write against the pope in 1516. Finally, that he was excommunicated by the pope for the first time in 1519.

they were evangelical. After that, a mass was held for the Holy Spirit. I answered Luther: "These are fine fellows who raise their hands and strike Christ in the mouth so that it snaps, and then ask him for the Holy Spirit. O woe! Yes, he will come soon, I mean, the devil. You will see that they will not be able to do anything with their way at the Diet.

<b>343. 344.</b> .....	22,	9.
<b>345.</b> . ....	28,	12.
<b>346</b> .....	28,	3.
<b>347.</b>	22,	142.
<b>348</b> .....	28,	2.

**349 I** cannot get it into my head that Ferdinand's advice and undertakings should go out happily. For he has burdened himself too much with the blood of 1) innocents, which cries out to God. And this word, which he spoke to Speier, will be the cause of his downfall: As soon as the train against the Turk would be paid, he wanted to kill the Lutherans soon.

<b>350</b> .....	44,	9.
<b>351. 352</b> .....	73,	17.

All zealots, when they hire ministers from the churches, do not take those who can teach the people, but those who want to help their pastors in their zealotry.

**354** Philip once said about Erasmus that he had said that he never wanted the Gospel of John to be written. When I said, "Well, that's not true," Philip swore that it was true.

<b>355.</b> ... ..	15,	1.
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**356 It** is not necessary to think of the transgression, but of Christ, that he is presented to us. This works united faith to blessedness, but that works despair to damnation.

<b>357. 358</b> .....	26,	57.
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**359. 360. 361. 362.** These four numbers are an excerpt from Luther's letter to D. Wenceslaus Link, July 14, 1528, Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1534-1537, 88 5-16 and Walch, old edition, vol. XVII, 2697 ff. In the Table Talks they were Cap. 24, § 86 and Cap. 26, § 71, and are omitted there by us, as we do not consider it necessary to translate these four numbers here either. Where these pieces are found in De Wette, Rebenstock and Bindseil, may be found under Cap. 24, § 86 of the Table Talks.

Just as no one is to be forced into the faith and the gospel, so it is not to be permitted under one and the same authority that they secretly blaspheme the word of God, but they are to be summoned so that they may hear and be heard, so that plantations of sedition are not cultivated. With their serpentine hissing they flee the light, therefore they must be dragged before the public, so that they may win, be defeated, or by force 2) remain silent.

Since the Ten Commandments also teach what belongs to the worldly regime and to the household, the people are to be forced by the authorities to attend the Catechism sermon, which must take place very frequently. Whether people believe the gospel or not, obedience is necessary for all of them, which they owe in the worldly regime and in the household. And those who want to live among a people must learn their way of life and customs, yes, even the catechism, if not for their own sake, then for the sake of their children and their servants.

1) Seckendorf, hist. Luth. I. § 139. 2, reports of severe persecutions in Austria, Würtemberg and Belgium, which Ferdinand imposed on the Protestants. (Wrampelmeyer.)  
2) The "v" is to be resolved with "vi".

According to the Cordatus, No. 365 at the beginning, and No. 366 at the end, these two numbers do not seem too far from Luther. But because Rebenstock II, 39 a.-406. and Bindseil II, 40-43 communicate the former number in much more detail, the latter in excerpts under the heading: "Wie man mit Schwärmern umgehen soll, Unterricht D. Martin Luthers an den Herrn fd. i. Pfarrers Johannes Mantel in Mühlhausen", we have translated both numbers. The latter is found in dm Tischreden Cap. II, § 12. See our note there. We leave the former here:

The Sacramentarians must first be persuaded (says Philip) that they are not pissed in their opinion, although they have some probable reasons. Therefore they are to be questioned in familiar conversation what they could oppose us. Then the faith of the ancient fathers is to be held against them, of Augustine, Cyprian, Hilarius, whose opinion of the Sacrament is clear, and that of Augustine on infant baptism. If they confess that they are uncertain, then they are to be seriously admonished that they should not teach anything uncertain, but keep their opinion to themselves; it is a sin, because what does not come from faith 2c.

This is the way to study successfully in theology, that you read some chapters in the Bible at the time (loco) of prayer, early in the morning and in the evening. After that, the method of the Christian faith is to be learned from Paul's letter to the Romans and the letter to the Galatians, and when you have familiarized yourself with the letter to the Colossians, you will easily understand all the others, as Paul teaches afterwards. Then read the Gospel of Matthew and Luke, and consider the passages in which Christ speaks of repentance or faith. Thirdly, the sermons of Christ in the Gospel of John are to be read. Then one must go back to the Old Testament, and especially to the first and fifth books of Moses and the Psalter, whose teaching is to be connected with the teaching of Christ. All this is then understood all the more correctly when an application in life is added and the challenge which teaches to pray. Afterwards the prophets are to be read, and their words are to be directed to the doctrines of the Christian faith, faith, love, the cross 2c. In the stories of the Law, a distinction must be made between the Law and the Gospel, between faith and works, the faith of David 2c. The teachers, he said, are to be read with (good) judgment, that they may be tested wherein they are sound and wherein they are wanting.

In the whole doctrine of the Church, careful attention must be paid to which part actually belongs to the spiritual life, and which to the civil and political. These two parts must be kept far apart from the Gospel, which is the power of God for salvation; but those are only good things created by God [creatura].

**369.** That one can direct in every way the words from the sources of the Bible itself is better than many thousand florins. I have come to the last "O" (""), but it will again become an "A" (a).

If Pa's conscience is certain that Christ instituted the Lord's Supper in both forms, it is not at the discretion of men to take it in one or both forms. And if it is not permitted under both forms, it is safer and better to abstain from it altogether, for this is done without sin, because it is not in our power, but we are deprived of a form, and in the meantime the spiritual enjoyment must suffice, of which Augustine says: Believe and you have enjoyed it. Further, it is not lawful to take it secretly, because Christ has ordained that it should be taken publicly. For this sacrament is a public confession of Christ, since he says: "Do this in remembrance of me. But if thou wilt take it in any other parish than thine, and shalt be accused of it, see that thou

Do not deny Christ before the judge, whom you have confessed and proclaimed in the sacrament, as Paul indicates [1 Cor. 11:26].

H[erzog G(eorg) is a very miserable man, who lives miserably and will die even more miserably. He cannot use (i.e. enjoy) his beautiful country for one hour. He is in such a great misery that I did not want to curse him, although he is my great enemy. He will be completely exterminated with his sons and his brother H(einrich) will become Duke of Saxony; 1) for Saxony falls to him according to the written laws 2) He has promised the great princes much which he cannot carry out against us. This offends him [in the original: yhm]. (This prophecy has been fulfilled [verificata] in 1537, since his son died, the hope of the empire). 3)

Worthy and unworthy eat from the altar, but only those who enjoy it worthily live.

19, 24.

**373** .....

I will write and preach in vain in the wilderness of this world, that the world may see that one can do good without hope; but only a Christian can do this.

**375. ....** ..... 13, 29.  
26, 81.

**376.** .....

When a priest complained, our Philip answered: "You vowed poverty, obedience and chastity in the monastery, but now you keep them. But now I am forced to obey my wife, and even some of the worst boys.

26, 30.

**378. 379. ....** .....

**380 It is of** little use to counsel and comfort those who are challenged by this with writings. But I will tell you the art by which I have worked my way out of this evil, and still keep myself against it today. First, I hold in my mind with the utmost certainty that these thoughts are fiery darts of Satan, with which he wants to suppress me as an explorer of majesty and as one who aspires to high things. This must be remembered without ceasing. This is the commandment of God, as He says there (in Scripture) in the 12th Cap. [v. 13.] of Ecclesiastes, and about this David complains in the 131st Psalm [v. 1.], that he was ill at ease, as often as he searched after high things. And this causes the devil, so that we should finally hate GOD and despair. Secondly, I search diligently in which commandment of God these thoughts of mine are contained, and if I find none, then I say: "Lift yourself up, you wretched devil, you want to teach me to take care of myself," 4) since God commands in the first commandment and elsewhere: "Cast your care upon the Lord" (1 Pet. 5, 7.). Third, if the devil does not soon cease, I must not cease to constantly turn my heart elsewhere and speak to Satan: Do you not hear that I regard thoughts as your thoughts, and that God has forbidden them? But if you want to argue about these things, go up to heaven, and God will answer you abundantly enough. Fourthly, when I speak of those fiery

1) Instead of: kratsr sst äux sst Laxoniae is to be read: krater ejus äux erit Laxonia".

2) In the original: serixturam. This word was called in later legal Latin: the existing law. (Wrampelmeyer.)

3) This means his son Johann, died on January 11, 1837. The then remaining son Friedrich was stupid, but also died before his father. The bracketed words are addition of the Cordatus. (Wrampelmeyer.)

4) In the original: you.

snakes, I do not look at the snakes, nor at the fire.

I look at the serpent of brass, which is Christ. He alone, taken in faith, heals this temptation. If it returns, throw it from you again, just as the returning saliva is thrown out of your mouth. This is how I am helped.

**381. 382.** ..... 64, 1.

I did not like to become a monk, but now the world looks at me in such a way that I would like to become a monk again, that is, to run into the desert and get out of the eyes of the shameful world.

**384.**..... I, 9.

**385** I learned from my teacher in Erfurt that one must speak little and good with women, if one must speak with them; otherwise you or they easily make a mistake.

**386.** they say of a new sect called new Jerusalem, but all who belonged to it were killed, because each was asked whether he agreed with the other. Just like the Nepotians 2)

So skillful are those who go against the word of God in speech and writing, that they will not let themselves be taken until they open their mouths.

In the way of righteousness, that is, in the kingdom of heaven, the Christian sees nothing but faith and grace. In the world, however, he is thoroughly concerned about good works, so that he may take care to live honestly and uprightly, and so it happens that faith belongs to heaven and good works to earth. Faith up, good works down.

The holy land was not fertile by nature, as it is written, but by the blessing of God. Otherwise, it is stony, sandy and salty in most places.

When Cordatus left for Torgau 2) to the prince's councilors, who were to pass judgment on the Zwickau affair, Philip said: "Dear Cordatus, I wish you an unusual patience.

When the Zwickauers received their verdict in Torgau, they were forbidden to accept a pastor other than with the permission of the prince, and since they had elected thirteen, almost in a whole year, and none had declared himself willing to accept this office, they finally got the Magister Leonhard [Beier], who had formerly been a monk, and the frogs overcame a stork [Phaedrus I, 2). Furthermore, those who had fought against the pastor [Hausmann) and the Cordatus all became disgraced in three years 3) and died miserably. Mühlfort, the head of this matter with his whole family, and Roth, the originator of this whole conflagration, is still there to this day and pretends repentance, which he has not yet proven.

I wish I could be a little angel for only three days, then I would steal all the peasants' treasures and throw them into the Elbe 4). Oh, all the ropes would become too few, so they would hang themselves, one there, one here.

**393.**.....

59, 6.

1) Bishop Nepos of Arsinoe, around 250 at the head of the Egyptian Chiliastes. However, nothing is known of a bloody persecution of the Nepotians. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) In July 1531. (Wrampelmeyer.)

3) Because the investigation against dre Zwickauer took place in 1531, and here is reported what happened within three years thereafter, this number cannot have been written before 1534.

4) Instead of "Elbe" and immediately after "Oh" the original has: "Welt" and "Ob". The correction is made according to Kummer in Lauterbach p. 56.

Table Talks

**394** ..... Cap. 8 **37**,  
**395** ..... 126,  
 66, 33.

**The** reading of Quintilian is so pleasant and captivates the reader that he is constantly compelled to continue reading, for he penetrates one's heart.

**397.** Philip surpasses all Greeks and Latins in teaching dialectics.

**398.** Fabian [von Feilitzsch], 1) the councilor of the Elector, has by nature the principles of law, without art; so also Petrus Lupinus.

**399.** . . . . . 3, 58.

The fact that the apostles had temptations, as we do, is evident from their letters, and that is why they so often exhort us and urge us to pray, to be vigilant, to progress and grow in faith, so that we may make our profession firm.

**401** ..... 2, 55.

Whoever seeks to be a faithful servant in religion, or housekeeping, or world government, has the devil for his greatest enemy, and from the devil are most certainly all evil thoughts.

**403** To his little child, which he received from his mother's womb, he said: "If you are the enemy of the pope, you are indeed the enemy of a great and mighty lord. But we pray. God is our helper forever.

**404**..... The beginning: 15, 8.  
 The following: 24, 23.

If Erasmus believes that God is, then I will forgive myself of my Christ, whom I did not want to give for ten hundred thousand guilders.

**406.** ... 37, 67.

Maximilian to the King of England: I, who have often been defeated, am called the most invincible, the godless King of France the most Christian, you the most rich. This is true because you have a good land and good gold.

I do not like to write letters, but whoever I write a letter to may consider me a good friend. This is what Queen Maria of Hungary said when a certain young man brought her my letter: I see that D. M. Luther loves me.

**409** ..... 37, 148.

**410** ..... 1, 2.

The world abuses all human and divine gifts alike.

**412** ..... 17, 2.

**413.** .. 7, 62.

**414** ..... 26, 32.

**415!** ..... 13, 15.

**416** ..... 4, 50.

**41** ..... 7, 63.

**418. 419. 420** ..... 2, 56.

If the papists have to take their cause out by force, they should look up, for they have hair on their heads just as much as we do.

**422** ..... 27, 96.

After that he said to Schlaginhausen: Do you have thoughts to sell? The latter answered: "Now I am well; I have ventured on good days.

II Cf. Tischr. Cap. 45, z 36. - Walch, old edition, vol. V, 1196, § 30. - About Lupinus cf. Tischr. Cap. 37, § 7.



giving on earth. The doctor replied: "You are right to do so. So our life should and must depend on God; if a good hour comes, we accept it, if bad, we accept it too.

**424 The** Cardinal [Cajetan] said to Augsburg about me: This brother has profoundly looking [profundos] eyes, therefore he also has wonderful imaginations [phantasias] in his head.

The whole world struggles for its own righteousness and does not want to be blessed by a foreign one. This is the devil, because God has ordered it differently. Our Adam is only tickled by his own righteousness.

This must serve us as a consolation that our opponents speak, write and shout against the recognized truth. Thus I have often been comforted by D. Eck, to whom I really should honor a great gift for his sake.

**The** papists do not want to get back on their feet and are not ashamed, therefore God disgraces them even by force.

From now on I will preach to our Lord God alone, since I see that the whole world wants nothing but to perish.

**429** ..... 27, 114.

**430 The** advice of the bishops was: If we were only rid of the monk, we would probably conquer the priests. They would have to dance to our tune.

**431. 432** ..... 66, 33.

**433** ..... 73, 1.

**434** ..... 4, 65.

**435** ..... 7, 80. 81.

**436** ..... 68.

**The** captains, dukes and others who are in his [God's] offices have this right because they are not private persons, otherwise one would often know how to behave against them.

**438.** ..... 7, 69.

**439** ..... 2, 59.

**440** ..... 7, 70.

**441.** ..... 27, 93.

A plague for Germany was the one who brewed the first beer. Because horses eat oats and farmers eat barley, rye must be expensive.

**443** ..... 51, 2.

Since I am still alive, my brothers and relatives act unfairly toward me in the division of my inheritance. What will they do to my children when I am dead? I wish they had kept the 300 guilders in the name of all the devils. God gives me annually as much as I consume. God will feed me, His servant, as He has proven in me so far. My children I command another father [than them], GOtte, that shall be their great treasure. My son shall be rich, while my kinsmen shall beg. I nourish the sons of these ingrates to honor the deceased parents in them. He who wants to be pious will lose his good deeds, and God will punish all ingratitude and injustice, according to the words [Ps. 91, 8.]: "You will see how it is repaid to the wicked."

1) In the original "unsern", which would not make sense. Luther wants to say: The world is not worth preaching for its sake, therefore I will do it for God's sake.

2) It is not necessary to change 61U8 into svruna. Rom. 13, 6: "For they are God's servants."

3) It seems to us more appropriate to the sense if instead of: "the farmers" would read: "the beer."

445. If you have money ready, you will easily despise God, who is ready to give you money.  
help). 1)

446 ..... 48, 15.

447 When I heard today that in a certain convent the nuns had taken off their habit, had stopped listening, and were now freely using their belongings and privileges, I said to the one who told me: "Oh that all nuns were like that, and their convents became schools, and they themselves free, for it is hard for nobles and princes to marry their daughters to men who are not their equals, that is why they have pushed them into the convents.

The order of Moses was very good, who allowed only the firstborn to exercise the power of rulership, while the others were subordinates, which is still held today in the Orient and is a very good order.

449..... 43, 6.  
450..... 43, 72.

451 "That thou mayest be right when thou judgest" [Ps. 51:6]. I would gladly be right with our Lord God, if it seems to me that I am more righteous than he is, when I consider my righteousness and my suffering. And if [original: if] he would let it remain with this register, then I would be right; but if he brings forth his register of his suffering and my sins, then I succumb.

452 .....

453. 454. 455 ..... 66, 62.  
24, 115.

456 ..... 24, 111.

457. If a challenged person believes that the smallest devil is stronger than the whole world, let him also consider that the least of the angels who guard us is stronger than all the devils.

The devil is very hostile to us and the pope. But if we worshiped the devil or the pope, we would be his most beloved sons and become cardinals. This must be our consolation that we are not alone in being challenged. Peter and Paul were also challenged. The whole church suffers in various ways according to the diversity of its members, for the weak suffer little, the strong suffer much. Only we do not fear the evil one; I have been accustomed to his beauty.

459..... 1, 54.

Praise God in heaven, blaspheme the devil on earth. But God is not praised if he is not loved; he is not loved if he does not do good; he does not do good if he is not merciful. He is not and cannot be merciful unless he forgives sins; he does not forgive them except for the sake of Christ.

It is a great thing to believe in God. But this is a consolation, that he said [Luc. 12, 32.]: "Fear not, little host; for" 2c. Is it not the devil that we fear him, since he himself says we should not fear?

462. ... 42, 7.

The Diet of Augsburg went well for us, let us pray to God, and similar things that will follow will happen in the same way. .

464. .. 45, 14.

1) In the original: Praesens pecunia praesentem Deum facit contemnere.

Table  
enarbas

Monks and nuns merge and dry up, like the snow before the sun.

<b>466</b> .....	14, 28.
<b>467</b> .....	26, 51.
<b>468</b> .....	68, 2.
<b>469</b> .....	7, 71.
<b>470</b> ... ..	2, 61.
	2, 60.

**471** .....

If you are surprised that God Almighty does not cause all men to be good, the answer is that you should go up and ask Him. But even on earth, we see by all that God does that God is wise, almighty and good.

<b>473</b> .....	1, 34.
<b>474</b> .....	7, 96.
<b>475</b> .....	26, 20.

**476** My father was required by Mansfeld through a neighbor who was in the death throes to come to him. He went and asked him what he wanted. He turned around in bed, showed him his buttocks and said: "Behold, dear Luther, how they have beaten me. My father was so upset by this and was so tormented by thoughts about it that he almost died himself.

**477** Remember, when you are challenged, a fornicator who answered the devil: I have not done it, and if I have done it, yet Christ has borne my sins. And the challenged one felt better.

<b>478</b> . . . : .....	7, 72.
<b>479</b> .....	9, 50.

**The** Waldensians are methodologists. Therefore, they say that grace is given to us by God the Father according to power, by the Son in a mediatorial way, by the Holy Spirit in a functional way, by the church servants in a ministerial way, by the sacraments in a sacramental way, and by the works in a meritorious way.

<b>481</b> .....	60, 6.
<b>482</b> .....	22, 107.

That the greatest lies find the greatest belief, we have experienced in the papacy, in which the devil 1) so bewitched us that we believed tangible lies.

**484** .....

Younger people do not receive the gospel as old people who have been afflicted in the 11, 9. ministry.

*Dulcia (enim) non meminit, qui non gustavit amara.*

[(For) he respects not the sweet who has not tasted the bitter].

<b>486</b> ... ..	
	11, 1.
<b>487</b> .....	60, 16.
<b>488</b> .....	69, 3.

**489** It is not the same work to recite laws and the holy scripture. The theologians fight against the whole essence of the pabst, the jurists only against the abuse. Christ is the mathematical point of the holy scriptures, the emperor is the physical point of the laws. We do not argue with writers, but we want to change the pabstry. \*

1) It will read äiakolus instead of äsus.

**490:** "Before the arrows that fly by day" [Ps. 91:6]. The sum of this verse is, be it night or day, be it black or white, there shall be no trouble with thee. Therefore, let it be well or ill with a Christian, let it all be one to him, for nothing will harm him, let the sun shine brightly or darkly. This is a general comfort in this one verse: thou shalt not be afraid of those who counsel in secret, nor of those who break out against thee. It makes us safe against the deceits of men and against the violence of tyrants.

The Psalms and passages of Scripture do not have to be drawn to private life, as Bernhard has forced "the arrows that fly" [Ps. 91] to the vain glory by a moral and monkish interpretation; for it [the Psalm] concerns the Church and the forgiveness of sins. There lies God's power.

<b>492</b> .....	45,	1.
<b>493</b> .....	68,	1.
<b>494. 495. 496</b> .....	26,	34.
<b>497</b> .....	34,	6.
<b>498</b> .....	12,	17.
<b>499.</b> Oecolampadius is now (Ende 1531) also died. He (Gott) ran them away finely. 1) I am frightened by these examples, which should be a comfort to me, but I suffer because of the blasphemy of the papists. Well, I will hold out for the sake of Christ, when he wills.		
<b>500</b> .....		
	22,	14.

Aristotle teaches that nothing can be concluded from purely particular things. But Christ concludes so [Matth. 22, 32.] from a particular: God is a God of the living, and he is the God of Abraham, who died, therefore Abraham lives. But Gott here is not a particular nor indefinite, but a general, for only Gott is alive, and it is the same as if he said, Omnis Phenix, omnis Deus. [A whole phoenix, a whole Gott.) 2)

<b>502</b> .....		
	26,	72.
<b>503</b> .....	73,	11.

**504** Aristotle and all natural scientists teach the things only by a certain general knowledge, as if Mag. Veit [Dietrich] would be seen by me [from here] in Brate 3), they say, I would see a being [ens], but if he would also move, they say, I would see a living being, but if he would come to the [Elb-] bridge, I would see a man, but if he would have come to the gate, I would see that the man is a man, not a woman, but if he would come to me, I would see that it is Magister Veit. Thus the naturalists describe all things with many garunted circumlocutions.

<b>505.</b> ... ..		
	7,	16.
<b>506</b> .....	2,	58.
<b>507</b> .....	34,	6.
<b>508</b> .....	27,	143.
<b>509.</b> . . . . .	3,	50.

1) In the original: "Er leset sie fein hin Wege." This refers to Zwingli, who was killed shortly before Oecolampadius' death in the battle of Cappel, Oct. 11, 1531.

2) The phoenix, a fabulous bird that burns itself after a life of more than five hundred years, and from whose ashes then grows a young bird phoenix, is a symbol of resurrection and eternal life. The meaning of the last difficult words will probably be: Because God is life in Himself, those who are in God must also live.

3) In the original: "prataw", i.e. Pratau. Tischreden Cap. 76, § 26. "Brate" is as far from Wittmberg as the Po is wide. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 310: the next hamlet I, from Wittenberg] above the Elbe "Prata".

I hate people who talk a lot, because most of the time, when they make themselves believe that they are saying great things, they are telling lies, but the truth, as it belongs to few, makes them few words.

**511. 512**..... 14, 45.  
7, 67.

**513**.....

The present ingratitude will be followed by hunger for God's word. After that they will walk again from morning to evening, from Rome to Compostella, seeking the word and not finding it.

**515** Thoughts are duty-free, they are not punished, nor are desires, namely, in a civil way, but God is their judge.

**516**..... 43, 8.

**517**..... 2, 17.

**518**..... 22, 19.

**519.** . . . . . 7, 152.

**520.** . . . . . 14, 22.

**521** ..... " ..... 24, 44.

**522**..... 73, 4.

**523**..... 70, 1.

**524** The short epitome of the right is, many things must not happen, which they nevertheless hold, if it has happened.

22, 153.

**525**.....

God pays me well for destroying monasticism; for do not the monks in general also run to me to feed them?

The magistracy is a difficult and dangerous one, because they are forced to kill people, since they cannot give life. That is why they need the word of God and 1) laws. It is also good for them that they have a lot of proofs; the one to whom the most is given and the one who is closest to the goal has the proofs. And the principles are favorable to the authorities that every thief must be hanged. I will ask for none more. (1) Wisdom is the major proposition, and evidence is the locus communis. 2. insight (is) the subordinate clause [minor], 2) the subordination, the proof, this one is a thief, because he has stolen often and much and not by chance, nor out of necessity, but out of malice. 3) Science (is) the conclusion, the application of the proposition, namely, that he must be punished. 4) Prudence selects the deserved punishment according to equity [xxxxxxx] and moderation. 5. finally follows the art, the execution itself and the kind of punishment. This is what Master Hans can do.

I used to be so eloquent that I wanted to have washed the whole world to death, which I absolutely cannot do now. (I could at times wash more from a flower) than now from a whole meadow. I do not love wealth of words [verbositatem].

There are some wicked people who say, "I must sin. For if I did not sin, God would become a liar, that you might be justified. Fie on the shameful freedom which thus dishonors God.

**530**..... 37, 106.

**531**..... 27, 139.

**532**..... 45, 16.

1) In the original: opus kukent vsrko Oei 6x leZikuZ. Shouldn't et be read instead of ex?  
2) Instead of niinori, rainor (so. 68t) is probably to be read.  
3) In the original "wol". We have made this correction and the following addition from Kummer x. 300 (Lauterbach, xug. 141).

Table  
speeches

<b>533</b> .....	22, 16.
<b>534</b> .....	22, 130.
<b>535</b> .....	55, 3.
<b>536</b> .....	37, 20.
<b>537</b> .....	35, 12.
<b>538.</b> .....	29, 1. 76, 26.

**539** .....

The Italians, Spaniards and French did nothing at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, except that they rode around on their donkeys, so that they could greet the emperor on occasion, and they hunted along frighteningly. But the Landgrave was held in very great honor, and the people who followed him proved that there was something captivating [fatale] in this prince.

<b>541</b> .....	26, 80. 7, 178.
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**542** .....

The world does not believe and recognize the hidden treasure of God; it cannot be persuaded that an obedient maidservant, a faithfully working servant and a woman who gives birth is much more glorious than a praying monk, who is only concerned with his appearance, but those [see 1) the command and order of God.

**544** I wanted the devil to lead the one upstairs out of the house, who is the only master and host in the house, if he has a wife, and one looks for such a one in the circle of many married ones; after that, however, I do not yet stand one, who strikes this cross from himself. 1)

<b>545</b> .....	26, 26. 22, 17.
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**546**.....

When I wake up and can no longer sleep because of the ringing of my ears, it often seems to me as if I heard the bells of Halle, Leipzig, Erfurt and Wittenberg, and I think, you must suffer a papstanfall [papaxismum] 2), and God often changes that by a short sleep that follows.

On St. Vincent's Day [Feb. 22] at 9 o'clock I saw a fiery ball flying from the sky. God grant a good outcome!

**The** opinion of many is that the world will stand for six thousand years and there would be 400 years left from the year 1532. But God is beginning to rumble, and it is to be hoped that He will shorten the time, as the Law of Moses was given before the passage of time. For this decade seems to be a new time, as it were, because tremendous changes are taking place. The Pabst falls from year to year, and everything changes. It cannot last long if there is not a new pontiff. Therefore, we must watch spiritually in faith and physically through good behavior, so that we will be found ready. Afterwards, watchfulness will not be necessary.

<b>550</b> .....	2, 68.
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**551** Philipp M[elanchthon's] calculation of the last day is this: There were eighty jubilee years until the coming of Christ, that makes 4000 years. From his birth it is now 1532 years. Thus the world had lasted 5532 years, and still 400 and some years remain.

**552. the** papists not only do not hold their things seriously, but also with mockery and contempt, as a certain priest spoke the alphabet early on and

1) The meaning of this paragraph will be well: Every man who is married is more or less under the rule of his wife; in vain one looks for a complete master in the house among married men; after all, they carry their cross without reluctance.

2) Probably jokingly papaxismulli instead of xarox'sruuni.

said: Lord God, from these individual parts all words are formed, therefore choose from them the prayer that pleases you.

<b>553</b> .....	22, 1.	
<b>554</b> .....	22,	3.
	76,	3.

**555** .....

I must go to sleep and observe the way of life prescribed by the holy fathers, the physicians, who also accuse me of disobeying them.

When they wrapped his child in swaddling clothes, he said, "Cry out quickly and defend yourself; the pope had also bound me, but I have been released from his bonds.

<b>558</b> .....	22, 94.
<b>559. 560. 561</b> .....	43, 169.

**562.** Christ argues from the opposite, since he says: "He who is of God hears the word; you are not of God" 2c. [John 8:47.]

<b>563. 564. 565. 566. 567.</b> .....	26, 5.
	3, 87.

**568** .....

In the year 17, on the day of All Saints' Day, I first began to write against the pope and the indulgences. In the year 18 I was banned, in the year 19 I disputed against Eck in Leipzig.

<b>570</b> .....	26, 51.
<b>571. 572. 573. . .</b> .....	58, 9.
<b>574</b> .....	7, 113.
<b>575. 576. 577</b> .....	1, 5.
	13, 22.

**578** .....

The 110th Psalm is the summit and the head of the whole Scripture; it describes the kingdom and the priesthood of Christ in the most glorious way, saying that it is Christ who governs everything and intercedes for all, and that he has it all in his hand. It is an excellent spiritual interpretation. This psalm is worthwhile; if I were healthy in my body, I would take to it.

Be of good cheer when you are challenged. If God has troubled you until now, He will comfort you in the future. For God has helped me, since my body and all my strength were exhausted, so that I have completely different blood and flesh. He has also added joy to this, and has given me a wife and children, which I should not have submitted to at that time.

<b>581</b> .....	76, 23.
<b>582</b> .....	43, 23.

If I wanted to build a house, I certainly wouldn't want to build it in this pigsty, because the wall is worth nothing, except that it costs a lot of money. When the lawn is gone, the sand flows there, so the pigs and dogs lurk over. Indeed, to pour out ramparts is borrowed from the ancients, but from those who had the earth suitable for ramparts. Our very good prince is deceived by his nobles, who persuaded him to tear down the stone wall of this city and to put another one in its place, which is of sand.

Duke Frederick was very wise, he alone had the administration of his kingdom; he did not order it all to the Scharrhansen, and often said: Because I live, I want to be prince in the country myself. And with the greatest care he appointed only good and understanding captains, and our [present] prince [John Frederick] is now also beginning to become wiser after the damage, following this example.

A man is not a man unless he is like Frederick, who was truly a divinely enlightened man. For the sake of the cause of the word, he had his scouts in all the courts of the princes, in order to learn all their suggestions, which he then threw over the heap by his cleverness; but our new prince nourishes his own preachers 1) at his court.

8

**586. 587** ..... 45, 28.  
**588. 589** ..... 45, 29.

**590.** Although all men are without God [atheis], they have in themselves the consciousness of evil and the reward of good; therefore they take care.

**The** papists impudently claim everything without Scripture. Peter is the highest of the apostles, so the pope has the right to give laws and issue statutes. See, here are two swords, so the emperor must receive the fief from the pope. Thus they are nonsensical, mainly to the ruin of the secular authorities, who are saved by laws. For if the laws had not existed before the canons, the emperor would have long since perished. So the pagans defend the emperor by their law against the pope of the Christians, Scävola, Ulpian 2c., which were before the Code [Justinian]. If the pope had no power, he could not give laws, as now the priests can not give laws, because they have no power.

**592. 593** ..... 32, 1.

**The** peasants of today are all pigs, and the nobles, who used to be goats, imitate them.

**595** ..... 4, 111.  
**596.** .. 22, 32.  
**597** ..... 22, 4.  
**598** ..... 60, 8.

**599** Manna [Manhn], what is this? As if one said: How does the bread come here? where one expects nothing less than bread. Some say it is man, that is, what one eats. (Ex. 16:15.)

..... **600** ..... 47, 1.

In Magdeburg there was a certain burgher who did not give alms to the poor, so the choirboys agreed and sent one of them to his house to steal a side of bacon. The master heard him and ordered the maid to light the lamp. When it was lighted, the latter blew it out. The maid finally called out to the master: "As often as I light the light, the devil extinguishes it again with his blowing. The master seized the choirboy, who was masked, and held him. The seized one held the side of bacon and said: The devil sends you the side of bacon with me, 2) so that you give alms to the poor more willingly. The Lord replied: "Go to the devil with your bacon, for I do not want his bacon. Now it is asked whether this is a theft or a gift, and Peter Weller (who went to the Holy Land and died there) answered that from every contract cunning and fraud must be far away.

**602.** . . 66, 61.  
**603.** ..... 66, 53.  
**604** ..... 22, 127.  
**605** ..... 22, 128.  
**606. 607** ..... 27, 50.

1) This probably refers to the nobles to whom Elector John Frederick lent his ear too much. Cf. no. 583.  
 2) I.e. through me.



Table speeches  
Cap. K

<b>608. 609</b> .....	27, 15.
The trials in life that the great saints suffer, like Paul, are far greater than the struggle felt by the dying.	
<b>611. . .</b> .....	76, 23.
<b>612</b> .....	27, 148.
<b>613.</b> doltish people are not good for public dealings and plays, which was shown at a passion play of Christ. When a certain cobbler had begun to say his rhymes: I am, 'I am ..., and could not continue in speech, and now the game master said to him: Who are you then? he answered: I am a cobbler. The latter replied: What are you doing here? Go home and make shoes.	
<b>614</b> Not suitable for communication.	
<b>615. 615a. 615b. 616</b> .....	26, 60.
Zwingli scolds me as an unrhymed <i>allegorist</i> because I say that the manger and the swaddling clothes are the Scriptures and the heavens in the Psalms are the apostles. But this allegory is not mine, and I learned it sooner than he arrived at its spirit.	
<b>618</b> Good makes courage. This has been proven by Erfurt, which, being rich and despising the Bishop of Mainz and the Duke of Saxony, is as humiliated as one can see before one's eyes. It lacked wisdom, not money, and it is said that proud courage, secret envy and childish counsel destroyed Rome and Troy. For this reason they have hanged the good and wise man Heinrich Keiner and therefore they lack all blessings, and they, who are said to have had 80,000 guilders annually in the past, are now indebted by 600,000 guilders annually. But it is a very solid and very populous city, which has 18000 fireplaces. It cannot be won unless the Turk besieges it.	
<b>619</b> .....	35, 2.
<b>620</b> .....	35, 1.
<b>621. 622. . . .'</b> .....	66, 4.
When Mühlpfort, an example of Zwickau high-mindedness, said to me: "Doctor, you will never get us under the pope, we have been taught far too much," I answered: Isn't it a nuisance that I have made other people so learned, and I myself know nothing? That is to teach others and not to teach oneself.	
<b>624</b> Witzel is a rogue who has lied his way out of the country from our princes like a villain; he would be a right priest in Zwickau.	
<b>625</b> I will die as an enemy of the Zwickauers. When I am dead, they shall get a Schnapp, which is called a Schnapp [case]. Someone would like to say: If they now become reasonable again? I answer: If that happens, I will give one the hand, that he must run away, they will not come again to the reason, if they do not get another authority and another people. We have helped them with Storch and Münzer and sent them pious people, but they do not want it.	
<b>626. 627. 628</b> .....	75, 1.
Someone said to the pope, why does he not punish that monk with money? He answered: That beast does not want to accept money. A letter carrier [in the original: a post] was thrown down, with whom a letter to Fugger was found, in which it was contained that he should give Luther 300 florins so that he would keep quiet.	

**630** When a son was born to Emperor Frederick, the Venetians gave him a golden cradle, but the cautious emperor put a dog in it, which immediately crept. 1)

In the year 19, someone came to me and I immediately shook hands with him, and when I led him to my home, he said: "My dear doctor, I am surprised that you shake hands with everyone so soon. How? if someone shot you with a gun? I am now alone with you. The doctor answered, "You would have to die, too. He replied, "If that were to happen, the pope would make me a saint and you a heretic. When I heard this, I summoned my Wolfgang and he soon left the city.

Letters also came to me from Breslau that someone would come who wanted to kill me with poison, to whom the Poles had promised four thousand guilders, and they described him to me in such a way that I could recognize him very well. But it was a Polish doctor, knowing several languages, a very good astronomer, whom Philip admired, from whom God also protected me. He would have liked to play chess with me, but I did not want to. Finally, realizing that he was considered suspicious, he secretly left and came to the younger margrave, had himself announced to him, but he answered: "Let him always go away! he is the one who should have forgiven D. Martin. And he went away ashamed. This is also what happened in Leipzig. Furthermore: I believe that my preaching chair is often poisoned; God has still preserved me.

My wife complained that there were only three barrels of beer left; I answered her: There is no harm in that, since God is the Father of the house, who can easily make four out of three.

To those who now complain of bad success, I answer that it is always necessary that the world perish, for beyond that nothing can exist; therefore, it is nothing to do with by what fate it perishes.

<b>635. 636. 637</b> .....	45, 70.
<b>638</b> .....	43, 7.
<b>639</b> .....	3,57.
<b>640</b> .....	55, 6.
<b>641</b> .....	45, 48.

I sit here at the table, without food in the bakery. It becomes my food much more sour, because often one his fasting.

<b>643.</b> .....	27, 36.
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Carlstadt said that Luther's opponents must be defeated because he had read the Bible for ten years before all of them; but Luther had read it for twenty years, when they had only read it for ten years. When he had said this, nevertheless he became wiser in half a year than I did.

**The** way things are done in the world is no good. I am like the old man and his son with the donkey. The way I do it is no good. For one of the physicians advised me to wash my feet before I go to bed; the other, before I go to bed; the third, early in the morning; the fourth, at noon. As I do it, so it does not work with the other. So it happens to me in other things. I may speak or be mute, I am called rebellious; or I crawl to the cross. Master Klügling always comes, who bridles the horse by the ars.

1) In the original: orsxuit. We have changed the expression after Kummer p. 2966 (Lauterbach p. 121), since the sense will probably be: The cradle was poisoned, and it was intent on the death of the child. This was shown by the fate of the dog.

646.

Caesar.

Caesar.

Roma diu titubans longis erroribus acta Corruet et mundi desinet esse caput.

Dad.

Niteris in vanum Petri subvolvere navem,  
Fluctuat haec: sed non desinet esse caput.

[The emperor: Rome, which has wavered for a long time, has been ruined by long errors. It will fall and cease to be the head of the world. - The pope: You are trying in vain to turn over the little ship of Peter. It sways, but it will not cease to be the head].

647 Duke George is happy in that he desires to be Elector of Saxony, for he sweetly feasts on this windy plan for himself; but he is all too unhappy in that he has no heir for the same.

648. "The whole world is nothing but merchants; noblemen, counts, princes 2c. Whoever has fifty guilders puts it into trade. How can the world stand for long?"

649 ..... 66, 48.

650 Theology does not like to go in, because it is hanged and watered 2c. And we ourselves do not like to go up with reason, which together with the flesh always hinders us.

651] H[archduke] G[eorg] always comes early to the Imperial Diet, since he believes he can disturb everything. Oh, how sorry he would be if those things were peacefully quieted, as they are peacefully settled! If I wished him ill, I would be satisfied with the weakness of his mind alone. For he is tormented beyond measure, and that torments the man, that he cannot avenge himself. Yes, he burns with air, to damage, which he has now grasped, and cannot lead it out. He must die before he can do no harm.

A certain old man 1) told me when I was studying in Erfurt: "Dear Baccalaureus, a change is coming, and it is great. So it cannot exist. - I mean, it is coming.

652 a. You can do it and now know it all as well as I do; I have spent it all and have kept nothing from you. In length and breadth you have it all, but in depth you have it not; for I myself have not it all.

653 ..... 9,47.

654 ..... 24, 117.

I would give this ring for it, and also a finger, so that I would only know as much in theology as the Zwickauers imagine to know. But, if once a misfortune would come over them, as it is then, they will shit in their pants and make such a stench that no one will be able to stay around them.

656 The little word "gladly" cannot be rendered in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew; putting it together changes its meaning.

657 ..... 24, 60.

The world is ruled only by tyrants and need not be ruled by others, and those who are such are called great in the world. It is also right that a rascal, beaten to the distemper [i.e., whipped in the stocks], should call the executioner his father.

1) From Memminger Veit Dietrich, Ooileeta ex colloyu. 110. (Wrampelmeyer.)

		Table speeches	
		Cap.	8
<b>659</b> .....	7,	168.	
<b>660</b> .....	24,	96.	
<b>661</b> .....	2,	13.	
<b>662</b> .....	3,	16.	

**663** A cowardly monk came to a shepherd and demanded that he should disembowel his fat (for that is what they call it when they steal the fat [feyst] from the sheep). When a nobleman heard this, he threw the monk into prison and fed him with water and bread, and drained him of his fat.

67, 17.

**664.** . . . . .

In him who hears no one as a teacher, there must be wisdom of his own, and in such people there is no hope, as in M. K. (?). Our God directs His work through co-workers and through His means, that is, sermons and lectures. They do not have to be neglected.

75, 2.

**666**.....

There are so many treacheries and deceitfulness, disobedience and secret hatred among the nobles and great men, that no one can settle them but the holy father, the Turk, and we must make peace. For the papists have never accepted any peace condition so far, therefore we let them sow discord; we only want to take refuge in prayer, our only protection.

**668.** . . . . . 75, 1.

Prince Frederick said: "In big houses there are big worries, in small ones small worries." Therefore, those who wished to live in large houses would not know that this would bring them great misfortune.

**The** papists preached the suffering of Christ in three ways. First, the preachers martyred themselves, second, the listeners, third, Christ, because even though they talked endlessly, they never touched the benefit of Christ's suffering, and to cause emotion was their work and the suffering of the listeners.

**671.** .. . . . . . 65, 1.

**672. 673**..... 71, 2.

**674. 675. 676**..... 43, 9.

**677** No one fasts now but the poor Lutheran clergy, because the bridegroom is taken from them, and we must 1) fast, not with monastic fasting, which is an intoxication of three days.

**678.** Augustine in the book "De civitate Dei" gives, as it were, an ex ly over Horace, Tibull, and Properce; for he enumerates so many vices of the Romans and of the heathen, also so many idols.

**679.** Augustine interprets the passage: "because you deserved to bear the Savior" in this way: Mary deserved it, that is, she was skillful and fit, as a tree is fit to bear fruit. He has been the best interpreter of the Scriptures above all others. And I cannot wonder enough 2) about other teachers that they have run over the most beautiful texts in such a way that they should have pushed themselves with their feet and fallen over them. Also Theophylact has been a good interpreter, especially about Paul. Furthermore, Cyril, Chrysostom and Origen have great clamor for the judgment of men, but Lyra surpasses them in every way in his one book. Furthermore, since Chrysostom is loquacious, he pleases Erasmus;

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1) In the original: jkiunÄnÄum esset. Instead of esset should probably be read est.  
 2) We have added the word satis from Rebenfock II, 236 and Bindseil III, 136, without which the sentence would not give a suitable sense.

Table  
speeches

Origen neglects the faith and treats only moral teachings, as in the letter to the Hebrews, where he speaks of the priesthood. He praises the elders and brings up a lot about their dignity. He left me in the mud when I started to interpret this letter trusting in him, just as Jerome deceived me. The Hypognosticon and the Controversy with the Pelagians are the best books in Augustine. The former [Jerome] has written twelve books on Genesis, since he has not explained half a chapter of this book. Furthermore, Augustine is condemned to Paris because he spoke excessively spitefully against the heretics, that is, he expressed a dissenting opinion without intending to do so, for example, when he said that free will in itself has no capacity other than to sin. The same opinion is also Magister Sententiarum [Petrus Lombardus], who was a very good man and by his way of teaching wanted to prevent the too great amount of books and writings, but created an even greater one.

**680**..... - - 58, 11.

**681** Occam, Magister meus, was a very great dialecticus, oberer did not have the gift of speech. He was so condemned in Paris that in a hundred years no one dared even to call him, but now he reigns there completely.

**There are** two kinds of theologians, namely men who deal with conscience, William of Paris and Gerson, and speculative (theologians), Thomas, Scotus, Occam, Alexander 2c. These practiced themselves by disputing and biting, as dialectics is a speculative art according to Scotus, but a practical one according to Occam.

**683** ..... 68, 1.

**684** ..... 65, 7.

When I was asked if I would preach tomorrow, I answered: I am uncertain, I am a bedridden man. 1) I eat, drink and sleep, but I cannot read, write or write anything. I eat, drink, sleep, but I cannot read, write or preach. I live only to the world's annoyance.

**686** ..... 75, 1.

**687 In** human terms, to defeat the Turk is to be defeated. Pyrrhus, a very noble commander, said after having won a victory: I have won, but I have been defeated, as if he wanted to say: If I should win them (the Romans) again, I would keep no servants, and the victors would lose many people.

**688.** easter, Urständ (resurrection), Pentecost, from 50 2), from the Greek, Wigenachten (Christmas, holy nights), Gevatter, Mitvater, because by the superior "Ge" one always designates a collection, thunderstorm. M

**689** .....

**690. 691** .....

Foolish speech brings foolish works. This happened to the barber of the Duke of Hesse, who said: Now a gracious (prince) is in my hand, and for this he did not get a good reward. -U

**693** ..... 4, 3

**694** ..... 11, 4"

**695.** I wanted God to keep gold and silver in his guard until another came to keep it for him reliably [bona fide].

**696.** . . . . . 4, 3.

**697** Very good chants are: Rex Christe factor omnium and Inventor rutili.

1) Original: bettriß - paralyticus (Wrampelmeyer.)  
2) So in the original. Meant is: n-er-T-y/codT-- (ksutseosts).

**698** Philip Melanchthon said to Hausmann, who wondered if this was a great pain that children felt when their first teeth broke through, so that very many had to die, that a gray-headed man 1) had to be punished who was without children, and for that reason did not know such things, which were the most well-known.

**699 The** Cruciger was baptized a child and given the name Theodore. But I say that common names are the best. All people expected an unusual name when John, my firstborn son, was born to me, and said that I would give him a new name because I had brought many new teachings into the world.

4, 20.

**700**.....

**701** Our noblemen, the Meissen 2c., are not soldiers, have not seen camps nor flags, are hedge riders, which we have well experienced in earlier years in the [peasant] uprising. 2)

**702**..... 66, 4.

My wife said: There were so many in the church that it immediately stank. I answered, "There was also a good deal of dirt in there, even though it was hidden, and the best thing is that they have carried it out again.

**704**..... 3, 22.

**705** If the papists want to maintain their papacy with non-meat-eating, they will obtain it with a weak thing.

**706** When Count Ernst von Mansfeld first heard the chant: "Ein feste Burg" (A strong castle), he said: The castle I will help shoot to pieces, or I will not live, and after three days he died. 3)

**707. The** year 32 is for me a gradual year, according to the number seven. In this year he [Luther] entered the fiftieth year.

**708.** The devil is as great as the world, as far as the world reaches, from heaven to hell.

**709**..... 7, 132.

**710. 711**..... 2, 134.

**712**..... 2, 146.

75, 1.

**713.** ...

**714** If I should now be ill, I will be ill for the love of our Lord God and in spite of the devil.

**715**..... 2, 134.

**716. 717**..... 26, 28.

**718** He said of the crowd of fever patients: I believe that it is the birth of a new world. The world leaves a shit, it wants from it.

4, 49.

**719**.....

I am richer than all the papist theologians in the whole world, for I am content; above that I have three legitimate children, which no papist theologian has. Likewise, I am richer than all the nobles on earth, although I deprive my most gracious Lord that I may serve others.

**721**..... 22, 20.

**722**..... 22, 22.

**723**..... 22, 23.

1) Hausmann was not married.  
3) He died in 1532. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) Cf. Tischr. Cap. 45, § 21.

724 The priests would have undoubtedly persisted in the gospel, if not for the shameful monks, because they had the sacraments of the church, the burial, good songs, one of which is "Come, Holy Spirit [HErre GOtt]", which is beautiful and delicious 1), and many other things. But the monks threw away everything that did not carry money, such as baptism and the sacrament of the altar, confession and the burial of the rich. Finally, they bought everything at a high price from the pope.

74, 31.

725 .....

He who thinks well is like my Magdalene, who answered when she was asked if she wanted to go to heaven: Yes, because there I will have enough apples, pears, sugar, plums.

When he looked at the violets, he said: What do you give our Lord God for the little flowers? Bells, blasphemy, desecration. And the first summer flower is sky blue. The Turk nor the emperor would not like to pay all [i.e. the whole] in the whole world.

728 Why do the men put on wreaths and not the women? I think, he said, the woman should know that the men are not harmed by how they do it.

729 The Zwickauers can't stop denigrating, so long that they even cheat. And he spoke to Mag. Leonhard Beier], who is now their pastor: If my most gracious lord 2) would have me be their preacher, I would say: I am not your preacher, but the Elector's preacher. The wretched people attach the title of prince to me and think that I have been taken and do not know where to go and cannot get any further. But it must first come to speech.

730 Türck is actually the Hebrew name of a snake. I believe that the Jews invented this word.

731 Muhme Lena [von Bora], do you want to go back to the monastery and become a nun? She answered: No, no. It said the Selmenitzen, 3) why she did not want to return? Thereupon the Doctor said: And I ask why the women do not wish to become virgins again? And all were silent, and all remained silent and laughed.

732 Ferdinand is King of Hungary by robbery, Roman King by fancy, and King of Bohemia in part. I have four children who are more precious to me and under a better title than Ferdinand has his kingdoms.

733 ..... 37, 136.

734 ..... 44, 3.

735 ..... 37, 136.

736 He said of the Sacramentans that they will not stop persecuting me until they destroy me. So do those of Zwickau, saying that they are reconciled, and it is not true. Of course, I will keep silent, but they will see what God will do about it. They will become aware of it. M. Roth wrote to M. Leonhard [Beier]: See to it that the doctor is reconciled with us, and he answered him: See to it that they humble themselves.

1) In the original: puleüra prosa. We did not know what to do with this. We assume that xrosa may be an abbreviation for prstiosa, and have translated it accordingly.

2) G. H." or "g. H." when referring to the Prince Churfürst must always be resolved with "gnädigster Herr".

3) In the original: Helwitzen. According to Förstemann, Vol. III, 169, note 4, Mrs. Felicitas von Selmenitz, daughter of the knight Hans Mönch and widow of Wolf von Selmenitz, who was murdered in Halle in 1519. Tischr. Cap. 26, § 87: The Selbitz. Bindseil II, 165: Selmitzin. Rebenstock II, 1236: Selmitz. De Wette III, 297: Selmenitz. - Muhme Lene is the aunt of Catharina von Bora, was in 1502-1508 Siechennmeisterin in the monastery Niemsch, left the same soon after the resignation of her niece and spent the rest of her days in Luther's house. She died in 1537 (Wrampelmeher.).

	Table Talks Cap.
<b>737. 738</b> .....	§ 37, 75.
<b>739.</b> . .....	48, 13.
<b>740.</b> Sanherib has been a tramp, a hedge rider.	
<b>741</b> .....	24, 12B.
<b>742</b> .....	74, 29.
<b>743. 744</b> .....	61, I.

32, 16.

**745.** our duke Hans Friedrich was born in the year 30, the landgrave after that in the year 4. - Michael stands twice [zwir] in the scripture, in Daniel and the revelation.

**746**.....

**747:** What a man will not allow to be punished, God will not allow to go unpunished. This happened to a nobleman of Grefendorf. Since he had violated a respectable woman under the promise of marriage, and then extorted a thousand guilders from her, he went with many of his companions to hold the betrothal feast with a noble maiden; And since a large number of guests had gathered in the house, he called one of his servants, rode out into the field, and since he often told the servant that he saw many horsemen coming against him, and after he had sent the servant away from him, he ran into a bog (gemoß), and since he had once begun to feel the worm of conscience, his evil in the meantime increased until he stabbed himself. After that, when the servant, who had returned to the others, had brought news of this, they searched for him and received from the half-dead man the ring, which he had taken off and sent back to the violated woman. Thus this great despiser of our preaching perished.

**748** Since I was invited to Pommer, I heard various stories from Philip, especially about the Brandenburg margraves, that they had always been princes of very high talent and eloquence. They had more cities in their two states than our two princes. Pomerania will fall to him [the Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I] in a short time 2c. Namely, when the Bishop of Halle (Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg) becomes a Christian.

**749 The fact** that there is an enormous number of whores in Lübeck was deduced from the fact that more wine is sold in one evening during Fastnacht ([fastnacht]) than for 600 marks, but after the gospel is accepted, only for four guilders.

<b>750. 751. 752</b> .....	22,	11.
<b>753. 754</b> .....	45,	74.
<b>755</b> .....	45,	14.

When our prince and head will pass away, 2) he will undoubtedly take many councils with him. For there will be a great change in this government and this country, and those who are now the greatest will be the lowest, and vice versa. And there will be greater envy at court and greater disloyalty, although now all nobles seek their own in the courts, not what is of the princes.

I have always had mercy at the court, who am a beggar, I have nothing of it, but the bread, therefore no one could be envious of me, and so it proves in me what Seneca says: "He is most miserable, whom no one envies. Such a man cannot be our H(ans) M(etzsch), who is supposed to have 800 guilders a year and sits on it without any calculation, because he is the Wittenberg

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1) In the original: 2". Joh. Friedrich was born on June 30, 1503. (Wrampelmeyer.)  
 2) Spoken during the last illness of Prince John, before Aug. 16, 1532.



The duke is like all the nobles at court, but the prince is the servant. They have the use, feast and command, the prince has the work. Since Frederick did not want this, he had castles instead of great captains [capitaneis], otherwise, he said, others would have the benefit, I the name. A captain costs me two thousand, I can endure a castle with two hundred (guilders).

Ritesel 1) is very faithful and very familiar with the elder prince. Now, after he died, he experiences all hatred and what it means to trust in princes, and what, to trust in God alone.

Nothing keeps me better from dizziness than a small gift [offula] of 6 spoons early in the morning. A butter is a healthy thing, and I consider that the Saxons are strong people of butter, which they eat very much. Lavender water is a very good thing, and black caraway, soaked for two nights in good wine, is a good remedy for dizziness.

**760** The Christians borrowed the celebration of death from the pagans, but they far surpassed the pagans in the quantity and splendor of the ceremonies at their deaths. 2)

**The** noblest in the world are not favorable to the gospel, as can be seen in Flanders and the regions of Lower Germany, where there are very solid cities, where the merchants serve only idols, and avarice and Venus rule.

<b>762</b> .....	37, 5.
<b>763. 764</b> .....	45, 88.
<b>765</b> .....	22, 25.
<b>766</b> .....	22, 27.
<b>767</b> .....	1, 53.
<b>768-</b> .....	27, 115.
	22, 126.

**769**.....

**770** The generosity of the elder prince John was wonderful, which can be seen from this example: Since he had given me 200 florins a year, he said that he would give them freely, not on account or out of consideration for any work. After that, what I do with reading, writing, preaching, I do for free, because I am bound to no one but the prince. But the printers [chalcographi] bring me under their command in every way, they are very ungrateful people. I have had so much trouble with the translating that no one with favor nor money should be able to make me sell a book, if I had not done it for the glory of Christ, my Lord. But those ungrateful beasts would not have given even one copy to those who helped me. Fie on you, shall it not grieve us? Therefore, I do not want D. Creutziger do anything without pay.

Hesse is a very good country because it cannot be conquered due to lack and hunger "because the enemy would die of hunger in it.

**772** H(archduke) G(eorg) is not of Saxon blood, but a bastard, and does not have the majesty of the Saxon princes. He is a very ambitious man, who is said to have said: What is a prince of Saxony better than a bastard, if he is not Churfürst? 2c.

**773.** ..... 45, 81.

1) Cf. Luther's letter to Riettesel, Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 357. 6 Dec. 1532.

2) Cf. Tischr. CaP. 48, § 12.

774. "The law only causes wrath" [Rom. 4:15]. This is understood opportunistically, that is, it shows that we live against God, followed by the wrath of God.

775 As the translation of the Bibles has made me a great deal of work, so this work will be of great benefit to those who want to derive benefit from it. For the old translation was darkness. But the world, all and all, is also ungrateful. But my head is unaccustomed to thanksgiving, and if there is one who gives thanks, it is a great, wonderful thing.

776 ..... 67, 14.

The old dialecticians ascribed it [dialectic] to the intellect, but rhetoric to the will, and had summarized dialectic with the best rules, but they did not have the matter and the substance. I used to think that dialectics was only in books and disputations and did not extend to all kinds of things and dealings. And even today I would have a sermon ready twenty times as quickly and easily as I could bring it into the dialectical rules, although our Philip testifies that I explain and divide according to dialectics. But this is my natural dialectic, which presents itself without art, but through art nature is helped a great deal.

If I had to argue with a sacramentarian, I would have to stop the dialectic. First, I would have to explain to him what a sacrament is. Then I divide; for example, if he says that baptism is water, I say that it is water connected with the word. Then the disputation about the division begins. After that [the disputation begins] about the cause, that God is the cause of the sacrament, who has so instituted it. The actual thing is washing, not the body, but the soul. The effect, I say, is the forgiveness of sins, the accidental thing is to believe or not to believe.

779 ..... 67, 15.  
780. 781. 782 ..... 45, 36.  
783 ..... 37, 67.  
784. 785 ..... 26, 69.  
786. 787 ..... 24, 2.

788 However great and proud the pope was a short time ago, he is now so low that he crawls on the ground, so that he asks even the least for help and protection. For he already calls upon the King of Scotland [Jacob, and has sent him a crown, which would have been too low for him before times; has often sent him letters, because he sees that the Emperor and the Englishman are not at all reliable patrons for him. And this is a just consequence for his arrogance, out of which the Cardinal [Cajetan] once said at Augsburg: "What do you mean that the Pope is asking for Germany? Now he has to suffer me, a poor monk, in marriage with a nun, whom I act and live almost under no one's protection. For what is our Elector against the whole realm? He has to hear and see me, it is a lot.

789 ..... 17, 29.  
790.. ..... 27, 39.  
791. 792 ..... 27, 72.  
793 ..... 27, 73.  
794 ..... 55, 4.  
795 ..... 45, 44.

1) These words seem to have been spoken in 1534, because in that year the first German complete edition of the Bible was published by Hans Lust in Wittenberg. (Wrampelmeyer.)

796 A practical question posed at Heidelberg: I ask whether a donkey with its long ears, clothed in a buckskin, sitting on a king's throne, and gnawing on hypothetical foliage, can be absolved by a simple priest? 1)

A scolding [joke] can turn into seriousness. This happened to Pommer, who stood with some women who accused Mag. F[rösche] of an immodest sermon against them and the virgins. When I excused him in jest, Pommer, together with the women, began to become very angry. It happened similarly when, in the presence of D. Jonas and Spalatin, D. Brück jokingly said that he had something he wanted to say to them, but that they had to promise beforehand that they did not want to be angered. When they had promised this, he said that the prince demanded of them that they wanted to suffer, that their wives be their concubines before the world, otherwise the Elector could not defend this cause. Spalatin then immediately asked: "Fie, fie, death, death, shall I thus provide for my dear wife, the poor little child? Immediately Jonas said the same. And Philip added to the joke that they could let it go, because otherwise they would be freed from many burdens of the pope. What harm is there in that, dear sirs, if you also indulge my most gracious lord? Jonas said that something similar has often happened, namely that the jokers are finally provoked to anger.

798 ..... 22, 12.

In 799 the pope is said to have sent his envoys to the emperor, admonishing him not to hurry with the conciliation, or if it had to be held, to deal only with articles of faith, but not with the primacy of the pope.

45, 72.

800. ....

801 The Torgau fool [Claus Narr] does not want to go to heaven, because it is cold up there, snowing and raining down; he wants to go to hell, where it is warm, roasts apples and pears well in the tiles.

Once his table companions began to lie as much as anyone could. D. Luther said: The craft is on. I will warn you, as the servant warned his squire: "Squire, you must not twist too crookedly, so that I can also lie together. But since they laughed a lot while lying, he said, "Lies must be told seriously, or they will not be believed.

803 ..... 22, 142.

804 ..... 27, 116.

805. . . . . 30, 11.

806 ..... 30, 2.

807. 808. 809. 810 ..... 49, 5.

811 ..... 50, 1.

812 ..... 26, 75.

813. 814. 815 ..... 26, 16.

816 ..... 7, III.

817 ..... 7, 100.

818. 819. 820. 821. 822 ..... 2, 8.

823 ..... : 7, 100.

824 ..... 13, 39.

1) This number probably follows the previous one and would then refer to King Henry VIII of England. The stretching in the buckskin is an allusion to the king's love of women, the gnawing on the hypothetical foliage an allusion to the king's scholastic erudition and writing. Under the priest Luther would perhaps be understood, since the latter desired the expert opinion of the Wittenberg University in his marriage deal.

Table Talks	
Cap. § 15,	
??	2, 1.
	42, 7.

<b>825. 826-</b> .....	' .....
<b>827</b> .....	
<b>828</b> .....	' .....

**829** Rudolph von Bünau, a man of knighthood, was chosen in Torgau to be the representative and promoter of the word and the sermon to the Elector. Oho, a devout heart, which could not even hear the word. A good companion may have drunk it to him, so that he was forced to speak against himself, when the wolf asked for the sheep.

**830.** Alas, it is a poor word that needs [the] intercession and protection of men, and yet is saved from our enemies. God laughs at it through his mockery, that is, through mockery.

**831.** When God laughs, he makes such a wrinkle that five kingdoms perish. But when he is angry, he sets the whole world on fire, because the smoke comes out of his nose. -

<b>832</b> .....	67, 11.
<b>833.</b> .....	45, 49.
<b>834. 835</b> .....	64, 1.
<b>836. 837</b> .....	37, 93.

**838.** In such great weakness I began to write that if Gabriel, the angel, had told me that such a great change would follow my writings, I would not have believed it, and in the body I was so weak that I did not expect to live another quarter of a year.

**839** Huss has only gone through the abuses and evil customs of the papacy, I have fought his doctrine and whole being. I offered myself enough against him when I promised silence. But they only flashed against it and wanted me to recant, so the game began.

**840.** Duke Frederick sent me with a secure escort to Cardinal Cajetan, who was then at Augsburg. And this city and the university wrote for me. Furthermore, this was my thought on the journey: "Now you must die, and I imagined a funeral pyre ready for me, and often I said: Oh, what a disgrace I will be to my parents! So the flesh frightened me.

**841** Duke Frederick sent me on foot to Augsburg in the company of a brother [Leonhard Beier] and had given me 20 gold florins. The way was unknown to me, and I traveled without a safe escort [from the emperor], so foolish was I, and although many advised me against it on the way, I heard no one. Frederick had advised me that I should not go to the Cardinal unless under the Emperor's safe escort, but I was only able to obtain this after three days. In the meantime, the Cardinal often sent to me that I should come.

**842** When I came to Cajetan, he laughed at me proudly and insisted on the recantation, but the six letters *revoca* [recant] would not come to me. Although I often asked him to be more obedient, he constantly shouted: "Revoke". But I said: I do not want. And then he said: Where will you stay as an opponent of the pope? I answered: "Under heaven. He: Do you think that because of you the Duke of Saxony will start a war against the Pope? I: He should not. He: What does the pope ask about Germany? Finally, since all the gates were manned with guards, the citizens let me out by a secret way. Furthermore, this Thomas O Cajetanus has become Lutheran at last.

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1) In the original: "Sylvester". It is possible, however, what D. Wrampelmeyer remarks, that Luther had wanted to say with this word This "forest-like", that is, "coarse" Cajetanus, as he called with allusion to the name "Sylvester the Dialogus of Sylvester Prierias in a letter of August 8, 1518 a quite forest-like, un-

Table speeches  
Cap. K  
48, 38.

843. ....

844. "o mouth,

quam es perverse! "

[O pure world, how art thou wicked!]

This is a fine solöcism, 1) and unlearned has not been whoever devised it.

Those who are righteous by pretense are righteous until they have obtained what they want, and in the meantime they refrain from all harshness. This is seen in the case of one to whom the parents had given their daughter in marriage because of his great (supposed) righteousness. When he had her, he treated her badly. Now when he was asked by the parents how he had changed so much, he answered: "Go to the basement, there you will find a pillar bitten by each other. For whenever I get angry, I bite a chip out of it, which I do not like to do now. Hypocrites betray themselves at last.

846 Peasants remain peasants. Do to him what you will, they are Moses' people. When men were created, they had ears where eyes are 2c., as they are made, they were not right. The peasants are like that and pay. 2)

847. ....

848. ....

849. 850. ....

851. ....

852 Among the Vandals at Wittenberg, God wanted to establish a school, since all the other schools had fallen into disrepair, and thought to make a priest or two.

I think that the devil does not like the peasants. He despises them, like the Scotch pennies, which he can well get, and the peelers are too [much] for him. But he would like the pious good guilders and nobles.

Our Lord God cannot let any evil go unpunished, because he is a God who visits. Ferdinand must be punished, Denmark is punished and destroyed from the bottom up, so that no inheritance is left; France, Venice is punished, because the law only causes wrath.

855. ....

3, 53.

2, 99.

7, 94.

28, 4.

45, 75.

856. where one nourishes himself in the sweat, there one needs the food better. Sodom was full of glory [volpretig]. Therefore are also bad people, where 3) a happy paradise is.

857- .....

46, 62.

858. ....

3, 51.

859. ....

2, 15.

860. ....

2, 106.

cultivirte Schrift. - Cajetan († 1534), like Sadoletus and Vergerius, was prompted by the struggle with Luther to make significant modifications to the papal system. Thus he demands thorough study of the Scriptures, corrected Bible text, yes, he speaks out more freely about food commandments, marriage, use of the vernacular and many other things, so that he incurred fierce attacks from the Sorbonne and the Dominican Ambrosius Catharinus and others. It is mentioned that the editors of his writings had to soften objectionable passages. (Wrampelmeyer.)

1) Loloooisrnus, satzt Oiooro im anet, ää 8sr. IV, 12, sst, eurn in vsrdis piuridus eonssqnon's vordur" snptzriior non Looonnoäatnr. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) Luther wants to say: The peasants may have their ears where they want, but they do not hear. (Wrampelmeyer.)

3) Instead of vol, which gives no sense, Wohl would like to be read udi. The sense is rendered correctly by us without any doubt: Good land, rough people.

**The** papacy always grew until the Council of Constance, and then always fell.

A contract is among the living, a will among the dead.

**863** ..... 1, 55.  
70, 4.

**864. 865** .....

**866** Zwingli died like a murderer because he wanted to force others to his errors, went to war over it and was slain.

**867** Satan is very much after conjugal peace, because he knows that it is a great gift.  
45, 49.

**868. 869** .....

**870.** "Mortuis vinum, aquam viventibus"

Regula est de piscibus.

[In life water, in death wine, So it shall be with the fish.] (Wrampelmeyer.)

**871** ..... 59, 6.

**872** ..... 3, 74.

**873** A farmer who is a Christian is a wooden poker.

**874** Our Lord God guards his disciples well, leads them out of Egypt into the desert, lets the old ones die when he has well afflicted them, and raises up young ones for him, whom he leads into the land.

2, 85.

**875** .....

From the creation of the world, no king could rule the world by his efforts, and there will be no such king. Also David says Ps. [44, 7.): "My sword cannot help me."

**877** ..... 48, 15.

**878** ..... 59, 6.

**879** When soldiers were spoken of, he said, "If the left teat despairs, the right teat does no good. A fearful heart is good for nothing.

**880. 881** ..... 75, 1.

**882** ..... 75, 2.

62, 1.

**883** .....

Whoever carefully considers that the most glorious cities, Jerusalem, Carthage, Athens, Rome, are so devastated that no one can restore them to their former glory, sees the works and the wrath of God. What would he do when he who dwells in heaven begins to laugh? 1)

**-885** ..... 45, 84.

**886** ..... 76, 13.

**887** ..... 5, 3.

If it is true that God chastises whom He loves, who would not like to suffer the chastisements of God? and whom He chastises the most, He surely loves the most. In such a sense he wrote a letter to the captive king of Denmark [Christian II]. However, to the 2) king, who now reigns [Frederick I], he wrote to consider him as a cousin [patruus - uncle, in the letter: cousin] and not as an enemy. All the angels in heaven would rejoice over such an attitude towards him, and one day, when he would die, he would receive unspeakable joy from it.

1) Cf. No. 831 of this appendix.

2) Instead of Ms, illi must be read. This refers to the letter to King Frederick I of Denmark, Sept. 28, 1532, De Wette IV, 403 ff. Erl. Walch, old edition, XXI, 353.

An evil conscience betrays itself. Example: A certain monk used to sprinkle a lewd woman, whom he kept secretly in his cell, with fragrant water often at night. She wanted to do the same when the monk was at early mass, but took the ink [encaustum] instead of the fragrant water, which was used up. When he came, he thought it was the devil, cried out loudly in fear, and summoned the whole monastery.

I do not want to remember Duke George, God does not remember him either, because he belongs to the abyss of hell, since he sins against the Holy Spirit, even lives in presumption, hardening and despair. The dear pious emperor has only made him more bitter with peace, therefore he torments his own people.

26, 95.

**891.** , .....

**In the** eighth year [1508] I came to Wittenberg, in the year 9 I traveled to Rome because of the dispute that Staupitz had, in the year 12 I received my doctorate.

**893.** I have never been moved by anger when I wrote against the pope, but often I have been very pleased, but the printers (er-)anger me every day.

**894.** Erfurt is a whorehouse and beer house, these two lessons have had the students at this school.

75, k.

**895** .....

**896 The** Duke John Frederick had a condition with me, he did not want to hear me in all supplications. I answered him: I have shirt, skirt and coat. He will probably notice which one is the shirt, or the skirt.

**897.** At one time I asked him (Duke John Frederick) to establish by public order that no one should bring my petitions to the court, but the prince did not want that.

28, 5.

**898** .....

**The** ministers of the word are persecuted either by tyrants or by friends out of ingratitude, and where there is not a pious prince, they suffer more from their listeners than from their opponents. At Nuremberg, I could not have brought it about that they fed their church servants from their own resources, and the whole of Wittenberg gives 4 pennies a year for the gospel, because that is how much one man gives.

**900** If I had not known, I would not have thought that the devil was so powerful in the world.

**901. sham** religion and superstition belongs to the rabble, not at all [nothing] the gospel that the saints worship. Also the fornicators, drunkards and such people want to be plagued with sham work.

**902** Ingratitude to the preaching of the gospel will be punished by hell on the last day, for bodily misfortunes do not punish it properly. If I were younger, I would start a business and let others preach. But the young people [juniores] who hear such things from me should hold firm and not be frightened.

The fact that the Turk fled six miles from Vienna with such a large army without being put to flight is a sign that Christ wants to remain a king greater than he.

**904.** ... ..... 22, 113.

**905** One may drive out violence with violence. Emergency defense is not permitted to ward off all injustice, but as often as one must save one's life, and this must be understood by one's peers. For just as a peasant may not defend himself

against his nobleman, because he is a vassal of the nobleman, the nobleman is not allowed to rebel against his prince, because he is also a vassal of the prince, so the princes of the emperor [vassals]. 1)

The world is the devil, and the devil is the world. Therefore Christ must quarrel with them forever, and neither can keep peace with the other, he not with Christ, nor Christ with him.

**907 What** an inconsistent breed of people the papists were, is proven by a certain collegiate 2) in Erfurt, who had never left the city. Once, when he had hired a carter for the journey to Wittenberg, and had driven a short distance, he asked how much further the road was that was left. The wagoner answered: A hundred times as far. Then he immediately ordered the wagoner to turn around and returned home, of course miserably martyred by the length of the way.

**908** He who does not advertise corrupts. For stupidity in poverty is a ruin, especially in the courts, for the courts are impregnable; indeed, whoever wants to gain something in them must be bold and undaunted, even if something is often denied him.

**909. 910** ..... 70, 1.  
**911** ..... 3, 26.

**912.** who wants to move with equanimity in the world, he must be a guest of the money and the money a guest with him. About that money is round (in the original: "scheblich" i.e. shiftable) and we have large four holes in each hand, that we cannot keep it. But the ungodly money-makers do not live in the world, but in their houses, and have closed and [by the money] bought [unfree] hands, which draw everything to themselves and keep it back for themselves and with themselves.

**913.** Two years ago I sometimes thought it advisable that Christ should not be allowed to seek the peasants as often as he wants to preach to them, but that they should be compelled to seek the preaching Christ some miles away; but now I see that this need not be desired, because we see their ingratitude evident. (This [ingratitude] deserves more than can be said to occur soon). 3)

**914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920** ..... 27, 10.

**921** Many become more learned more by the bad nature of study and work than by the good nature of their talent.

**922 The** judgment of the ears is very fine and it decides much more reliably than the palate about the taste, because the hearing is the sharpest sense after the sight. The eye can seize and grasp everything very quickly. The duller the senses are, the closer they are to the objects [which are perceived by them]. And they follow each other like this: [1.] feeling, 2. taste, 3. smell, 4. hearing, 5. face.

**923** ..... 45, 49.  
**924.** mahomet, that is, the desirable one 4) [desiderabilis].  
**925. 926. 927. 928. 929** ..... 66, 5.

1) The same opinion is expressed in Luther's letter to Churfürst Johannes of March 6, 1530, Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 545 ff, but in the later concerns of 1539 this opinion is changed. Vol. X, 558ff.

2) Cf. cap. 27, § 112.

3) The last sentence is an addition of the cordatus.

4) Luther derives the name from begehren, D. Wrampelmeyer says it rather means "luuäudiUs".



930. In the twenty-first year of my age, I received my Master's degree, in the 29th 1) my Doctorate.

931.....	22, 140.
932.....	73, 11.
933. 934.....	15, 30.
935.....	17, 3.

936 I want to deliver a good sinner to our Lord God, because, although I am not an adulterer in deed, I have not often lacked the good will to do so; so I am often angry; although I am not a thief, I have stolen everything I ate and drank before the Gospel. Where are my beautiful virtues, since I have said mass for 15 years, and now I would rather die ten times than say mass for the dead?

937. H[archduke] G[eorg] is caught by the very good writings of the Pabst, the Cardinal, the King of France, England 2c., and by ambition he becomes so puffed up that he thinks himself as it were their god. Is our doctrine called novelty, just as if all novelty were to be rejected, and it is not a novelty. That his Ernst von Schöneberg has become a grocer is news. He is a completely rustic man; indeed, without ceasing, he pursues honor and property, and he is disgraced for it, as if from Friesland. 2)

938.....

3, 36.

The Duke George is a spark, and the whole world is the tinder. Yes, a conflagration can easily arise if we do not pray. In the year 32, on Michaelmas, he expelled 14 citizens from Leipzig and 11 from Oschatz for the sake of the Gospel. All of them went away with the greatest joy.

940. Cast your care upon God [1 Petr. 5. 7]. I have made a will with GÖtte, and he acknowledges me for his preacher, feeds me also and my children; for I shall not be able to preside over my house after the death of my wife, nor shall she be able to preside over it after my death 2c. But he that liveth for ever, the rich and almighty, he shall execute all things for me.

If we could not perceive otherwise that God is a wonderful artist, we would certainly see it from the so many-colored formation of the birds.

The disobedience of the peasants is unspeakable, therefore they should be forced most severely by orders and laws, and it would not be good that the rejoicing had ceased. The devil could enjoy that of the peasants, if they do not have to do it.

943. 944. . . . .

945.....	75, 1.
946. 947.....	5, 18.
948. 949.....	5, 19.
	3, 60.

All prophets make general things out of the particular, or common things out of particular cases. And all histories of faith are general and yet taken from particular cases. Abraham, David, Paul have the same faith, but different profession. Therefore, Paul does not care about logic and makes a general rule out of the individual case of Abraham's justification.

951. .. . . .

51, 3.

1) In the original erroneously "27", see No. 892.  
 2) Cf. Tischr. Cap. 28, § 1.  
 3) Instead of verhatiairw original wrtv should probably be read universana

Table speeches  
Cap. S

**952. 953**..... 51, 3.

**954** I have seen the end of the dear beer, it has all become covent (thin beer). And I ask God for all the cause of it, (that he may indicate it,) the essential, formative, effecting, final, or if still to be brewed, that yet the tithe beer geriethe. They have never been able to find the art in ten years.

**955. 956** ..... 6S, 1.

**957. 958. 959**..... 37, 5.

**960**..... 30, 3.

4, 128.

**961. 962**.....

Translating the Bible is a great work. And although we have taken a lot of trouble with this work, there will still be people who want to do it better; they will pick at me one little word that I could discard in a hundred if they translated it. I will give fifty guilders to anyone who can translate the 72nd and 73rd Psalms properly, but who does not use our translation.

**964. 965** ..... 43, 16.

**966. 967** ..... 22, 28.

72, 6.

**968**.....

**969** The Emperor, as a true father of Germany, has again departed for Naples and has issued a letter strictly commanding everyone to keep the peace. Because he has finally become aware of the obedience of the Germans and the lies of the pope, one must pray diligently for him.

**970. 971** ..... 4, 124.

**972. 973. 974**..... 4, 125.

**975** Poor man, feed yourself,  
Last good, resist.

**976** It is not possible for one to speak his native tongue with another tongue, and the way of translating is not to seek the word too near, nor too far, but to take it quite properly according to each language.

**977** Jesus Sirach is now translated in such a way that I do not know it, compared to the old translation. For in the Greek and Latin the book has been very corrupted. If we take the Hebrew, we leave the Greek and Latin.

So you have to talk like you talk in the market. That is why the textbooks, the philosophical and thoughtful (*sententiosi*) books are difficult to translate, the historical ones are easy to translate. If I had to translate Moses now, I would probably make him German, because I wanted to take away his Hebrew way of speaking, and that in such a way that nobody should say that Moses is Hebrew.

**979** To translate rightly is to adapt what is said in another language to one's own language. But since we do this with all effort in Moses, the Jews say: The opinion he has troffen, but the words 1) not. For when they say: They have banished the city by the mouth of the sword, we translate: They have devastated the city by the edge of the sword, and the likeness of those words fits the preachers, who devastate everything with their mouth; but in German it is as if one said: They strike everything to death that only lives.

1) In the original: "the true". Because Rebenftock II, 198 and Bindseil II, 212 agree on the more appropriate reading "the words", we have adopted the same.

	Table speeches Cap. K	
<b>S80. S81. S82. .... .</b> .....	52,	3.
<b>S8S. S84</b> .....	Annex§	10.
<b>985</b> .....	20,	12.
<b>986. 987</b> .....	45,	49.

**988** Antonius de Leva is a clever and very happy warrior; he only commands and everything goes happily for him. And George of Frundsberg is an honest warrior. But we see in them the difference between fighting with force and fighting with prudence. For that one (Leva) followed with two hundred and put two thousand to flight.

<b>989. 990</b> .....	59,	6.
<b>991. 992</b> .....	69,	1.
<b>993</b> .....	59,	12.
<b>994</b> .....	1,	24.

**995** Interpretation is certainly an art. For often we cannot translate the understood meaning appropriately; for it is true what Amsdorf once said: It is a shame that he often understands something and yet cannot speak of it. Yes, we often have to pour it into four barrels before we can get it right. For who can express this sentence in Jesus Sirach (32:14) as it should be? *Sicut fulgur praecedit tonitruui, ita verecundiam praecedit gratia* (As lightning precedes thunder, so favor precedes shame). In my judgment, it is better to say: *verecundia praecedit gratiam* (shame precedes favor). Who can translate the word *verecundia*?<sup>1</sup>

**996** *Verecundia* (shyness out of respect, shamefacedness, bashfulness, stupidity, modesty, modesty) is a very great virtue among young people. *Verecundus*, honorable, who reveres all; on the other hand, honorable, who is worthy of all honors. I often have to reject a good word when translating it, that I would rather lose a red guilder than this word, because no matter how well chosen a word may be, it sometimes does not fit the meaning.

**997. 998** .....

69, 1.

**The** address of the citation, by which the emperor summoned me to Worms, had these words: To the venerable our dear devout D. Martin Luther, Augustinian Order. Duke George did not dignify me with such a title. And although I was in the ban, nevertheless he calls me honorable.

The Duke of Hesse came to me in Worms to argue with me and held against me what I had written about impotents. At last he went away and said: If you are righteous, God will help you.

**1001.** A presbyter made his sin very great to a soldier who had confessed that he had killed four people unjustly, and now thinking that he had made him all contrite, the latter said, Ah, dear Lord, I have also made four other people this year.

**1002.** . .....

15, 17.,

Against his adversaries David was righteous, but against God he was a very great sinner; indeed, somewhere [Ps. 7:9] he calls upon God to judge his righteousness. Against God we act with the dear Lord's Prayer, there he wants to forgive gladly, but against the devil and the opponents of faith he speaks mockingly. They have no right to him, per se, but it is different when God allows them!

<b>1004.</b> . .....	67,	3.
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1) This verse is translated in our Bible: Thunder brings great lightning, shame makes great favor.

	Table speeches Cap. §
<b>1005</b> .....	43, 25.
<b>1006</b> . .... <b>Annex § 1.</b>	
<b>1007</b> .....	59, 5.
<b>1008. 1009. 1010. 1011</b> .....	11, 14.
<b>1012.</b> God's word remains forever. - Makes 15 years since I started writing and preaching. Our nobles only dream when they speak of the gospel, and say that they are free, and take nothing seriously; only the freedom to do anything they ascribe to themselves from the gospel.	
 <b>1014</b> .....	 29, 1.
In a true servant of Christ there must be no question of money and pleasures, which are a cause of covetousness, but a concern how he may faithfully conduct his ministry. And money is not worth arguing about, because it makes one hopeful and that only for a very short time, and it does not go with us when we die.	
 <b>1016</b> .....	 10, 2.
<b>1017</b> .....	12, 35.
<b>1018</b> .....	2, 19.
<b>1019</b> Erfurt has again broken her allegiance to our dukes, who have left her [the city] more than one and a half hundred thousand florins, and has surrendered to the bishop of Mainz, under whom, as we know, she has always declined. In her seal she has, "Erfurt, the faithful daughter of Mainz."	
<b>1020</b> .....	47, 19.
<b>1021</b> .....	44, 11.
<b>1022</b> .....	4, 90.
<b>1023.</b> A lesser man must not boast against a superior, but against the inferior, as my wife can boast against the servants, but not against me, as David boasts because of the righteousness he had against men, but not against God. In the old days, there was a splendid modesty, which I can show by this: A man from the people came to meet my father with a beret on his head. My father said to him: "Read me this letter. He replied that he did not understand. My father said to him: "So hit yourself on the head with misfortune, why are you wearing a beret? So, when he heard that another very lowly man called himself Bartholdus [not Barthel], he [Luther's father] said to his servant: Nickel, no longer Nickel, but Nicolaus you shall be called.	
<b>1025.</b> All times of the gospel have been corrupted by vices: in Sodom, in the time of Noah, Abraham, Christ, the apostles. So it must come to pass. Now, avarice is corrupting the gospel.	
 <b>1026. 1027.</b> . . . . .	 43, 181.
<b>1028</b> .....	73, 5.
<b>1029</b> .....	66, 3.
<b>1030</b> .....	3, 30.
<b>1031</b> Love is the greatest among them [1 Cor. 13:13] because it will remain in the life to come.	
<b>1032</b> .....	12, 31.
<b>1033</b> All victories are images of Christ, the victor.	
<b>1034</b> . . . . .	5, 7.

Table speeches  
Cap. S

<b>1035</b> .....	43, 17.
<b>1036</b> .. .	8, 1.
<b>1037</b> .....	66, 5.
<b>1038. 1039</b> .....	3, 63.
<b>1040</b> .....	66, 56.

Those are very miserable who are not satisfied with their fate. Of these really wretched people there are many at the courts who seek more money or honor at court, since they have plenty at home.

In the first book of Moses, one must consider what and when God speaks, and what effect follows this word, or what the godly or the godless do when the word is spoken. Otherwise, everything will seem ridiculous to you.

The histories in the Bible are examples of faith. For example, the Exodus from Egypt is a history and an example of great faith. One must judge the others in the same way.

<b>1044. 1045</b> .....	59, 11.
<b>1046</b> .....	52, 1.
<b>1047</b> .....	60, 6.
<b>1048</b> .....	52, 4.
<b>1049</b> .....	52, 2.
<b>1050. 1051</b> .....	23, 3.

**1052 In** straw, but even better in chaff, apples are protected from the cold. Augustine says: What is warmer than chaff? And ice covered with straw does not melt.

**The** study of law is dirty and profit-seeking, for its ultimate purpose is money; for one does not study in law for pleasure and for the sake of knowledge.

for the sake of things.

<b>1054</b> .....	73, 2.
<b>1055</b> .....	3, 43.
<b>1056</b> .....	70, 2.

My housekeeping is wonderful, because I consume more than I take in. I have to have fifty guilders in the kitchen every year, I keep quiet about other things. I can't direct myself in the housekeeping.

**1058.** When I am angry, let me only be at peace and take a breather, because many things happen to me that irritate me, which I believe also happens to others. Therefore, one should leave room for an angry person.

<b>1059. 1060. 1061</b> .....	37, 1.
<b>1062</b> .....	37, 2.
<b>1063. 1064</b> .....	37, 3.
<b>1065</b> .....	37, 102.

**1066.**' I am half angry with the jurists, because they want to trample the theologians underfoot, but it shall not prosper them too nicely further. Against Daniel many learned lawyers rose up at Babel, Isaiah also surpassed many learned lawyers. So also our [jurists] will have no luck.

<b>1067</b> .....	26, 83.
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If one is angry with God, he suffers two damages, the first that he does not respect [God's] wrath, the second that he has to reconcile with Him and beg for it. He said this to Mag. Joh. Förster, to whom his son had died.

**1069** I do not wish that the thief who stole the forester's linen in his grief should be hanged, but I would still give him a rope.

buy, not for revenge, but for the sake of justice, which must be preserved. Moses very puffingly provided for the sake of it that a thief by night could be killed, and the one who killed him could not be accused for the blood.

If a thief finds me in my four posts by night, I must defend myself so that he does not kill me; but a thief by day must be made known by shouting and caught.

**1071** There are different types of lies, which are well distinguished

must: Ridiculous lies, lies of duty, pernicious, ungodly lies. 1) Joke lies, ridiculous antics, are those by which one amuses the sad. The lie of duty is a work of love, as it happened when Abraham saved his wife by pretending she was his sister, and when Michal saved David [1 Sam. 19, 14-17]. So also 2 Kings 6, [19.] 2c. Thus a certain pastor said to the executioners who were searching in his house for a thief who had fled there, "I will not lie, nor will I betray the thief," and they were forced to desist from the investigation. An ungodly lie is one by which we blaspheme God and men. If a man ever wants to tell a white lie, he should say badly, No, he should not add an oath; he should not say, Truly, truly. Also Christ Joh. 7, (8. 10? did not lie about his going to Jerusalem, otherwise he spoke mockingly, as when he said (Joh. 8, 7?: Let him who is without sin cast the first stone at the adulteress. Likewise (Matth. 22, 20?: What is the superscription? Likewise [Matth. 21, 25.]: Is the baptism of John from heaven? There he mockingly attacked her.

<b>1072</b> .....	13, 67.
<b>1073. 1074</b> .....	1, 25.
<b>1075, 1076. 1077</b> .....	37, 18.

**1078.** In the church there are always divisions; there must be something to create in it, because there are always some Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob in it. So [it] must also go now.

<b>1079. 1080</b> .....	43, 127.
<b>1081</b> .....	43, 156.

God has made his best gifts most common; this can also be seen in the dogs, which are useful, and animals of high value. What value is in the eyes! and all animals have eyes, and the smallest birds have very clear eyes, to look at like precious stones and crystal-bright drops of water. They see a fly for a room, and we buffoons do not recognize such things in this life.

**1083** "The gospel is preached to the poor," that is, the forgiveness of sins is announced. Moses could not do this, and it is a sign that Christ is present.

I have been given two books in which I have read innumerable statutes of the Carthusians, to which no one would have submitted if the promise or merit of eternal life had not been attached to them. And in these statutes, one's own righteousness is constantly thought of, but Christ's is never thought of, and yet everything is thought out in such a way that one could think that their (the Carthusians') life is a completely angelic one. life is a completely angelic one. Therefore, Paul's reminder in the 2nd chapter of the [first] letter to the Corinthians is very necessary for us.

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1) In the original, a period must be placed after impia. By joeosa the preceding riäieula is taken up again. By psrnioiosa, impia only one kind of lies is denoted, which is represented afterwards by impia alone. Therefore, in the Latin table speeches it is quite correct to speak only of drererler lies. Rebenstock I, 226 d. Bindseil I, 420 - The white lie is then mentioned in passing.

**1085** They [the papists] change almost all human statutes except the celibate state and the mass; there it locks itself, because by these two columns the Pabstthum is carried.

Ingratitude against the Word has always been the greatest abomination, and it is not surprising that this ingratitude also causes the greatest annoyance to godly people, and that God has the same thoughts as the godly.

**1087**..... 30, 11.

When the papacy began to grow under Carl the Great, for six hundred years, it already became very powerful in two hundred years. 1)

**1089.** One should diligently keep all the rules of the monks for the eternal disgrace [of the papacy] and for the honor of the gospel. I have five [rules] with their orders. And Augustine was just as much a monk as Jerome was a cardinal. They have to serve the pope's lug/.

**1090**..... 4, 91.

**1091. 1092**..... 43, 1.

**1093**..... 37, 108.

**1094**..... 45, 73.

**1095**..... 3, 31.

**1096**..... 3, 11.

**1097**..... 74, 2.

**1098** For the freedom which the gospel has brought us, not long ago every king would have given a hundred thousand florins, a prince a thousand, a nobleman a hundred, a citizen sixty, a peasant twenty. Now, however, no one gives thanks for it, nor does anyone give even a penny for it.

**1099. 1100** ..... 37, 65.

**1101** ..... 43, 133.

**1102**..... 37, 109.

**1103. 1104. 1105. 1106**..... 43, 18.

**1107** ..... 30, 1.

**1108**.. ..... 22, 13.

**1109**..... 29, 2.

**1110. 1111**..... 67, 2.

**1112**..... 76, 23.

**1113**..... 37, 9.

**1114 A** dead person is remembered more persistently than a living person. But they are nothing if the living do not join them. This is what he said when he wrote something in his memory book.

**1115** Ferdinand deserves to be hated by everyone. No prince loves him. The Mainzer is said to have said: We have killed a king, we must kill him ourselves.

**1116.** Erasmus has badly translated "speech" for "word" in John, because there is a big difference between talking and speaking and John looks back to Moses 2) 2c.

1) We have removed the comma before sub, which makes it unnecessary to add a tuit. - What is communicated in this number is consistent with No. 861, where it is stated that until the Council of Constance, the papacy had steadily increased in power. From Carl the Great to this council are just 600 years. It reached its peak a little over 200 years after Carl the Great in Gregory VII.

2) Namely, that God created all things through "the Word". Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. I, 19 f. § 35-37. - Cf. also No. 1176 of this appendix.

1117 I live in a big house, but I would like to be free of him.

1118..... 80, 13.

1119..... 19, 1.

1120 Wittenberg is not a well-fortified city and is exposed to many dangers. But I am surprised that they build a wall and walls against imaginary enemies, but they do not fear the flooding of the Elbe, which threatens present danger, and therefore do not prevent it, although they have no closer enemy. Ten peasants could do damage in one night with rough logs that would kill half of Wittenberg.

1121 Although the lecturers are always admonished to be careful about which authors they read, this reminder seems especially necessary now, because there are so many book writers. Someone has published an interpretation of the letter to the Hebrews, who uses dainty words, but does not know what Christ is, what faith is, can only wash. But in this letter, as the subject of which it deals, the knowledge of Christ should be treated, which is faith. Philosophers are not theologians, therefore Paul reminds us not in vain [Col. 2, 8] that we should beware of philosophy, that is, of all philosophy, because such a one has nothing but words of human wisdom, which certainly cannot agree with the Gospel and therefore cannot agree with it.

1122 A thing is learned more easily by imitating speech than by studying and from books; this can be seen in my little daughter [Magdalena]. Although she is not yet four years old, she can speak very well and quite understandably about household matters. In ten years a boy cannot learn a language from grammar or by reading, which a small child learns in two years. Such is the power of speech and imitation.

1123.....

1124. .... Already in another Redaction No. 521. communicated by us 24, 44.

1125..... 24, 43.

1126 With good will, one can earn ingratitude. This happened to the Margrave [George of Brandenburg-Ansbach] at Augsburg when he picked up Ferdinand, who had fallen from his horse at the tournament, and it was very shameful for him. Our Elector Johann often said with a laugh: "I think our grandfather deserved well in Augsburg.

In those days [during the Diet of Augsburg in 1530] an eagle was found near Nuremberg, two-headed, as the emperor has it in his coat of arms, to protect the two empires, East and West, Eastern Empire and World Empire.

1128. My father was a poor hewer [miner] in his youth. Mother carried all her wood in on her back; so they brought us up.

1129.....

26, 32.

Elephants are very friendly and docile animals, and it is said that they serve humans for a certain time in their home country. Then, however, they go away into the forest and return to their service at the right time.

1131. 1132. 1133. 1134. 1135..... 37, 19.

1136..... 70, 2.

1137..... 4, 49.

1138..... 72, 1.

1139..... 22, 18.

1140..... 37, 13.



**1141:** The main content of today's gospel is first of all that Christ is revealed to the Gentiles; then the passage of the prophet is also to be treated diligently. 1)

**4142** Every priest [pontifex] must have his private sacrifices, so Pommer sacrifices his audience with his long sermons. For we are his sacrifice, and today he has gloriously sacrificed us.

This is what I like about the papists, that they have treated the article of the Trinity with the utmost diligence, and although they have been plagued by many superstitions in their treatment of it, they have given no occasion to the devil in this article.

<b>1144</b> .....	45,	62.
<b>1145</b> .....	22,	106.
<b>1146</b> .....	13,	79.

Those who are forced into a profession have the best profession, but those who have accepted it voluntarily accept it gladly in the beginning, but later they are plagued by the devil; it is said: Blessed are the pure in heart.

<b>1148</b> .....	17,	9.
<b>1149. 1150. 1151. 1152. 1153. 1154. 1155. 1156. 1157</b> .....	17,	10.
<b>1158</b> .....	41,	9.
<b>1159</b> .....	8,	1.
<b>1160</b> .....	43,	118.

**1161** Although the subsequent marriage, according to the law, legitimizes the [illegitimately begotten] children, the nobles nevertheless do not want to allow that such need shield and helmet. 2)

<b>1162</b> .....	43,	2.
<b>1163. 1164</b> .....	43.	3.
<b>1165. 1166. 1167. 1168. 1169. 1170.</b> .....	44,	5.

It is very certain that Jews lived in these areas, for the names of the places and the buildings testify to this habitation. I believe that this is also why God wanted to re-establish His word. It is certain that the sow with her piglets outside the church was beaten to shame. Jewish streets, new streets are all Jewish. 3)

<b>1172. 1173. 1174. 1175.</b> .....	74,	3.
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If John had written Hebrew, he would not have used this word, which means speech and utterance at the same time, but the word which means utterance and bringing forth, and he looks back to Moses, who says: Let there be. There is a bringing forth, not a thing, as it is also said in Proverbs [2, 6.], "I came forth from the mouth of the Most High." 4)

**1177** The name Adonai [HErr], which is the name of the essence [essentiae], comes to Christ, because the essence is related to Christ. 5)

**1178.** creator denotes the ownership of God, having to do with the people. In all languages, a great treasure is hidden in the word proprietorship.

1) This piece seems to be about the Epiphany Gospel, Matth. 2, 1-12., the prophet Were then Micah 5, 1.  
 2) Cf. Tischr. Cap. 43, § 63.  
 3) Cf. Tischr. Cap. 74, § 10. Walch, old edition, vol. XIX, 1436, § 257.  
 4) Cf. no. 1116 of this appendix.  
 5) Smn: Adonai and oval" mean the same thing, which refers to Christ, so Christ is the Lord.

It is said that the emperor and the pope, now in agreement, pray that God deliver the innocent Carl from the bloodthirsty pope, whose counsels all flow with blood. If the emperor were to fall away from him, he would be immediately humiliated. It is also said that the King of France will fall away from him, the Englishman has now fallen away. Ferdinand would certainly not defend him, because he equally fights the gospel and deprives the papacy. But he is a good protector of the pope, because he, like the pope, has an evil conscience. I hope, however, that within five years the Pope will call on the Lutherans to help him against his patrons.

The Lutherans are very good and benevolent heretics because we have defended the papacy until now. If we had not prevented it, the papists themselves would have already devoured the papacy, and I have not attacked the papacy, but the papacy has attacked the gospel, which, by fighting the gospel, fights itself down. [The] pope could not keep peace. When an apple ripens, it must fall, even if it has enough room on the tree. Thus the papacy has fallen according to its own counsel.

It would have been an astonishing and intolerable tyranny in the papacy, if the consciences of the people, deceived by the false merits, had not kept it voluntarily. For a monk or a nun who picked only one leaf in the garden was condemned without leniency, even if they had otherwise kept the whole rule. But the freedom of the gospel is despised or abused. Therefore, the world is worthy of such laws of the pope.

1182 . . .	15, 46.
1183 .....	70, 2.

1184. Although David was an adulterer, he boasts that he did all of God's will, namely in public affairs. For he waged all wars according to the command and will of God. Likewise, it [David's boasting] is also understood of private matters, not of the precepts of the holy ten commandments. For example, this is also understood [in this way], since He [God] says [1 Sam. 16, 12. 13. Acts 13, 22.], "I will choose me a king according to my heart," since God rejected Saul because he had not slain King Amalek. Nevertheless, David was an adulterer and a murderer.

1185 .....	9, 41.
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1186. 1187. 1188. 1189. 1190. 1191. 1192. These 7 numbers contain a short report of the Cordatus about the severe attack of illness, which Luther suffered on July 6, 1527 and which is described in detail in the editions of D. Bugenhagen and D. Jonas, under the title: Kurze Historia, by both gentlemen, D. Johan: Bugenhagen Pomeranus and D. Justum Jonam, how the blessed man of God, D. M. L., in high temptations, spiritually and bodily, surrendered to God's will to live and die. 2c. Wittenberg. Ed. IX, 239 ff. Jen. Ed. III, 458 u to 461. (After 460, three folios are not paginirt in the first edition, which we have subsequently designated 460<sup>^</sup>. 460 L. and 460G.) Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 158\* to 175\*. Rebenstvkll, 211" simply refers to the German Wittenberg and Jena volumes, while Bindseil, Colloquia III, 460 to 463, offers a Latin translation of the report of D. Just. Jonas, Walch, XXI, 168\* to 174\*, ? 1 to 14. - Jen. Ed. III, 460 L to 461 a. According to the content, the relation of Cordatus agrees with the editions, therefore we do not consider it necessary to include it here.

I have seen a lame man begetting lame children. They want to marry and make the country full of beggars. They are to be cured of marrying, plague the land, and have no other purpose than to satisfy their lust.

The most faithful of all animals is the dog, which comes closest to man in acumen and erudition. He understands the words of men,

likes to associate with man and faithfully guards him. If he were given the right to speak, what would the dog miss? The pig, however, is a completely stupid animal, unteachable, which learns nothing but dirt. It does not stay in a spotless and clean place, it loves the muck.

**1195. 1196.** ..... 27, 92.  
37, 66.

**1197** .....

**The** false theologians and lawyers are the tools of the devil through which he acts. For through them he lies, but through them he kills the innocent.

**The** jurists kill more than the theologians, who kill only a few with lies, but the jurists rule the whole world, which they kill with godless laws. Epicurus, their lord, who in truth rules the whole world, does not care about good or bad preachers, but the lawyers drive them out of the countries.

**1200** God grant His grace that this present visitation [1532-1535] may progress better than the first [1527-1530], in which almost nothing was done for the Word and the church servants, but only the ecclesiastical goods were gathered [i.e. ordered], so that the nobles, burghers and peasants would not snatch everything for themselves. The Wittenbergers had thrown everything together in such a way that [as they said] they had only 16 guilders in total annually, but we finally found 6000 [guilders as the] main sum. So also the Zwickau 2c.

**1201** When Christ speaks, promises and threatens something, it is valid for heaven and earth, ten worlds in addition, so great is the prestige of the word of God. Neither the enthusiasts nor the papists consider this. Yes, they laugh and say: Faith, faith I can preach no more than the ten commandments, and they are hindered with folly. 1) Therefore they sometimes say: Wilt thou not once hear what we say?

**1202.** He [God] wants all people to be saved, that is, in whatever state they are. Therefore, let everyone see how he gets into the "all".

God is the guardian and procurator of the poor. I certainly know this, since I consume much more than I have in salary, and I have not yet written or read or preached anything that I have not done in vain. For the 200 florins that I have from the prince, I have and accept from his grace. He has enough who has Christ, therefore I have not wanted to do anything for money, although I might have become rich; I wanted to have made money 2c.

**1204** If a man has goods of this world, he may say in the world, This is mine; but before God it is necessary that he say, God, this is thine.

**1205. 1206. 1207**..... 17, 4.  
**1208**..... 19, 26.  
**1209. 1210. 1211. 1212**..... 38, 3.  
**1213. 1214. 1215. 1216. 1217. 1218.** ..... 13, 35.  
**1219. 1220**..... 13, 25.

**1221.** thomas of aquino has been a great washer, who for the sake of the diversity of the words has invented a diversity of things, a finished

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1) The meaning of this passage will be: "Enthusiasts and papists despise the preaching of the gospel and consider the preaching of the law to be much more necessary; they also accuse the preaching of the faith of making wanton sinners who, out of presumption, no longer want to keep the holy Ten Commandments. Cf. Luther's Sermon on the Difference between the Law and the Gospel, Walch, old edition, Vol. IX, 421 f., §§ 16. 17.  
2) Cf. No. 1057, where the same is expressed. This is not in contradiction with No. 444. God blesses the insufficient content in such a way that it is nevertheless sufficient.

[formatam] faith, an unfinished [informem] and an infused one. The infused faith he calls a gift and a quality that can be in a fornicator and exist in a mortal sin, from which we would be saved by the acquired [acquisita] faith.

**1222. 1223. 1224. 1225.....** ..... 13, 19.  
37, 110.

**1226 .....**

The fact that many people take offense at the wisdom of God, that is, at the Gospel, and that reason is not enlightened in all, is because we should recognize and honor the gifts of God, and it is necessary that our powers be put to shame. It is also not to be wondered at that one sees abuse and godlessness in many people, because this also takes place in other creatures. For iron is a good creature of God. But people misuse it more for warfare and killing than for the promotion of peace and work. Thus, the wisest are usually the most wicked and the fewest good.

**1228 .....** 16, 10.  
II, 25.

**1229. 1230. 1231 .....**

I like to read the stories of the fox and the wolf, how the wolf was deceived by the fox. It is fine when one rogue deceives the other and throws him over the rope. It is also nice when a horse met the wolf and was asked by him who and where he was from, that he answered that he did not know either, but his father had written both on his hind hoof when the wolf wanted to read it, and immediately he felt the hoof on his forehead. But wrestling with death, he said: "It serves me right, because I should be a hunter, not a scribe.

We are taught the forgiveness of sins, not the freedom to sin. Therefore, the world is rightly condemned, which misuses this holy gospel of God only for sin, greed for profit, and good living.  
2c.

15, 1.

**1234 .....**

**1235.** Gracious Lord, I want to throw another stone in [the] garden to Your Grace. Today a son was born to me, a new pope. You want to help the poor journeyman, to which he belongs. But it was at one o'clock in the night on January 28, Anno 33. Paul was his name. 1)

**1236** I named him Paulum, because St. Paul gave me many a good saying and argument, so that I also wanted to name a son in his honor. God grant him grace. - I will send my children. Whoever wants to be a warrior, I will send to H[ans] Loser; whoever wants to study, I will send to D. Jonas and Philip; whoever wants to work, I will make him a farmer.

**1237.. ....** 45, 50.

**1238.** When a law is given, circumvention of the law arises. Thus a servant who was forced by his master to fill his cheeks with water, which he then had to spit out again when he returned from the wine cellar, as a sign that he had not drunk wine. He had a cup of water in the cellar, drank wine and filled his cheeks with water again, and testified that he had come to this deception, driven by his master.

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1) According to Rebenstock II, 19 d and Bindseil III, 163, these words were written to one of the godparents on his arrival, namely to Johann Löser, hereditary marshal of Saxony. The letter of invitation to him of January 29, 1533 is found in Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 362. The other godparents were: Duke Johann Ernst, D. Jonas, Melanchthon and the Fräst of Caspar Lindemann.

Covent is the strongest drink in my cellar, because even though many drink it, one ton of Covent still exceeds three barrels of beer.

**1240.** Since I (Cordatus) once said that all Italians were surprised that the Germans could be so long-lived with such great drunkenness, (Luther answered,) to him this seems to be the reason that when one urged the other to drink the same, he always said: God blesses you for that. But it is God alone who is not mocked, even though there are so many who mock Him.

**1241:** That parents do not want to address their son with "You" [singulariter] once he has become a priest, is proven by the papists from the saying of David [Ps. 110, 1]: "The Lord spoke to my Lord. A similar story is told of a certain mother who had her son carried to school on Gregory's Day and said: "Here (in school) I will have such a hard time that I will have to call my son "Her". This wisdom was not less than that which that proof has in itself.

**1242 In** Scripture, melancholy is nothing other than inveterate sadness and the sting of the devil, by which we are plagued here and there. That is why they are diligently resisted in the Scriptures. Therefore he (God) says: Believe in me, cast your care on the Lord, do not be sad, let me take care of you, use me and my creature and you will be happy 2c.

**1243**..... 70, 2.

**The** science is the knowledge itself, but the art applies the same, means [Luc. 10, 28.]: Do this, and you will live.

**1245**..... 22, 147.  
51, 3.

**1246**.....

**1247** Martinus means a soldier, Philip a horseman, Elizabeth the rest, Magdalena a tower, Peter is a whimsical name.

If I had to die at this hour, I would not recommend anything else to my friends but that they should be most diligent in the word of God after my death. For since we must seek first God's kingdom, when we die we must not worry about our wives and children. That will come to pass which follows (Matth. 6, 33.): "All these things will fall to you." For, if He acknowledges us as His servants, GOD will not forsake us. If He will not abandon us, how will He forget ours? But we are his servants, because we (administer) his baptism, gospel, Lord's Supper, preach obedience to parents and authorities, and commend all that comes from his word and institution alone. Even if we are sinners and do not fulfill our service, we know how to cover the forgiveness of sins.

**1249**..... 21, 1

**1250.** When I had answered (Michael) Stiefel to his invented calculation, which he called a prophecy, and had refuted his reasons, or rather his opinion of the seventh angel, which he wanted to be, and had signed me in my letter: "Martinus Luther, D.", he made me out of the one letter "D.". Dele, Delere enim me vis (eradicate, because you want to destroy me), so graciously I have Satan. 1)

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1) These last words are perhaps also still to be seen as Stiefel's words, because in the Tischreden Cap. 37, 8144, we are told that Luther says: "Throughout my life, no adversary has given me such evil words as he has, although the preceding Latin words without the conclusion would also be coarse and evil enough, since in them he wishes Luther's downfall. Luther wishes for the downfall.

	Table speeches Cap. §	
<b>1251</b> .....	19,	3.
<b>1252</b> .....	44,	7. 8.
<b>1253. 1254</b> .....	20,	1.
<b>1255</b> .....	3,	61.
<b>1256</b> .....	62.,	1.
<p>You have to love him who can make melancholy people cheerful with his subtle jokes. Christoph Groß is excellent in this art, a very funny person.</p>		
<b>1258</b> .....	27,	11.
<p><b>1259.</b> faith never ceases; for when it ends in Peter, it begins to reign in the robber [Luc. 23, 40.] I have never seen the author of a heresy [heresiarcha] converted. The food of faith bens are histories that concern the faith. Apart from Christ, there is nothing but the neck being tied up with cords, that is, law upon law, which weighs down the consciences. He who speaks against God's word and his conscience (like H[erzog] G[eorg]) disgraces himself. There is no need to curse such people, they are already too cursed anyway. The prophets have powerful words, by which they surpass all impressive speeches [pathos] of Demosthenes and Cicero. For with how great vehemence they speak against Tyre [Isa. 23, 1. ff. Ezek. 26. and 27.], the most invincible city! This is actually said to the theologians [Joh. 14, 19.]: "I live and you should also live", because it is their office to always deal with the sick, from whom everyone flees. Therefore, we should also live when we have died.</p>		
<b>1263</b> .....	48,	38.
<b>1264. 1265</b> .....	1,	20.
<b>1266</b> . . . . .	4,	58.
<p>Already in other relation No. 552 of this appendix.</p>		
<b>1268</b> .....	55,	5.
<p><b>1269</b> Christ seems to be called Nazarene from the Hebrew, which means chosen, set apart, sanctified, consecrated with a new crown.</p>		
<b>1270</b> .....	43,	22.
<p><b>1271</b> He who has made a promise of marriage to one, but marries another, uses her, but does not have her.</p>		
<b>1272</b> .....	27,	116.
<p><b>1273]</b> Crying children 1) raise to stone Moses because they do not want to be subjected to the law.</p>		
<b>1274</b> ..... ' . . . . .	4,	46.
<p><b>1275.</b> nuns are called so from a German expression, because cut pigs are called so, as monks have this name from the horses. But they are not quite cured, have to wear pants [bruche] as well as other people.</p>		
<b>1276</b> .....	25,	2.
<p>Until now, the nobles only sent their lame and deaf children to the monasteries, and yet they believed that they were doing God a pleasant service through these sacrifices.</p>		

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1) This piece is to be understood by real children who already rebel against any coercion.

	Tischl Cap.	even 8
<b>1278.</b> .....	4,	59.
<b>1279</b> .....	19,	1.
<b>1280.</b> I am so tired of governing as with bowls, plates and troughs eat. Our young rulers will also push off the horns, if they have learned from experience that not everything can be aligned immediately in the most exact way. One must put much on the Sunday Invocavit (one remembers that well!). 1) <b>1281</b> .....	59,	6.
<p>I suffer so much in my head that I am immediately struck by dizziness when I think something hard. Dear God, if I should become fresh, let it be so; if not, my weakness will increase until the grave. 2)</p> <p>I certainly do not love disunity, but I fear the dangers of the opponents who are coming, because they fear neither God nor man.</p>		
' <b>1284</b> .....	60,	2.
<p>Those who begin sins, such as adultery, shy away at first, like a dog when it first learns to eat; but when they gradually become accustomed to it, they go up freely.</p> <p><b>The</b> Italians rightly say that we cannot cure our wines of dropsy, because the carters spoil our wines, however good they may be. Therefore, he who drove a dead Jew from Prague to Regensburg for burial, whose body was put into a wine barrel filled with must, so that the Jews would not have to pay customs [for the corpse], received his just reward. The wagoner made a sweet drink.</p>		
<b>1287</b> .....		3, 1.
<p>According to the way of the Scriptures, Moses makes the words of Adam to Cain [Gen. 4] words of God, as it is the custom in the prophets everywhere, when they say: "This is the word of the Lord. Thus Paul, "Not I, but the LORD," 1 Cor. 7, [10.]. Thus Shem speaks (perhaps) to Rebekah [Gen. 25, 23.]; likewise in the same passage [Gen. 4, 14.], "Thou castest me out of the land, and from thy presence," that is, from the government and from the church. The woman shall not separate from the man, says Paul [1 Cor. 7:10], because they are one flesh.</p>		
<b>1289. 1290</b> .....		
<b>1291</b> .....	12,	6, 2. 36.
<b>1292</b> .....	3,	1.
<b>1293</b> .....	59,	6.
<b>1294</b> .....	37,	111.
<p><b>1295:</b> From the word "suffer" of [XXX of XXX] comes in Hebrew what is said of Moses, that he was the most merciful [4 Mos. 12, 3], that is, the most afflicted. In Egypt he suffered innumerable things from the inhabitants, and then also from the Jews, and see that we too are so afflicted, first by our enemies, and then also by our own people and friends.</p> <p><b>In 1296 the</b> White Russians sent an envoy to the pope and asked to be accepted into the church. Since he demanded a very large sum of money from them.</p>		

1) The meaning of this piece will probably be this: Just as the body is not well cared for by excessive eating, neither is everything well cared for by much governing. With regard to the body, remember what the Gospel teaches on Invocavit Sunday (Matt. 4:4): "Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that passes through the mouth of God." Fasting, in God's name, also nourishes. Letting go, in God's name, also often reigns well.

2) Cf. Tischr. Cap. 47, 9.

they finally dropped the matter. The same request was also made by the (so-called) Lapps [Pilapenses], but they were also thrown out on their ear and fell away to the Turk.

**The** papists certainly cannot boast of the religion of the Christians, since they deny its supreme principle and secret, namely faith. Thus Cochlaeus and his like go against the content of the whole Scripture, and he says thus: God, Christ and his Spirit justifies, therefore faith does not justify alone. But even if he listed several more, they would not justify without faith.

**1298. 1299**..... 59, 6.

The complaint of idleness is so great that it makes one's life even longer, and youth does not grow old for a long time. But after thirty years the years go by one after the other and become long because of worries and cares, and since we are so plagued, the years go by one after the other, so that one does not become aware of it. When I write, a day hardly becomes an hour to me, and when I was young, ten nights hardly became one night to me. But now every single hour becomes a night to me, because I cannot have rest.

**1301. 1302**..... 47, 9.

**1303** Tobias is an example of a good householder and shows that the household gets into trouble and danger. In Job, however, something of the kind may be set forth as in Aeneas. The author, however, has expounded it widely, as Virgil has also done. It is, as it were, a poem.

**1304. 1305. 1306.** . . . . . 37, 112.

**1307**..... 58, 7.

**1308.** That we may trust God, that He will gladly give us the food that He gives abundantly to all the wicked, to whom He gives, as He gives to the peasants, all creatures and everything, but He does not give them Himself.

**1309.** On the wicked their misfortune comes suddenly and unawares, because blinded they do not foresee anything and do not believe those who look afar, but they remain safe and do not care about anything concerning religion, but are only fattened with the external things, until they are carried away by some evil from which they cannot escape. Example of the pope.

**1310**..... 8, 1.

**1311**..... 48, 30.

**1312** I used to have the whole Bible so memorized that I knew the contents of all the chapters; but the study of the Hebrew language has confused my memory in this respect.

**1313** **The** peasants and the nobles must not be allowed to yield to the visitation, and if they are lepers, their pastors must be called away.

**1314.** I do not believe that the madmen [lunaticos, actually: moon addicts) have been completely possessed by the devil at the time of Christ, have nevertheless had a blow from him. The kind, I think, was Claus Narr, he had a little ghost. When the Mainzer prayed three times: Benedicite Maria and made the middle syllable (of Maria) long, he answered three times: Water [maria], Pfaff!

Since the Word of God must be the foundation of our faith, no one can expect a council to confirm our doctrine, and how can the pope suffer a council if he is not granted and promised power over the council?

**1316**..... ' ..... 4, 117.



Table Talks  
 Cap. § 67,  
 10.  
 9. 42.  
 9, 43.

**1317**.....

**1318**.....

**1319**

It is much more trouble to unlearn the pope than to learn Christ, and those who excel in one art are well advised to demand double the price from a pupil taught by Abel. Young theologians know nothing of such things.

**1321**.....

27, 14.

**1322**.....

7, 179.

**1323**.....

37, 50.

Those who despise the word of God fall into a hardened mind, as can be seen in Muenzer's followers and the Anabaptists, who, although they boast so much of the spirit, do not even know the ordinances concerning the children. 1)

**1325** **The** pope has been either an ass or a devil: an ass because he does not recognize his most stupid errors, a devil because he has cherished and confirmed them.

**1326**.....

15, 25.

**1327. 1328**.....

12, 84.

**1329** Faith itself is also commanded, for example: "He who does not believe this prophet" in the 5th book of Moses [18, 19] and in the first commandment, but only in order that [this commandment] may make us able to attain faith in the promises of God in the Gospel. This is the use of the whole law, namely, that we should come to faith.

**1330**.....

37, 114.

**1331** .....

22, 31.

**1332**.....

37, 113.

We have to let it happen that we are now working with the most ungrateful people, and others will come into the harvest; but although there are many who are running straight to hell, there are also those who believe in Christ and will be saved, who will not leave us.

**1334. The** most apparent reasons are often null and void, and those that are well considered are ultimately found to be not valid.

The pope and his followers have confessed, as has the emperor, that we are not heretics, and that what we confess and teach is the word of God. Therefore, whatever they do, they do against themselves and their conscience, so it will not end well with them.

**1336.** As the night is not day and the day is not night, so the wicked are not fit to obey the gospel of God. For either they despair because of their sins, or they are presumptuous because of the light, and fear no more darkness [i.e., they sin willfully].

**1337**.....

31, 2.

**1338**.....

37, 114.

**1339** If one sowed just pious people here, nevertheless bells [fools] went up. Even if four Luther, twenty Philip and thirty Pomeranus were here, they would do nothing. God must raise up a David or a King Cyrus, who must do [it]. In Thuringia the seed becomes wheat, but here the wheat becomes the seed and sometimes something worse.

1) I.e. infant baptism.

**1340** I was in a land where I was, There grows neither leaves nor grass, There is neither life nor limb, If you can guess it, I will give it to you. 1)

**1341.** the supreme dominion is given to men, since God said (Gen. 1, 28.): "Rule over the fish" 2c. But he also wants to remain lord, we don't want to begrudge him that.

<b>1342</b> .....	59, 6.
<b>1343.</b> . . . . .	60, 9.
<b>1344</b> .....	9, 16.
<b>1345</b> .....	1, 2.
<b>1346</b> .....	12, 57.
	59, 2.

**1347**.....

I have asked God not to give dreams, deception and doubt, and not to reveal angels or signs; for I cannot wait for them, nor do I need them, because I have the Word, and the devil troubles people greatly with dreams.

If I were to attend a Pontifical Mass, especially the High Mass [summae], I would also bend my knees, raise my hands and pray out of reverence for the Sacrament. For they have the essence (Christ's Body and Blood), and the Church, which is present, agrees with it, and there is the public confession. Thus the Syrian Naaman was allowed by Elijah to enter the temple of the idol.

<b>1350</b> .....	19, 4.
<b>1351</b> .....	19, 5.
<b>1352</b> .....	4, 62.
<b>1353</b> .....	4, 63.
<b>1354. 1355</b> .....	27, 1.
<b>1356.</b> Already reported in another relation. Cordatus No. 340: . . . . .	12, 51.
<b>1357</b> .....	39, 18.

Christ is the Lord of his father David, because he is both God and priest. And if I were asked whose son I was, 2) I would answer Moses, "The one by whom David was appointed king.

**1359** Christ did not forbid to take care of one's own or to protect one's livelihood, otherwise no one would be allowed to defend a lamb against a wolf. But he wants people to show love to their neighbor and does not want Christians to have hearts that seek revenge, just as he does not want Christian brothers to mix with pagan judges, as we see in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (Cap. 6). But greed or avarice is something else, the lust for revenge something else, than the urgent need of helping justice.

**The** hypocritical life [larva] of the monks is not a service to God, but that (is the right service) which godly hearts take from the faithfully preached word of God that we believe in God and love Him and our neighbor.

1) The resolution of this riddle, according to D. Wrampelmeyer, shall be heaven. But this does not seem suitable to us. Perhaps the image of his hometown Eisleben.

2) The reading of the original ssem is to be kept. By the change in esset the sense of this beautiful passage would be disturbed, the inclusion of "Moses" quite incomprehensible. Meaning: If Moses (the law) lays claim to me, then I answer: I am (through the rebirth) a child of God, who also raised David from lowliness to kingship, because he wanted to be his savior.

	Table speeches Cap. §
<b>1861</b> .....	1, 70.
<b>1362. ...</b> .....	26, 2.
<b>1363. 1364. . .</b> .....	27, 153.
<b>1365.</b> Already reported in another redaction. Cordatus No. 620: .....	35, 1.
<b>1366</b> .....	24, 59.
<b>1367.</b> .....	43, 51.
<b>1368</b> .....	2, 131.
<b>1369</b> .....	13, 55.
<b>1370</b> .. .....	2, 44.
<b>1371</b> When the hour comes, let us put on our vestments and hear the absolution of faith and depart.	
<b>1372. 1373. 1374</b> .....	: 2, 86.
<b>1375</b> .....	24, 30.
<b>1376.</b> "The heavens are the Lord's everywhere, but the earth He has given to the children of men" [Ps. 115, 16]. But men do not want to be satisfied with their own kingdom, but always reach into the kingdom of God, which they cannot violate, not even the king.	
<b>1377. 1378</b> .....	24, 12.
<b>1370.</b> The woman has the praise of the sociability and the grace. "Her husband's heart may rely on her" [Prov. 31, 11.]. This is a great praise of woman. They deprive themselves of this good by the mischief which they also cause. I have worked out and am lost with me, God give me a merciful hour and let me go the right way.	
<b>1381</b> .....	1, 9.
<b>1382</b> .....	2, 45.
<b>1383</b> .. .....	4, 42.
Are we not poor people, that after we have received grace and the Holy Spirit, we fear God? But that is why God also puts a good shillelagh on us, so that we do not exalt ourselves and become vain.	
<b>1385.</b> .. .....	13, 32.
<b>1386. 1387</b> .....	2, 124.
<b>1388</b> .....	13, 33.
<b>1389</b> .....	24, 29.
<b>1390.</b> Complacet ipse sibi crepitante ciconia rostro. [Smugly, the stork hears his beak clacking. (Wrampelmeyer.)]	
<b>1391.</b> .....	12, 83<
<b>1392</b> .....	13, 56.
<b>1393.</b> Contained in Cordatus No. 716 and 717: .....	26, 28.
<b>1394.</b> Through the bond of One Baptism, Christ has bound us most firmly.	
<b>1395:</b> Where there is disputation of faith, there is uncertainty. But if I have to dispute with the devil, I will be defeated; for he has a better dialectic than Philip, and a greater eloquence than Cicero.	
<b>1396</b> Muenzer went trembling to his death, took the Bible and said that he believed everything contained in this book. But that is not enough, one must baptize the child. 1)	

1) On Münzer's end, see Wittenb. Ausg. vol. II, 4716 ff, Jen. Ausg. Bd. III, 131b ff, Walch, alte Ausg." Bd. XVI, 199. , .

Table Talks

Cap. § 37,

1397. . . . . 50.

1398. 1399..... 3, 15.

..... 1400 ..... 1. 18.

The world does not hear the voice of Noah or Lot, but the voice of the flood and the fire from heaven.

1402 No one understands the Scriptures unless they come to one's house, that is, unless he learns them.

1403..... 7, 171.

1404..... 27, 70.

1405. God makes the whole world rich, not for the sake of its works, but so that people will want to obey Him.

1406..... 12, 60.

1407..... 4, 41.

1408..... 60, 2.

1409..... 27, 2.

1410 This is a lawful theft that a canon or one of his peers commits when he goes away and consumes his income in a useful study. If he is forced to appoint a deputy, he does it at his own expense, and the Chapter has it greater sin for neglecting such [useful studies].

1411. ....

15, 1.

1412. Contained in Cordatus No. 357 and 358: ..... 26, 57.

1413. Two things are peculiar to Satan: first, that he make us safe and bring it about with us that we do not fear God in the time of prosperity; the second, that he teach us to despair and flee from God in the time of tribulation.

No one has to be forced into a profession, just as Paul [Apost. 18, 24. ff.] did not want to force Apollo. Only Philip complains that some do not want to obey.

1415., . . . . . 20, 2.

1416..... 7, 167.

Human reason teaches only the hands and the feet, but God teaches the heart.

1418.....

24, 58.

1419..... 4, 61.

1420. 1421. 1422. 1423. 1424. .... 11, 10.

Some promises are unconditional and simple, like the [promises] of Christ: "I will put enmity" [Gen. 3, 15]: "In your seed" [Gen. 22, 18], and such a promise always stands firm and remains, because here God does not look at our works, but at His truth. Others are conditional, to which an addition 1) is added, as this [Luc. 10, 28.]: "Do this, and you shall live."

A life devoted to research, which is led without the Word, is filled with Satan's dreams; but faith, which believes the outward word of God without any apparent cause, is true theology and the right life of research alone.

1427. . . . .

27, 97.

1) It is not necessary to replace the handwritten eomuQotio by oonältio, since the former with reference to the preceding "simply" (simpless) fits far better.

Table speeches  
Cap. §

1428..... 26, 72.  
45, 26.

1429.....

**1430** General prophecy, which speaks of things to come without specifying persons, places and times, is prescribed by Scripture. Thus every Christian prophesies destruction to the wicked, salvation to the righteous, the change of kingdoms, nations and things. The godless do not have this prophecy, but they prophesy the opposite to themselves and to all the godly. Therefore they build their house on the sand. (Matth. 7, 26. 2c. But the prophets had the special prophecy about a certain place 2c., as of Christ, Cyrus, Israel.

1431..... 5, 13.

1432. 1433..... 16, 4.  
59, 1.

1434.....

To fight in judgment [Matth. 5, 40] is what Christ says against 1) the carnal faith of the apostles and the Jews, who expected a worldly kingdom of Christ. Thus he says that one should not wield the sword. You are not to be princes, not judges, not warriors, not authorities, which the Jews believe belongs to them alone; you are not to attack anyone, but to endure suffering that is inflicted on you. I want to have pious people, but I do not want to start a new world regiment; I do not want you to abolish the authorities, that is, to subject them to you.

**1436 In** one and the same person the Christian and the citizen [politicus] are to be carefully distinguished. The Christian has no relation to the world regime as a neighbor has to another, a citizen to another. If a neighbor does me harm, I will suffer it as much as I am concerned, but because I have sworn to the authorities, I will pursue the violated obedience with justice, not out of revenge, but out of love for peace, as servants report to the master the evil done by another servant, so that they do him no harm, but, grieved at the wickedness, seek to prevent the harm; so Joseph also reported everything to his father. So also, since he [Christ] forbids the gathering of treasures, he does not forbid this to the authorities, nor to the parents, but only they should not believe that this is their duty, that they have treasures. Otherwise, all the patriarchs would have perished (if they had not gathered treasure?. 2).

**1437.** 1 Cor. 6, [7.]: "It is already a fault among you that you judge with one another", Paul does not attack the judgment, but the fault of the heart, that one brother dragged the other before the worldly judgment, namely before the enemies of the faith. For to call upon the law and to seek a livelihood he does not forbid, otherwise it would not be lawful even for a lord to snatch a lamb from a wolf. They sought to avenge themselves, they sought to put the brother to shame. But it is the opinion of this text that we are not driven by revenge or lust, but by justice and need, to call upon the judge for help. 3)

1) oontra we have added from Rebenstock I, 183 a and Bindseil I 369.

2) Possibly the reading in Rebenstock 1, 1381" and Bindseil I, 370, impii sssent, "otherwise all patriarchs would have been godless" (if Christ had not slackened the gathering of provisions), is more correct than that of the manuscript: psriiWsn't, which we have left.

3) This section has already been included in No. 1359; but because the version in this number seems to us to be the more appealing, we have nevertheless included it. This may serve as an example to show that Cordatus has also included the collections of others in his records; because obviously we have here only another relation of No. 1359.

1438 A Christian may suffer everything and do nothing against the one who offends him, but a citizen may do everything and suffer nothing, only [beware] that you as a Christian are not judged as an attacker of the authorities, nor do you as a citizen fall into punishment because you leave the authorities in the lurch. 1)

1439. already in another relation Cordatus No. 104.

1440 ..... 9, 38.  
1441 ..... 27, 2.

1442. 1443. 1444. 1445. 1446. 1447. 1448. 1449. These eight numbers are an excerpt from a letter of Phil. Melanchthon to Brenz, which is omitted in the Tischreden Cap. 13, z 13, because not by Lutheri ..... ). 13, 13 14

1450. "Luther's postscript to the preceding letter" is found in Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 1349. no. 890 .. 1313 . 14.

1451 In Bologna, a young man was dragged before the judge because he had done violence to a woman, and was finally sentenced to a large fine. The judge said to the young man: "For my sake, you may take the money from the woman by force. Since he could not wrest it from her in any way in view of the council, the judge gave another "verdict in his favor, and ordered that the money be given back to him, saying: "You were able to keep the money, why did you not keep your chastity? For the young man had denied the crime, and the judge did not believe that violence could be done to a woman against her will.

Where you are not master, let each one go, do, and make as he pleases. Deal with him the less, or you will gain nothing but disfavor, wasted effort and worry.

1453 ..... 11, 20.  
1454 ..... 4, 61.  
45, 30.

1455 .....

1456 At the Diet of Augsburg, the citizens of Schweinfurt are offered an honorable opportunity, but they do not want to make use of it. That is why this very hard saying applies to them: *Fronte capillata posthaec occasio calva* [One must seize the opportunity by the scoop, because behind it is bare) and *Virgil: Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque [futuræ Aen. X, 501. The human mind does not know the fate and what will occur in the future].* So we must also dare on both sides, if they also speak: You are of the devil. 2)

1457 Let the papists start, who boast that they have the church. The Jews also boasted that they were the people of God. But Christ, on the other hand, says: I am the Son of GOD. With the "God" they ran together, Christ had to be crucified over it. But what they gained from it, they became aware of.

1458 ..... 48, 1.  
48, 22.

1459 .....

1460 While he was playing with his little child [Paul], he said, "What cause have you given me to love you so much? And what have you done to deserve to be heir to my goods? Yes, by shitting, by oozing. Do you deserve to be taken care of, to be a maid, to have your teat hung up? And you want to have all that right, or you fill the whole house with shouting.

1) Cf. Tischr. Cap. 14, § 30, also No. 1436.

2) The opportunity that the people of Schweinfurt missed was that they did not join the Protestant imperial estates on the basis of the Augsburg Confession, but submitted to the Reichstag Agreement without further ado. (Wrampelmeyer.)

Table speeches

**1461.** In conjugal life there cannot be unchastity because of its appointment [by God], its task [[to raise children] and its dignity [which God gave it in the fourth commandment], for it is its. But intemperance [can take place in] that one needs his own too much.

<b>1462. 1463. 1464. 1465</b> .....	22,	s.
<b>1466</b> .....	37,	107.
<b>1467. 1468</b> .....	76,	28.
<b>1469</b> .....	27,	144.
<b>1470</b> .....	27,	145.

I, M. Luther, was born under the most unfortunate stars, perhaps under Saturn. What is to be done and made for me can never be completed. Tailors, cobblers, bookbinders, my wife, forgave me for the longest time.

<b>1472</b> .....	76,	28.
<b>1473</b> .....	Appendix	§11.

Carl has luck and success, which God gives him, but Ferdinand, although he is much wiser and more cunning, has no luck. If I were a prince, I would not like to have the emperor as an enemy; he is a heavy guest. He shall, if God wills, play the short [game] with the pope when the Treaty of Schweinfurt [1532] has its progress. For the younger prince told me that the pope does not want to consent to Ferdinand's election to become Roman king; the pope will make our prince pious. 1)

<b>1475</b> .....	27,	9.
<b>1476. 1477. 1478</b> .....	27,	35.
<b>1479</b> .....	22,	10.

**The** devil, our bitterest enemy, is always plotting evil against us. All tyrants' counsels are his. He has hanged the Sacramentarians and the Anabaptists; through the pope he will still accomplish something, as that beast [the papal legate Aleander] said at Worms: "If you shake off the papal yoke, Germany will flow with blood. He is now up to something with the French and Venetians. We weak people have no weapons but prayer. Let us take hold of it, and all wickedness will fall on his own head. God will defend his honor. Since He was able to uproot the Roman Empire when it was in bloom, He will probably be able to either preserve or destroy its tail in our time.

When someone promised him a remedy for his illnesses, he answered: "If you would let me make a remedy against the devil, who now beats me with his fists on the outside, because he is already satisfied with my insides. We are satisfied with each other, he does what he desires, so I also do what I desire. When the same person said to him, "Oh, I missed your sermon," he answered: I give you the Lord's Prayer, that you may ask for faith, or else the ten commandments will be too much for you. This was the wife of Doctor Stephan [Wild] from Zwickau.

<b>1482. 1483</b> .....	4,	89.
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**1484.** when the earth was so dry that the seeds dried up and became needy, he asked that God would give rain according to His mercy, and yet

1) The meaning of the last sentence is: Because the pope also opposed the election of Ferdinand as Roman king, our Elector John, who protested against it through his son John Frederick, will also have to be considered a good man. Cf. Walch, old edition, Vol. XVI, 2119, No. 1161, § 29.

not give what was left to the worms, for he saw locusts flying through the garden and remembered the passage in Joel [1:4], "The caterpillars will eat the rest."

**1485. 1486** ..... 27, 91.

**1487. The Duke G[eorg] and the Margrave threaten the peace the most, because they are by nature people of restless spirit. Duke G. is a man who has a great fortune, but cannot enjoy it, as Ecclesiastes tells Solomon, "He is an individual," Cap. 4, f8.), the heartache he must well feel.**

60, 13.

**1488**.....

**1489.** The most spiritual and highest psalms are: Conserva [Ps. 16], Deus, Deus meus [Ps. 22], Dixit Dominus [Ps. 110], Eructavit cor meum [Ps. 45]. Is a wedding psalm.

70, 5.

**1490**.....

When he had been at the wedding of an old and grumpy widow, he said: "If I were burning with desire and thought only of that monster, I would not need extinguishing.

**1492.** ..... 15, 11.

God has various means to preserve and to destroy. Therefore, God could also defeat the Turk with the largest army by locusts, as one reads in the church history that a very large army of the king of the Persians, which besieged Nineveh, was chased away by mosquitoes. 1)

**1494** ..... 29. 1.

**1495** ..... 37, 4.  
2, 22.

**1496**.....

God wants us to consider Him as our God above all and in all things; the world does not want to do this because it is very proud. If I did not know this otherwise, I would have learned it now from the trade of the Gospel [i.e., in the work of the Reformation]; for the more we humble ourselves, the more arrogant are the opponents. We seek peace and they do not want to accept it. Therefore they will perish without mercy, and God will know how to defend us and to humble their pride, as Joshua offered peace to all the cities, and since only Gideon accepted it [Josh. 9], the others all perished. It will be the same for our squires.

**1498**..... 55, 3.

**1499.** ..... 60, 10.

**1500.** ..... 27, 149.  
9, 63.

**1501**.....

**1502** For the sake of faith, not so much has been done in the papacy, because the papacy has stood as long as it does now at Augsburg, even in no council.

**1503.** I can't bring brevity and clarity together the way Philip and Amsdorf do.

**1504**..... 22, 25.

**1505**..... 39, 15.

1) As an exception, we have left four different redactions of this number, so that the reader can get an insight into the arbitrary treatment of Luther's speeches, namely 1) this original award of the Cordatus, 2) the somewhat changed redaction added by us out of sorrow, Tischreden Cap. 2, § 121. 3) Aurifaber's significantly changed redaction Cap. 2, § 121 and 4) Aurifaber's hardly recognizable narration Cap. 15, § 41.



**1506** I believe that forty thousand devils sit in the clouds and prevent the rain, blowing and chasing away the rain. Well, if they want nothing else, let them do what they do, so they alone will spoil the sand here, which is otherwise not very fertile, and God will supply us elsewhere.

13, 60.

**1507**..... . . .

**1508** "Obey your teachers" [Heb 13:17]. This is said by true and Christian preachers, not by false ones as the papists understand it, and this text has kept me from writing against the pope for many years.

**1509** If someone had told me at the Diet of Worms (1521) that after seven years I would be a husband with a wife and children, I would have laughed at him, for I did not intend to go that far, for I only wanted to fight against indulgences. 1)

**1510**..... 43, 11.

**1511**..... 43, 12.  
43, 13.

**1512. 1513**.....

When someone said: Marriage does not stop all desire, therefore one must abstain from it and resist it, as also the desire for robbery and theft, and if one must resist the desires, therefore also the rutting, he answered: Marriage is a created means, as work is a means against theft. But the inclination to woman is a creation of God, if one remains within the bounds of nature; for the Italians and the Turks act against nature.

**1515** It is safer to be an Epicurean than a false 2) Christian, therefore the pope is worse than the Turk.

2, 155.

**1516**.....

**1517.** I think of dying every day, and yet I cannot: "I wretched man, who" 2c. (Rom. 7, 24.). If someone had told me twenty years ago that the new work of Halle should lie on the ground during my life, without war and in peace, I would not have believed him who said that.

**1518. 1519**..... 37, 133.

**1520**..... 13, 21.

**1521**..... 37, 132.

**1522**..... 43, 15.

**1523** When someone complained that he was so frightened while listening to the sermon that he had to leave, he comforted him like this: God has two kinds of sacrifices, one of praise, the other of a broken heart.

**1524**..... 24, 5.

**1525** ..... 26, 25.

**1526.** As a young man was confessing, he was admonished by the priest that he should serve God. He replied that he could not do so this year, because he had promised the judge that he would serve him this year, so that he would not throw him into the stocks. But next year he wants to serve God.

1) Spoken before August 3, 1528, since on that day Luther's daughter Elisabeth, born in 1527, died again. (Wrampelmeyer.)

2) Obviously the handwritten "üäeleoa" is wrong. It must be read either kalsuoa or Lnüdelsoa. -. Instead of xsjoreni read xejor 68t.

**1527 There** was a fool who had learned the Lord's Prayer by being beaten. He confessed, and as penance he was told to say three Our Fathers every day. When he returned home, he wept and said: "Three Our Fathers have been given to me, so there are two more [Our Fathers] left for me, which I must learn under similar beatings under which I learned the first one.

**1528.** albus cholericus est ira aeterna. 1)

**1529** ..... 37, 132.  
2, 37.

**1530** .....

**1531** When women want to rule, it turns out badly; they should make cheese, milk cows and cook, that is their job.

**1532 The** monks called contempt of the world contempt of creatures, but not [contempt] of vanity.

43, 15.

**1533** .....

**1534.** No one shall interpret the Psalm "God, be gracious to me according to Your goodness" [Ps. 51] but Paul alone. He who understands Paul also understands this Psalm, and mainly this verse [6.], "Against you alone have I sinned," no one will interpret except Paul. And it is impossible to interpret all the main passages of Scripture without the knowledge of Christ. "God,,be merciful to me" wants to have the whole Christ. Sadoletus got only as far as worldly grace in this psalm. They are gross fools who are not only unlearned, but also want to be learned.

**1535.** There is another saying in Paul that vexes me, "The fullness of the Gentiles." But I will give this honor to the Holy Spirit, as I know that he is more learned than I am.

**1536** ..... 27, 12.

**1537** ..... 27, 13.  
43, 183.

**1538** .....

**1539** I believe that Peter was at Rome, although this cannot be proven from Scripture. Paul preached throughout Asia Minor and elsewhere, which can be clearly proven from Scripture.

**1540** ..... 43, 183.

**1541.** ..... 26, 15.

**1542** ..... 3,58.

In many hundreds of years no pope, bishop or priest has taken care of the poor, of schools, of baptism, of preaching 2c. Because the hatred against God's word had come over them.

**1544** Erasmus is murderously hostile to fish, which is evident from all his conversations [Dialogis]. It is also an unhealthy food for fish [i.e. he considers them unhealthy].

**1545.** Large breasts without milk are the fig tree that Christ cursed.

**The** human sacraments are false, but the divine sacraments are true. The hood on the head of the woman is a human sacrament.

1) This sentence is found in the same way in Rebenstock I, 1116 and Bindseil I, 215, therefore a change of the T<sup>h</sup>e is probably not to be thought of. Literally translated, the words are: "A white bile addict is eternal wrath." The opinion of the same would be: "Perfect despondency is the plague of eternal damnation." For as in English Uvereã means cowardly, despondent, so already with the ancients with  
timid, despondent. white liver, cowardly,

**The** devil and I are almost one in spiritual things, but in bodily things he plagues me where he can and strikes me with various diseases. 1)

**In 1548**, he advised the wife of Doctor Stephan Wild on her departure that she should tell her husband that he would gladly share his Lord's Prayer with him, but that he would have to seek faith from God and himself. He would never be able to accomplish the Decalogue. I cannot obtain it either.

**1549** To Master Lucas [Cranach], the painter, a very witty man, he said: It often happens that we eat the peasants out of the ars. For they give fruit seeds of themselves, from which fruit trees grow, and when we eat of the fruit, we eat the peasants out of the ars 2c.

**1550** A foolish dog rages for only nine days, and Duke G[eorg] now for nine years. If he is not helped soon, he will become quite insane; for he has again chased nine citizens out of Leipzig for the sake of the sacrament.

**1551** ..... 15, 31.

If God gave nothing for free, He would be rich and we would value His gifts more highly. The life, the head, the hands, the feet 2c. he could sell very dear, and there is no reason for anyone to say: What if now the people had no money? For all would have money enough to buy that. But now avarice owns all money. And God does not take people's money, for he says to himself: "If I take it from them, I will give it to them again for free, for they must have enough of me.

**1553** ..... 4, 108.

**1554** **The** diarrhea of children, their smallpox, many fevers, are preludes to pestilences, also famine, which is also followed by wars.

**1555** I fear that the Bishop of Mainz has invited H[Archduke] G[eorg] and the Margrave of Brandenburg to conclude an alliance with them, so that they may prevent peace at the Imperial Diet at Regensburg. When they have accomplished this, I will ask God that the Landgrave invade their lands, although I know that H[Duke] G[eorg] is an unfortunate warrior, as is the Margrave.

**1556** ..... 76, 28.

In Munich, a thief was led out to be hanged. While passing by, he got a baker to give him a roll because he said he was hungry. After he had received it, he asked the baker to cut it for him, because he had heard that a stone would come over him from the crust. And the executioner said to him: "I will soon drive the stone out of you.

**1558.**

Ferdinand is nothing / good, true, 2) / essential, but after Carl's death he will be nothing. (Essentials,)

**1559** . . . . . 3, 2.

**1560.** 8inv8 cannot be rendered actually and grammatically. "In the bosom of Abraham" [Luc. 16, 22.]. It lay John in sinu, at the breast [Joh. 13, 23.], which denotes great affection against an adult.

**1561. 3**.....) ..... 15, 11.

1) Cf. no. 1481 of this appendix. "

2) Instead of the handwritten reading "viri" we have put that of Veit Dietrich's manuscript x>. 133 (Köstlin II, 660) we have put "veri".

3) This number is also, in another translation, already printed Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1498 f., and again Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 1591, No. 157.

Table speeches  
Cap. §

<b>1562</b> .....	2, 25.
<b>1563</b> .....	3, 92.
<b>1564</b> .....	9, 2.
<b>1565</b> .....	60, 7.

Jonas said to him that he believed that a decree should be issued against the birds, because they eat the grain 1) 2c. they are not allowed to do so, because the Gospel says: "God feeds them" [Matth. 6, 26]. To this the Doctor replied: Yes, they have their tables in our fields, and not their own, but in winter He feeds them all without us.

<b>1567</b> .....	30, 32.
<b>1568</b> .....	1, 54.
<b>1569</b> .....	21, 1.
<b>1570</b> .....	37, 73.
<b>1571</b> .....	13, 23.
<b>1572</b> .....	22, 95.
<b>1573. 1574</b> .....	60, 1.
<b>1575</b> .....	41, 6.

**1576** When Förster [1535] was called to preach [in Augsburg], he asked what he should preach, because the lecture on the Psalms was unknown to him. 2) To this he replied: you are a Greek and a Hebrew and a theologian, therefore you can make a sermon on A Hebrew word, only observe the thing [it is about]. For example, in the 31st Psalm, "Lord, in you I trust," talk about true worship, hope and faith, against works doctrines. Where you see a principal word in a psalm: hope, trust, believe, believe, believe, believe. Trust, believe, call, pray, lament 2c., the matter is to be taken from the most distinguished words. For even though the Psalms are different, they are to be judged from these words and preached and prayed from them in the same way.

<b>1577</b> .....	67, 12.
<b>1578</b> .....	67, 13.

**The** peasants are proud of their fortune, and yet crude, which is proven by the one who could not easily drive away a fly that sat on his spoon, and then devoured the fly, because it always returned, at the same time as the food. And a certain other in Mansfeld always fended off a tamed little bird, a red-throat, from the bowl, but at last he swallowed it whole, and as it still made a sound in his throat, he said, "Are you still nipping [i.e., peeping]? And he poured a tankard full of beer into it and choked it.

Luther: I am like Abraham because I am the grandfather of all the many children begotten by all the monks, priests and nuns, the father of a great nation.

**The** women are to be veiled because of the angels; I must put on pants because of the virgins.

**1582** My wife is sick and I will not get fresh, she will fall in two pieces [at her delivery].

**1583** . . . . .

1) In the handwriting ffrs, which Wrampelmehrer has resolved with gratis. But this does not give a suitable sense. We assume gra and solve for grana.  
2) There is probably a mistake in the original. Förster was an excellent teacher in Hebrew and it would fit better if it would be put into his mouth: he was only familiar with the reading about the Psalms. After that it would be to be read approximately: solenn lectionena enim xsalnaornna siki notarn esse.

If I lived three more years, I would have enough work to do with the correction of the Bible, the translation of the Apocrypha, and the writing of the summer part of the Postille.

**1585** The pope is not satisfied that he is evil and we are evil, but he also wants us to remain evil.

**1586** ..... 27, 16,

**1587** ..... 45, 48,

**1588** Ferdinand has taken his kingdom with prudence and blood; but he will not bring it to pass, but will be put to shame.

**1589**..... 13, 24.  
5, 17,

**1590**.....

**1591** Because the papists did not want to agree to the council meeting in Schweinfurt, because they would rather go down with the noise, misgivings, meetings [conventionen], discord, undertakings, deliberations of those princes, let it be done as they wish.

The Pope Clement is only the creature 1) of his theologians, because he also does not understand a word of Latin, let alone is a theologian. He is (so they say) a brave soldier, he is mighty in his hand, he can stand his ground. Don't you think here that these titles probably adorn a Magister noster and a Pabst?

**1593**..... 49, 4,

**1594** All now want to understand the Scriptures, the holy ten commandments 2c. But how shall we do it? We have found it so, we must let it remain so, because all want to be smart and yet also our teachers [nostris Magistris].

**1595** The birds and (four-footed) animals consume annually more than the people, because a wolf must have a year 100 [pieces] K[leinvieh], as the right grazers say. Lynx, fox, badger, marten, polecat, vulture, hawk devour much, almost everything.

28, 9,

**1596**.....

**1597** He said about his pregnant wife, who was feeding the child: "It is difficult to feed two guests, one in the house and the other outside the door.

**1598** Movement is a cause of health, and health is a cause of movement. After that he said, "I would give a hundred guilders for it, if I had it, so that I could not judge the pulse, because I soon make myself sicker than I am when I take it.

**1599. 1600**..... 75, 1,

**1601** As he sat at the table and ate, he said, "I must finish the roll, and every meal a roll for penance (i.e. on top of it), which makes 31 pennies and 4 pfennies a year, then the drink and other things, - until he comes to

He said: "I don't like to calculate anymore, it makes me disgusted, it wants to rise too high. I would not have thought that so much should go to one person.

I should be truly proud that the devil, my bitterest enemy, pursues me everywhere. I should be truly proud that I thus have a high enemy.

**1603**..... 45, 41.

1) Instead of creator, which does not make sense, creatura should be read. Furthermore, there should be a comma after Nie in the last sentence.

1604 A liar must have a good memory [Mendacem oportet esse memorem], therefore I, when I was a student, federated against this saying, because I said I had no inclination to bathe on Sunday. Likewise the one who said that he had seen bees as big as sheep. When another asked how they could crawl through the so small openings in the beehives, he answered: "I will let them take care of that.

1605 ..... 1, 79.

1606 ..... 62, 1.

1607 ..... 48, 30.

1608. 1609 ..... 45, 71.

1610 ..... 43, 20.

1611 The fruit trees must endure various temptations, and almost, like a good Christian, storms, lightning, hail, by caterpillars, which are threefold. For some arise from the butterflies [Zuifalter] and ants and spiders. The tree still has to pass through and bear fruit.

1612. 1613 ..... 75, 1.

1614 ..... 2, 76.

1615. 1616. 1617. 1618 ..... 69, 1.

1619 ..... 69, 2.

1620. is only a reference to No. 750, quoting the first words.

1621 ..... 4, 61.

1622. Paul and John surpass all in the New, Moses and David in the Old Testament, and the New surpasses the Old, because in the latter are the promises, in the latter the fulfillments.

1623 ..... 12, 19.

The Decalogue is a confession of the good that God does to us and a confession of the evil that we do against God.

The highest bondage and the highest freedom are both something very bad.

1626 Faith, hope, and love are different, as are understanding, will, and outward works. Faith actually has to do with truth, error, heresy, false opinion. Hope actually includes affliction, cross, danger and the opposite of it, peace, joy, good. Faith judges the doctrine. Hope is a hindrance if faith is not the guide. It is up to faith to prescribe the right way and to overcome the heretics. Hope is to suffer, expect, dare 2c. 1)

Even if I did not believe that simply by God the church is governed and preserved, nevertheless he governs and preserves it in such a way, as is before eyes; one grasps it that it is not the work of men.

1628. the Bishop of Mainz is a robber of the Church because he persecutes the Gospel; still our Lord God preserves His Church and hides it under the only veil: "I believe."

1629 ..... 65, 10.

1630. 1631 ..... 21, 1.

He who does not want to lose a good deed, may never do one. For the world is actually ingratitude itself, which can be seen in the ingratitude of the Jews, who so quickly despised the greatest good deeds of God from Egypt and what followed, and in the ingratitude of the

1) For this piece, compare Walch, old edition, Vol. VIII, 2623 ff. Cap. S, § 63-67.

Christians who prove them against God the Father and the Son who died for us, and if there were not some who despised the reward, we would not keep preachers, pastors, nor churches. But even if we serve the world in vain, we do not serve God in vain, whom alone we serve. This is our great comfort.

God will not take away the sins of the preachers when they die, but Christ will say this with joy: "Because you have confessed my name before the world, I will also confess you before my heavenly Father. Matth. 10. 32.]

	60, 2, 116.
	117.
<b>1634</b> .....	37, 117.
<b>1635.</b> . ... 37,	12, 26.
<b>1636</b> .....	7, 53.
<b>1637.</b> .....	45, 68.
<b>1638</b> .....	
<b>1639</b> .....	

The princes, nor their wives, do not prosper anywhere, as they think, but he who is a private man can always be happy, if the devil does not disturb the peace of his conscience, which he has in Christ. If he wants to do so much, he will be given a staff to Rome, which he has had to accept much from me.

24, 59.

**1641. 1642. 1643** .....

In a foolish people rages (the depth?), as if a man would say to his wife: If you will not keep yourself right, I will let you go and take the worst whore for you. Thus the hardening and challenge of Pharaoh is not God's own work, but a foreign one.

<b>1645.</b> . .....	59, 4.
<b>1646</b> .....	22, 29:
<b>1647</b> .....	59, 8.
<b>1648</b> .....	12, 28.
<b>1649</b> .....	12, 31.
<b>1650</b> .....	43, 125.
<b>1651. 1652. 1653.</b> .....	26, 37.

The Gospel belongs only to the sorrowful hearts, the rough people and the secure belong only under the law. Let them go along with the old rogues who answered us at the visitation: Hey, my child at home can pray. They consider prayer to be only an outward work, not a worship of God.

<b>1655</b> .....	16, 1.
<b>1656.</b> .....	22, 40.
<b>1657</b> .....	15, 48.
<b>1658</b> .....	7, 14.
<b>1659</b> .....	26, 29.
<b>1660</b> .....	23, 4.

We do not need to ask why the devil burns with such great hate against us, but we may only look at H[archduke] G[eorg] and other enemies of the gospel, how they all burn to harm us!

<b>1662</b> .....	22, 5.
<b>1663</b> .....	22, 6.

**1664 A** person who is called to a better position can accept it with a clear conscience, regardless of the annoyance of those who will say that he is looking for a better position.

His. For we are not bound to them, just as they themselves do not want to be bound to us. Of course, we have to be called, but if we are also called, we have to remain free, we should not be deprived of our freedom.

**1665** Many speak many things of spiritual things, and yet no one has ever preached Christ purely. They all go around like a cat around a hot pudding.

<b>1666</b> .....	24,	17.
<b>1667</b> .....	24,	18.

The law is a block, but the gospel is flexible. It gives room to the forgiveness of sins. What do those preachers do who want to have everything observed according to their hard head, according to the guideline! Not everything can be done according to our advice; it is enough that we rule and leave the prosperity to God.

All men are by nature more after-thinkers than before-thinkers [Epimethei quam Promethei], because all are wise after something has happened. We all have to pay an apprenticeship and become wise with harm. And our young Elector [John Frederick] must also squander a hundred thousand florins in his beginning.

**1670.** big breasts are figures of the world, because they promise much and do not give. -

No article of faith is so confirmed by the word of God that it could not be ridiculed by Erasmus, that is, by reason. Words can be twisted, as wax can be formed into a thousand shapes. Erasmus understands this art very well. So it happens also sometimes with the four rivers of the paradise.

**1672 It is** said that it has been shown by experience that if three toads, pierced in the sun, are placed on an ulcer, they draw out the poison.

**The** very harmful viper serpent violently pursues man, shoots him in the face; therefore Christ also called the opponents of the gospel vipers not without cause. [Matth. 3, 7.)

<b>1674. 1675</b> .....	43,	50.
<b>1676</b> .....	27,	2.
<b>1677.</b> already complete No. 1440; mitgetheilt: .....	9,	38.

The Holy Spirit punishes the world for sin, which it does not acknowledge, and assigns righteousness to Christ alone. Against this the whole world rebels with its power, holiness and judgment; for it does not want its unbelief to be its sin, nor does it suffer with equanimity that its righteousness should be rejected and Christ alone exalted. Therefore the world is punished by the Holy Spirit. Therefore he [Christ] says: That "the prince of this world" is judged, which must be referred to the first two pieces. But the teusel must be taken here according to the category of the relation with his whole kingdom and efficacy, because according to his essence [secundum praedicamentum substantiae] he is judged before, but now through the gospel also his power.

To build up the church is not to introduce new ceremonies, as my clever ones believe, but to make consciences free and certain through faith, so that it may be without fear 1) and doubt.

<b>1680</b> .....		
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1) The manuscript offers in mirs. We have taken tinorns; inürwitats, which Wrampelmeyer assumes, does not seem to fit us.





Table  
speeches

Since God saw that everything created was good, everything must also be good, and it was good to such a degree that we would have played with snakes as well as with puppies. But after the fall many things harm us, for example also the fleas and mosquitoes. Therefore also God says [Gen. 3, 18.], "The earth shall bear thee thorns and thistles." Then they are all deprived of strength, and many [creatures] are either permitted or also commanded to plague us as a reminder of disobedience; for serving, they are commanded territories.

1709 ..... 72, 2.  
22, 15.

1710. 1711 .....

1712 How it all happens so weakly, what our Lord God does, as you can see in this child, and yet as adults we become so proud.

Look at the dog, he has not a single blemish on his body, has fresh eyes, strong legs, beautiful white teeth, a good stomach with a coat, the greatest gifts of the body, but our Lord God gives them to a dog.

As the Psalter is a song over all Scripture, so the Song of Solomon is a praise and song over all things ecclesiastical. For whatever the church teaches, he praises and sings about in it.

In other redaction Cordatus No. 80 in this appendix.

1716 ..... 38, 1.

1717 ..... 15, 10.

1718 ..... 19, 16.

1719 The thief sinned in ignorance and not against the mercy of God, nor out of contempt for the word which he first heard at his crucifixion; therefore his example gives no help to our despisers, nor to those who postpone the enjoyment of the Lord's Supper until the hour of death.

1720. . . . . 19, 28.

1721. 1722. 1723. 1724. 1725. 1726. 1727. 1728 ..... 55, 2.

1729. Desire takes place without [good] reason, as fleas and lice love one; but love is when we want to serve others.

11, 13.

1730 .....

At one stroke, fire, thunder and lightning will consume all creatures on the last day, and we will all be there immediately, the dead and those who are still unchanged, and the sound of the shawms will not be so friendly, so that those in the graves will soon hear it. This I say to you, Michael Boots, because you believe that there are not more than eight hours left until the last day. 2)

We are wretched children of Adam; for if death pursues us every moment on the land, we also seek it on the water. For I hear that Ulan is preparing for naval warfare.

1733 The Emperor has sent donkeys loaded with gold to the Swiss to attack the Lutherans, and the French to destroy Milan. Aren't these beautiful things [causae]?

1734 If you want to feed your servants well, you have to lift your ass out of the straw early.

1735 Pommer preached a very sharp sermon today. If he is to make people pious, he is to win. The world remains the world.

1) Hutzel - a dried apple or pear; hutzelig, shriveled, hungry. 2) Cf. Cap. 51, § 2.

**1736** I have appealed to God in my toe pain [i.e. podagra] and asked Him to send me French or pestilence for it, which are diseases to death.

**The** peasants are beasts who believe that the religion we preach was invented by us. But if one examines them, they say: Yes, yes, and believe nothing. Now the time has come when the Antichrist is revealed, in which we see all the world doing what it wants [as the Scripture says]. An example of this can be seen in H[archduke] G[eorg] and the bishop of Mainz, who now dare everything, even against the pope.

28, 1.

**1738** .....

The Mainzer fears the pope, that he would deprive him of his cardinal dignity, but he does not fear God, who pushes the mighty from the chair and raises the lowly. Their consciences are too evil. Therefore, they did not remember a word from the Diet of Augsburg about their first article on the primacy of the pope and the governorship of Peter.

**1740.** ..... 27, 74.

**1741** ..... 57, 2.

**1742** ..... 14, 11.

**1743.** ..... 9, 19.

Dear Weller, do not lie to death. You can still become a lawyer.

**1745..** .... 9, 19.

9, 20.

**1746** .....

Satan loves me fiercely, but not with the love of care, but of desire.

11, 13.

**1748. 1749. 1750. 1751. 1752. 1753** .....

**1754** Jurisprudence and medicine are uncertain sciences because they have no generally valid basis.

The basis in theology is to believe in God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

**1756.** the title of Christ is called Sheflemini, Sit at my right hand [Ps. 110, 1.], and leads dug in his stirrups [stirrups]: I will lay your enemies at the footstool of your feet, and on top of his diadem: you are a priest forever. Is omnipotent in weakness, wise in foolishness alone.

**1757** ..... 9, 20.

**The** sinners are punished either by repentance or by anger.

7, 166..

**1759** .....

Dear God, what a master I have made all these years, and I always remain a disciple. But it is said [Matth. 11, 19.]: "Wisdom 1) must be justified by her children."

**1761. 1762. 1763** ..... 3, 14.

**1764** ..... 59, 6.

**1765** ..... 37, 118.

**1766..** ..... 2, 105.

**1767** It is well known and publicly known in the day how much an understanding person can accomplish in a state: the cities still do not allow anyone to study.

l) In the manuscript: "Sara", probably originally "8ap'a", the compendium for Kapisntia. The above passage is in the VulZata: 4u8t1Ü6ata 88t saxitzutia Ä Ü1Ü8 suis.

Table speeches  
Cav. 8

**1768** The peasants call our visitors "chaste gentlemen," and they should answer them: "Our male honor without harm. The people learn nothing more than to drink beer.

**1769** We pray: Give peace, O Lord. But I worry that we will not receive it in our days, but in our earth [i.e. not in life, but in the grave].

**1770?)** Already in Cordatus No, 149; communicated: .....

52, 5.

**1771.** already in Cordatus No. 239.

**1772.** already in Cordatus 149.

**1773.** already in Cordatus 240.

**1774.** already in Cordatus 241.

**1775.** already in Cordatus 243.

**1776.** Already at Cordatus No. 244.

**1777.** Already at Cordatus 245.

**1778.** Already at Cordatus 247.

**1779.** Already at Cordatus 248.

**1780.** Already at Cordatus 249.

**1781** ..... 12, 25.

**1782** ..... .. 59, 5.

1783/1784 / Already in Cordatus No. 253.

**1785.** already at Cordatus 1 and 5L.

**178S.** Already in Cordatus 2.

**1787.** already in Cordatus 3.

**1788.** already at Cordatus 4 and 6.

**178S.** Already at cordatus 7 and 8.

**179".** Already at Cordatus 181.

**1791.** already in Cordatus 182.

**1792.** already in Cordatus 186.

**1793.** already in Cordatus 188.

**1794.** already in Cordatus 189. 190. 191.

**1795.** already in Cordatus § and 10.

**1796.** already in Cordatus 254. 15. 16.

**1797.** already in Cordatus 176.

**1798.** already in Cordatus 178.

**1799.** Already at Cordatus No. 191.

**1800.** Already at Cordatus No.

**1801.** 192.

**1802.** Already

**1803.** at

**1804.** Cordatus

**1805.** No. 195-

**1806.** Already at Cordatus No.

**1807.** 196.

**1808.** Already

**1809.** at

**1810.** Cordatus

**1811.** No. 197.

**1812.** Already at Cordatus No.

**1813.** 196.

**1814.** Already at Cordatus No.

\* A certain Gervasius, Rector of the University of Paris, came here, believing that he would not be recognized. But this cunning visit of the French was also reported to us by letter from England. And since he knew that he would be recognized, he left immediately on the second day.

**1816.** already in Cordatus No. 273 and 274 .

**1817.** already in Cordatus 282.

**1818.** already in Cordatus 283 and 284.

**1819.** already in Cordatus 287.

**1820.** already in Cordatus 288 and 288.

**1821.** Already at No. 290.

**1822.** Cordatus " 291.

**1823.** " 292 and 293.

**1824.** " ,, " " 294.

**1825.** // " 155.  
,, ,, ,,

**1826** "Do what comes before your hands" [1 Sam. 10:7], that is, execute what belongs to your office.

1) The title that belongs to a virgin. In Bindseil I, 299, this word is put into the mouth of the councilmen of Colditz, but the answer is given to Sebastian von Gotteritz.

2) Most of the pieces that follow from now on in the manuscript find repetitions of such records that are already communicated in a more complete version in the preceding. Perhaps these may be records of Schlaginhausen, which Cordatus has incorporated into his collection.

**1827.** chariot Israel and his horsemen [2 Kings 2:12.), that is, you are all [factotum] prejudice and rear [of the ship], if you go away, as if he wanted to say, So it is over with us.

**1828** ..... 47, 4.  
**1829** ..... 27, 95.

**1830** He who baptizes me in my faith baptizes me in my name. But how if you know that he who desires baptism is secretly unbelieving, and yet you are compelled to baptize him? Is that why Christ gave his body? I am commanded to baptize - I command his faith and salvation to God, and we also preach the word of God to the ungodly, so that they may one day believe. God also addresses us, while we are still ungodly, with the word of His grace, before faith and also 1) before all good works, as He converted Paul.

1. the world condemns the word of God. 2. the devil arouses many arouses and heresies. 3. we ourselves are weak, even if we are believers. By these three things the judgment of the world against us is strengthened, that we seem ungodly, they just. But this is the judgment which is judged in the prince of the world. Therefore neither the power of tyrants, nor the wisdom and holiness of heretics, nor our weakness must turn us away from faith in Christ. For it is written [Ps. 51:6], "That thou mayest be justified when thou art judged." It is necessary that this evil be in the world, but even more necessary that the word prevail and the world be condemned.

**1832** ..... 1, 39.

Those who do not trust in God trust in the creature: the papists in their works, the pagans in their idols, the miserly in their money boxes, others in princes 2c. The world wants and must have an idol; for it is the devil's, who wants to be so honored. Therefore, do not be moved by their ingratitude or wickedness; always let go.

If works deserve eternal life, what would the following works deserve, since eternal life is already deserved beforehand? 2) When you say "accidental rewards," they [works] suffer violence because they are as good as the first ones, which deserved a much greater reward.

**1835 The** great poisoner Clemens finally died by his own art - with yew smoke [i.e. from the poisonous darkness of the flowers of the yew tree], because he wanted to marry and become prince of Florence. Sodomites and poisoners 3) are no longer considered a sin in Rome. A certain Italian bought from a schoolmaster a young man for four hundred florins, whom he, having bought him, threw into a pit full of snakes, scorpions 2c. When he had pulled him out and extracted the poison from all his veins, he said: "The four hundred florins shall make me several thousand. Such pious saints are the disciples of Pabst.

1) Instead of ut, which the handwriting offers, Wohl would like to be read nurn. - Instead of si, probably sie or sieut should be read, instead of si st. After 6t, ante should be added and ?. should be resolved with kanlnni. The last sentence would then read like this: Veus, eurn impii surnus, fnos] suo verko ai1o<^uitur Zratiae suae ante uern, sieut fante^s Opera, ut kaulurn eonvertit.. ..

2) It is not necessary to change the reading vita aeterna. ^nte is not preposition but adverb, vita aeterna ante sain inerita are to be taken as ablative! aksoluti. A comma must be placed after niererentnr, and opera added: quid seciuentia nnererent Opera.

3) Also here it is not necessary to change the handwritten text. Todorna ---- Sodom, stands for Sodonnterei, and "intoxieea" is to be dissolved with intoxieatio, i.e. poisoning.

What he [God] says [Deut. 18, 18]: "I will strike you with madness and blindness", we now see in our opponents Cochläus, Emser, Witzel. They are mad and foolish.

Honor and riches are in the house of him who has a good conscience through faith. To a guest he said: Take for good with a pious landlord, because he is obedient to women. (This is certainly true.) 1)

In **1838**, a man in Torgau beat his wife in such a way that the neighbors often came over and scolded him. He replied: "Let me use my justice, the misfortune is about a nail, on which she wants to hang her veil, where I hang my hat. For this is the cause of dissension in marriage, that wives have no regard for their husbands.

**1839.** Carl von Miltiz brought Frederick a golden rose so that he would take me away to Rome. When he saw me [he spoke]: Ho, are you so young? I thought you were an old man and had no one to help you. I did not trust myself to take you to Rome even if I had twenty-five thousand Swiss.

**1840** I will open the river of my foot and shall I take a pike to it. An old man is as comfortable with a river on one leg as a young journeyman is with a wreath on his head.

**1841** **The** boys love deadly weapons [*arma mortis*], they should not be allowed to do so.

**The** Psalter should not be laid aside and reflected upon without ceasing; for we cannot esteem its glory so great, but read it diligently.

**1843.** **For** this ending, praise and thanks be to God; for I have written myself almost half to death and yet have not wanted to slacken. May God restore to me my right side, which has become numb [*quod stupore tactum est*] because I have written excessively.

1) The bracketed words are Cordatus' remark. (Wrampelmeyer.)

1537.

God the glory.

**End.**